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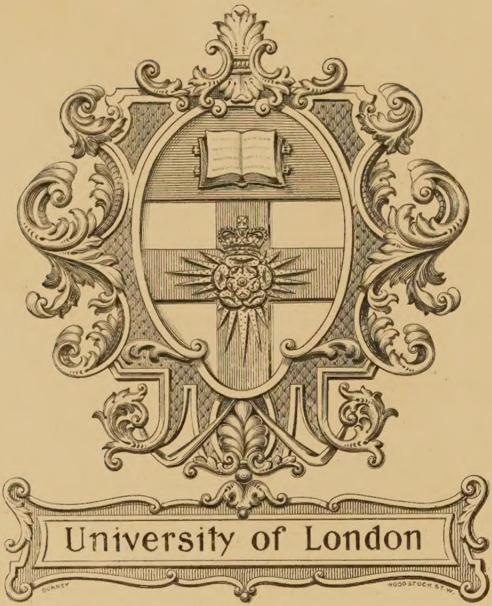
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HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

46° VICTORIÆ, 1883.

VOL. CCLXXVI.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1883,

TO

THE NINTH DAY OF MARCH 1883.

First Volume of the Session.

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[3.5.]

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NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MOTION FOR PAPERS—

Moved that there be laid before this House—

Copy of Rule 72, of the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland:

Copy of letter, dated 8th November 1882, from the Earl of Longford to the Lord President of the Council (on appeal from a decision of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) respecting the appointment of a sister of mercy as teacher in a national school open to non-Catholic children:

Copy of any reply thereto,—(*The Earl of Longford*) 286

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*. [6.0.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS—NEW STANDING ORDER—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "Where a Bill having been brought in on Motion (not being a Bill to confirm a Provisional Order or Certificate) is read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time, on a day appointed, and it appears that the Standing Orders relative to Private Bills may be applicable to the Bill, the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills shall, on an Order of the House, examine the Bill with respect to compliance with the Standing Orders, and shall proceed and report forthwith, and the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill shall not be affected thereby; but, if the Examiner report that any Standing Order applicable to the Bill has not been complied with, and the Select Committee on Standing Orders report that such Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with, the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill or the Order for Commitment thereof, as the case may be, shall be discharged,"—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) 293

Resolution *agreed to*, and *ordered* to be a Standing Order of the House.

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE. [THIRD NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [15th February]: —Main Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 317

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Gorst*:)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Parliamentary Oaths Act (1866) Amendment Bill—

MATTER *considered* in Committee. [*Progress* 16*th February*] .. 384

Question again proposed,

"That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Parliamentary Oaths,"—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 184, Noes 53; Majority 131.—(Div. List, No. 7.)

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Attorney General*, *The Marquess of Hartington*, *Secretary Sir William Harcourt*, *Mr. Solicitor General*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 89.]

EGYPT (CHARGES OF EXPEDITION)—Observations, Mr. Onslow; Reply, The Marquess of Hartington 390

MOTIONS.

Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Orders Confirmation Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. John Holms*, *Mr. Chamberlain*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 87] 391

PUBLIC PETITIONS—

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Settled Land Act (1882) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Borlase*, *Mr. William Fowler*, *Mr. James Howard*, *Mr. Hopwood*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 88] 392

Private Lunatic Asylums (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. William Corbet*, *Mr. Blake*, *Mr. Dillwyn*, *Mr. Dawson*, *Mr. Richard Power*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 90] 392

Factory and Workshop Act (1878) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Broadhurst*, *Sir Charles Forster*, *Mr. Burt*, *Mr. Henry H. Fowler*, *Mr. Rowley Hill*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill9]1 392

Waste Lands (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Captain Aylmer, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Henry Thomson*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 92] 392

KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS (HOUSE OF COMMONS)—Standing Committee *appointed* and *nominated*:—List of the Committee .. 392

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Registration of Firms Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Barran, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Monk*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 94] 392

[1.15.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

ROLL OF THE LORDS—The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table: The same was ordered to be *printed.* (No. 2.)

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MOTION FOR PAPERS—

Moved for—

"Copy of Rule 72. of the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland:

"Copy of letter, dated 8th November 1882, from the Earl of Longford to the Lord President of the Council (on appeal from a decision of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) respecting the appointment of a sister of mercy as teacher in a national school open to non-Catholic children:

"Copy of Correspondence between the Earl of Longford, the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and the Irish Government on the same subject,"—(*The Earl of Longford*) 393

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

INDIA—LOCAL GOVERNMENT—CRIMINAL PROCEDURE AMENDMENT BILL—Questions, Viscount Cranbrook, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answers, The Earl of Kimberley 394

REGENCY OF TUNIS—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for papers and correspondence respecting the rights of British subjects in the Regency of Tunis under the capitulations, in connexion with the proposed Treaty between France and the Bey of Tunis,"—(*The Earl De La Warr*) 395

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

LAND LAWS (IRELAND)—Observations, The Earl of Belmore, Lord Waveney 397

[4.45.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PARLIAMENT—STANDING ORDERS AND SELECTION COMMITTEES—Nomination *deferred* 398

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PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—NOTICES OF MOTION, &c.—MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT—

Moved, "That the Notices of Motion and the 1st Order of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Address to Her Majesty,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) 398

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

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THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE — STANDING COMMITTEES —Questions, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Speaker 412

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE. [FOURTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [15th February]:—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. 414

Amendment proposed,

In paragraph 10, line 4, to leave out from the word "upheld," to the end of the paragraph, in order to insert the words "and we venture to express our earnest hope that the change of policy which has produced these results will be maintained, and that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's Rule, by concessions to lawless agitation; and that the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country will continue to be met by unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive,"—(*Mr. Gorst*,) —instead thereof.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—*continued.*

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell:*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

Corn Sales Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Rankin, Sir Joseph Bailey, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Biddell, Mr. H. T. Davenport, Mr. Williamson*) 499

Sites for Places of Worship, &c. (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Gray, Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Patrick Martin, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Meldon*) 499

Marriage (Hours of Solemnization) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Caine, Mr. Morley, Mr. Willis*) 499

Infectious Diseases Notification Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hastings, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Brinton*) 500

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Trade Marks Bill [Bill 70]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold*) 500

After short debate, [House counted out] [12.30]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—ORDERS OF THE DAY—

Moved, "That the first four Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on an Amendment to the Address to Her Majesty,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) 503

SEEDS ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL—Observations, Dr. Cameron; Reply, The Marquess of Hartington 503

Motion *agreed to.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE. [FIFTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [20th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February]:—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 504

After long debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. J. Lowther:*)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

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Perpetual Leases Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Barclay, Mr. Howard, Dr. Farquharson*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 97] 565

Income Tax Administration Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Whitley, Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Edward Leatham*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 98] .. 565

Patents for Inventions (No. 3) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Brown, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Hinde Palmer*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 99] .. 565

[5.50.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

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Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Limerick Waterworks) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Privy Seal*); read 1ª, and *referred* to the Examiners (No. 3) 571

[5.0.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

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Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Sec. 31—Applications for Loans—Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney 575

India—Cooper's Hill College—Question, Mr. B. Samuelson; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 575

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE. [SIXTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [20th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February:]—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 597

After debate, *Moved*, "That Mr. O'Kelly be suspended from the service of the House,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*:)—Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 305, Noes 20; Majority 285.—(Div. List, No. 8.)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question" 629

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Parnell*:)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

Isle of Man (Harbours) Bill—

Considered in Committee 687

Moved, "That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to make further provision for taking dues for repairing and improving the Harbours in the Isle of Man,"—(*Mr. John Holms.*)

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 101.]

CANALS—

Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the condition and the position of the Canals and internal Navigation of the Country, to report thereupon, and to make such recommenadtions as may appear necessary,"—(*Mr. Salt.*)

PRINTING—

Select Committee *appointed* and *nominated*:—List of the Committee 688

Parliamentary Elections (Closing of Public Houses) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Carbutt, Mr. Arthur Pease, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Burt, Mr. O'Connor Power*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 102] 688

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County Courts Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Norwood, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Rowley Hill, Sir Eardley Wilmot*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 103] 689
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LORDS, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—RESOLUTIONS OF LAND CONFERENCE IN BELFAST—
Moved, "That Resolutions 2 and 3 be incorporated in an Act supplementary to the Land Act, 1881,"—(*The Lord Waveney*) 689
After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*. [6.15.]

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THE IRISH REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND ACT—REPAYMENT OF LOANS AND INSTALMENTS OF LOANS—IRREGULARITIES OF BOARD OF WORKS LOCAL AGENTS—Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Courtney 710

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CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—Question, Mr. Henry Tollemache; Answer, Mr. Mundella 711

SCIENCE AND ART—THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON TECHNICAL EDUCATION—THE REPORT—Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 711

THE CENSUS RETURNS (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND)—Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 711

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—MR. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON—Questions, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan.. 712

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FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—Questions, Mr. Blake, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, Mr. Courtney 714

THE MINISTRY—EXTRA PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES—SPEECH OF MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE AT LEEDS—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Courtney 715

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE. [SEVENTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [20th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February]:—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 716

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Raikes*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided*; Ayes 259, Noes 176; Majority 83.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 808

Main Question again proposed:—*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Biggar*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

CONSOLIDATED FUND [PERMANENT CHARGES REDEMPTION]—

Considered in Committee 812

Resolution *agreed to*; to be reported upon *Monday* next.

[1.0.]

LORDS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26.

PRIVATE BILLS—

Ordered, That this House will not receive any petition for a Private Bill after *Friday* the 9*th day of March* next, unless such Private Bill shall have been approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice; nor any petition for a Private Bill approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice after *Tuesday* the 8*th day of May* next:

That this House will not receive any report from the Judges upon petitions presented to this House for Private Bills after *Tuesday* the 8*th day of May* next:

Ordered, That the said orders be *printed* and *published*, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall. (No. 4.)

CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME — Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley, The Marquess of Salisbury; Reply, Earl Granville ,, 813

Representative Peers (Scotland) Bill—

Bill to regulate procedure at the elections of Representative Peers for Scotland; and for other purposes—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*) .. 815
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The Eddystone Lighthouse—Questions, The Earl of Hardwicke, The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe; Answers, Lord Sudeley 823
[5.30.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26.

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Kilmainham Prison (Release of Mr. Parnell, &c.)—Notice of Motion (Sir S. Northcote)—Notices, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Labouchere .. 826

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Spain—Slavery in Cuba—Question, Mr. A. Pease; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 826
Railways—Workmen's Tickets—Questions, Mr. Broadhurst, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain 827
Army—Veterinary Department—Position of Officers—Question, Mr. Greer; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 827
Local Self-Government (Ireland)—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 828
Law and Justice—Office of Public Prosecutor—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Attorney General 829
Africa (West Coast)—The Congo—Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 830
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The Irish Land Commission—The Sub-Commissioners—Mr. Peter Fitzpatrick—Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 832
Turkey in Asia—Jews in Palestine—Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 832
East India—Code of Criminal Procedure (Native Jurisdiction over British Subjects)—Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington.. 833
The Census Returns—Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 834
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India—Native States—Mysore—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 835
Navy—The Royal Marines—Question, Viscount Lewisham; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 836
Madagascar—Admiral Gore Jones's Report—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 837
Egypt—Prisons—Questions, Mr. Bourke, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 838

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The Comoro Islands—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 838

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Verdicts of Coroner's Juries—Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland .. 838

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Mr. Ferguson — Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 839

The Danube Commission—The Kilia Mouth—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 840

Customs Re-organization—The New Warehousing Scheme—Surveyors—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer.. 841

Law and Police—Murder in a Police Cell, North Shields—Question, Mr. Dawnay; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 842

Spain—Expulsion of certain Cuban Refugees from Gibraltar—Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 843

Ireland—English Policy — The "Echo" Newspaper—Questions, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answers, Sir William Harcourt; Observations, Mr. Passmore Edwards 843

Coolies (Indian) at La Reunion—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 845

Navy—The Egyptian War Medal—Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 845

The Extra Police Tax (Ireland)—Grean and Ballinaclough—Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 846

State of Ireland—The Assassinations—Magisterial Inquiry at Kilmainham—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 847

The Royal Irish Constabulary—Return showing the Establishment, Number, and Strength—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 847

Portugal—Mozambique Tariff, 1877—Question, Mr. Stevenson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 848

East India—Code of Criminal Procedure (Native Jurisdiction over British Subjects)—Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 848

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Provisions as to Labourers' Cottages—Minutes of the Commissioners—Question, Mr. Metge; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 849

Kilmainham Prison (Release of Mr. Parnell, &c.)—Notice of Motion (Sir S. Northcote)—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington; Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote .. 850

State of Ireland—The Assassinations—Interviews with James Carey, the Informer—Question, Mr. George Russell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 852

Scotland—The Skye Crofters—Questions, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Macfarlane, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 853

Post Office—Contracts—The Mails between London and Dublin—The Papers—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. 853

Crime (Ireland)—Alleged Posting of a Letter containing Dynamite to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 854

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—Adjourned Debate. [Eighth Night]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [15th February]—Main Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 854

Amendment proposed,

To insert, at the end of the 10th paragraph, after the word "Executive," the words:—"And humbly to assure Her Majesty that the manner in which the exceptional

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—*continued.*

legislation known as the Crimes Act has been and is exercised by the officials of the Crown in Ireland is tyrannical and unjust. That gross licence of oppression is granted to persons and classes bitterly hostile to the mass of the Irish people. That Constitutional agitation is despotically impeded and persecuted. That justice is administered in a most partial and prejudiced spirit, and that the confidence of the people in the application of the Law is destroyed by a system of jury packing which has already, in the opinion of the vast majority of the Irish people, led to many iniquitous sentences and the execution of innocent persons, while it is practically impossible to obtain justice or protection for the masses of the people from the present administrators of the Law. And that, unless the Irish Executive abandon unconstitutional and tyrannical courses, and depend upon the Constitutional administration of the ordinary Law, the result may be prejudicial in an extreme degree to the cause of peace and order in Ireland,"—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 15, Noes 133; Majority 118.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 934

Main Question again proposed:—*Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy:*)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 20, Noes 89; Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 11.)

Main Question again proposed:—*Moved,* "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question again proposed:—Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Consolidated Fund, &c. (Permanent Charges Redemption) Act (1873) Amendment Bill—Resolution [February 23] *reported,* and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 107] 943

MOTIONS.

—o—

Bills of Sale (Ireland) Act (1879) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Monk, Mr. Patrick Martin, Mr. Corry, Mr. Eugene Collins*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 105] 943

Police Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, The Lord Advocate*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 106] 944

Seed Advances (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Mackintosh*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 108] .. 944

[1.30.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure Bill—

Bill to regulate procedure at the elections of Representative Peers in Scotland; and for other purposes—*Presented* (*The Earl of Galloway*) .. 944

After short debate, Bill read 1ª (No. 6.) [5.30.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

Alloa, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy Railway Bill (by Order)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 954

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. E. Stanhope:*)—After further short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March, *Barry Dock and Railways Bill* (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 966
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Viscount Folkestone*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

Exeter, Teign Valley, and Chagford Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 967
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. J. W. Barclay*:)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

Hull and Lincoln Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Norwood*) .. 968
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

Oxford, Aylesbury, and Metropolitan Junction Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 971
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. J. R. Yorke*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

Seafield Dock and Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 971
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Viscount Folkestone*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

Windsor, Ascot, and Aldershot Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 971
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Viscount Folkestone*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—STANDING ORDERS—

Select Committee *nominated*:—List of the Committee 971

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEE OF SELECTION—

Standing Order No. 98 read, as followeth:—

"There shall be a Committee, to be designated 'The Committee of Selection,' to consist of the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders, who shall be *ex officio* Chairman thereof, and Five other Members, who shall be nominated at the commencement of every Session, of which Committee Three shall be a quorum" .. 972

Amendment proposed thereunto, to leave out the word "Five," in order to insert the word "Seven,"—(*Sir John Mowbray*,)—instead thereof.
Question proposed, "That the word 'Five' stand part of the said Standing Order:"—After long debate, Question put, and *negatived*.
Question proposed, "That the word 'Seven' be there inserted."
Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out the word "Seven," in order to insert the word "Ten,"—(*Mr. Rylands*,)—instead thereof.
Question proposed, "That the word 'Seven' be there inserted:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 213, Noes 54; Majority 159.—(Div. List, No. 12.)
Moved, "That Mr. Cubitt be one other Member of the Committee,"—(*Sir John Mowbray*) 1007
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.
Moved, "That Sir Charles Forster be one other Member of the Committee,"—(*Sir John Mowbray*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*.

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEE OF SELECTION—continued.

Moved, "That Mr. Mitchell Henry be one other Member of the Committee,"—(*Sir John Mowbray.*)

Amendment proposed, to leave out the name of "Mr. Mitchell Henry," in order to insert the name of "Mr. Justin M'Carthy,"—(*Mr. Parnell,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That 'Mr. Mitchell Henry' be one other Member of the Committee:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 157, Noes 22; Majority 135.—(Div. List, No. 13.)

Other Members nominated.

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS—SALISBURY ELECTION—

Judges' Certificate and Report received by Mr. Speaker; and ordered to be entered in the Journals of this House 1016

NOTICE.

KILMAINHAM PRISON (RELEASE OF MR. PARNELL, &C.) (SIR S. NORTHCOTE'S MOTION)—Notice of Question, Sir Stafford Northcote 1017

QUESTIONS.

EXTRAORDINARY TITHE—LEGISLATION—Questions, Mr. Inderwick; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 1017

OPIUM SMUGGLING (HONG KONG)—Question, Sir Joseph Pease; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1018

STATE OF IRELAND—ALLEGED INTIMIDATION—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1018

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—REGENT'S PARK—Question, Mr. Daniel Grant; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1019

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS—Question, Mr. Kennard; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1020

PARLIAMENT—ELECTION OF MR. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON FOR WESTMEATH—Questions, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1020

LIGHTHOUSES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—COMMUNICATION WITH THE EDDYSTONE LIGHTHOUSE—Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1022

SCOTLAND—THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1022

SUPPLY—THE ARMY AND NAVY ESTIMATES—Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1023

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS)—Questions, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1023

THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—THE NEW RULES OF LEGAL PROCEDURE—Question, Mr. J. Stewart; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1025

MOTION.

IRELAND—THE KILMAINHAM "NEGOTIATIONS"—

Moved, "That the Notices of Motions and the first six Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Motion for an Address to Her Majesty,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) 1025

After debate, Motion *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE. [NINTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [15th February]:—Main Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. 1038

Amendment proposed,

To insert, at the end of the 10th paragraph, after the word "Executive," the words:—"Humbly to assure Her Majesty, that the state of distress among the population of many parts of Ireland; the inadequate machinery of the Land Act, and its partial and imperfect character, especially with regard to leaseholders, the right of tenants to their improvements, the purchase system, and the condition of the agricultural labourers; the unsatisfactory operation of the Arrears Act; the state of the Law of Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises in Ireland; and the condition of Local Government in that Country, are all questions demanding the urgent attention of the Legislature and the Government; and that the absence of any undertaking to legislate on any of these questions, or on any question affecting the welfare of the Irish People, must tend to promote discontent and intensify disaffection in Ireland,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Molloy:*)—After further short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Patents for Inventions (No. 2) Bill [Bill 83]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir John Lubbock*) 1095

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* 6th March.

Patents for Inventions (No. 3) Bill [Bill 99]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Anderson*) .. 1096

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* 6th March. [1.0.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—ORDERS OF THE DAY—

Moved, "That the other Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Motion for an Address to Her Majesty, and further proceedings thereon,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) .. 1097

Motion *agreed to.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE. [TENTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [27th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February]:—Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—Debate *resumed* .. 1098

After long debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

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PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORDER OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—Ministerial Statement, The Marquess of Hartington 1148

Public Worship Regulation Act (1874) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Reid, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 109] .. 1149
[5.50.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 1.

Their Lordships met ;—And having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate— [House adjourned.] [4.30.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MARCH 1.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Thames Navigation Bill (*by Order*)—
Order for Second Reading read 1150
After short debate, Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

ARMY—THE ENNISKILLEN DRAGOONS—Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1152
ARMY—STAFF APPOINTMENTS—LIEUTENANT GENERAL GAGE, C.B.—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1153
ARABI PASHA—CONDITIONS OF DETENTION AT CEYLON—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1153
PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—BOW CEMETERY—Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1154
PRISONS (IRELAND)—MR. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON—Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1154
MERCANTILE MARINE—TRANSPORTS—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1155
THE SWISS REPUBLIC—THE SALVATION ARMY—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1156
METROPOLITAN AND METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAYS—Question, Sir Henry Peek; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1156
ARMY MEDICAL AND TRANSPORT DEPARTMENTS—REPORT OF DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1157
THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION—GRAVES OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS—Question, Sir Henry Wilmot; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1157
INDIA—BEHAR AND ASSAM—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1158
EGYPT—THE MOUKABALAH—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1159
EGYPT—FOREIGN AND EUROPEAN EMPLOYES—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1160
MERCANTILE MARINE—THE FOLKESTONE AND DOVER PACKETS—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1160
INDIA (MADRAS)—MEMBERS OF COUNCIL—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1161
SOUTH AFRICA—PONDOLAND—Question, Mr. Cropper; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1162

GOLD MINING COMPANIES (INDIA)—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1162

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1163

PATENTS AND TRADE MARKS—CONSOLIDATION OF THE LAW—Questions, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain .. 1163

EGYPT (INDIAN CONTINGENT)—EXPENSES—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1163

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND AND PONDOLAND—Questions, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1164

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEER UNIFORMS—Question, Earl Percy; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1164

EGYPT (INDIAN CONTINGENT)—EXPENSES—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1165

SPAIN—INTERNATIONAL LAW—SURRENDER OF CUBAN REFUGEES—GENERAL MACEO—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1165

EGYPT—EARL GRANVILLE'S CIRCULAR—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1166

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Raikes; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1166

EGYPT—THE EARL OF DUFFERIN'S LETTER—Questions, Mr. Bourke, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1167

THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE—THE KILIA MOUTH—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1170

EGYPT (INDIAN CONTINGENT)—EXPENSES—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1171

THE IRISH FAMINE OF 1847—PAYMENT OF THE DEBT RESULTING—Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1171

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—REFERENCE OF BILLS TO THE GRAND COMMITTEES—Question, Mr. Raikes; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1172

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—ADJOURNED DEBATE. [ELEVENTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [27th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February]:—Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—Debate *resumed* 1173

After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 32, Noes 163; Majority 131.—(Div. List, No. 14.)

Main Question again proposed 1223

After short debate, Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Committee *appointed*, to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution:—List of the Committee 1227

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH—REPORT—

Report of Address *brought up*, and read 1227

Moved, "That the said Address be now read a second time,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*:)—After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*;—Address to be presented by Privy Councillors, SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION (GRANT IN AID), 1882-3—

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £500,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, as a Grant in Aid of the Expenditure incurred by the Government of India upon the Expedition to Egypt,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) 1327
After debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE), 1882-3—

(2.) £728,000, for Additional Expenditure for Army Services, consequent on the despatch of an Expeditionary Force to Egypt.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1349

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next. [1.45.]

LORDS, MONDAY, MARCH 5.

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS)—Question, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answer, The Earl of Kimberley 1364

Braithwaite and Buttermere Railway Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Redesdale*) .. 1364
Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months,")—(*The Lord Mount-Temple.*)
After short debate, on Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 46, Not-Contents 11; Majority 35.
List of Contents and Not-Contents 1366
Resolved in the *Affirmative*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly.

NAVY—PAY OF NAVAL OFFICERS—Question, Observations, The Earl of Belmore; Reply, The Earl of Northbrook 1366

IRELAND—PEASANT PROPRIETARY—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that a Royal Commission may be appointed to report as to the most effective means of giving to a larger portion of the people of Ireland a permanent proprietary interest in the soil by purchase of their holdings,"—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) 1372
After debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.* [8.0.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, MARCH 5.

QUESTIONS.

ARMY (INDIA)—VETERINARY DEPARTMENT—GLANDERS IN CAVALRY REGIMENTS—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. 1408
NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND—Question, Mr. H. S. Northcote; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1409
POST OFFICE—AMERICAN MAIL SERVICE—Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1409
METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY—VENTILATING SHAFTS ON THE THAMES EMBANKMENT—Questions, Mr. Buxton, Lord Algernon Percy, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answers, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Mr. Chamberlain .. 1410
ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1411
NAVY—THE ROYAL YACHTS—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1412

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TRADE AND COMMERCE—COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN—Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1413
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CAVAN UNION—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Fawcett 1414
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACTS—GALMPTON SCHOOL—DISMISSAL OF A PUPIL—Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1415
ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ANTRIM ARTILLERY—MAJOR JOHNSTON—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1416
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—EXTRADITION OF P. J. SHERIDAN—Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1417
THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—JUSTICES OF BALLYMAHON—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1417
ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MARTINI-HENRY RIFLE—Question, Viscount Lewisham; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1418
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—OUTDOOR RELIEF—Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1418
LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—LOANS TO OCCUPIERS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1418
MUNICIPAL REFORM (METROPOLIS)—Question, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1419
NAVY—THE MEDITERRANEAN SQUADRON—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1420
NAVY—H.M.S. "NEPTUNE"—Question, Mr. Norwood; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1420
EGYPT—THE KOURBASH—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1421
EGYPT (RE-ORGANIZATION)—THE BUDGET AND CONTROL—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Question, Mr. O'Donnell; [No reply] 1423
IRELAND—EXTRA POLICE TAX IN KERRY—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1423
STATE OF IRELAND—INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE—MICHAEL BANICAN—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1424
IRISH CHURCH ACT, 1869—PURCHASERS—Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1425
LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—FAIR RENTS—APPLICATIONS—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1425
TURKEY—SERVIA—DETENTION OF PRISONERS—Question, Sir William M'Arthur; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1426
BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—THE BELFAST CENTRAL RAILWAY—Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1427
EGYPT—MURDER OF PROFESSOR PALMER AND PARTY—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1427
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—WICKLOW ASSIZES—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1428
WAYS AND MEANS—ESTIMATES OF REVENUE—Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1429
PORTUGAL—THE CONGO—Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1429
BOARD OF INLAND REVENUE—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1429
EAST INDIA (MADRAS)—TENURE OF LAND BY RELATIVES OF CIVIL SERVANTS—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. 1430
INLAND NAVIGATION (IRELAND)—THE RIVER FERGUS—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1431
IRISH AND SCOTCH MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL LABOUR—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1431
MAIN ROADS (SCOTLAND)—THE GRANT IN AID—Question, Lord Colin Campbell; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1432

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—REVENUE ACCOUNTS OF THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT—Questions, Mr. Molloy, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1432
MOROCCO—ILL-TREATMENT OF JEWESSES—Questions, Colonel Alexander, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1434
IRELAND—DISTRESS IN SLIGO—Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1434
CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME—Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1435
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—PARLIAMENTARY OATHS ACT (1866) AMENDMENT BILL—Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, Mr. Gladstone.. 1436
EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS)—Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1436
CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1437
PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BILLS —MEMORANDUM OF PURPOSES AND ENACTMENTS—Question, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answer, Mr. Speaker 1437

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

QUEEN'S SPEECH—HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS *reported* .. 1437

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION (SPECIAL REPORT)—THE CHAIRMAN'S PANEL .. 1438

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—NAVY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE), 1882-3—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £350,000, be granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the sums already granted by Parliament, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for additional Expenditure arising out of Military Operations in Egypt" 1438
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £274,000, be granted, &c.,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*) 1445
After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 19, Noes 156; Majority 137.—(Div. List, No. 16.)
Original Question again proposed 1469
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £345.000, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. O'Donnell*) 1476
After further debate, Question put, and *negatived.*
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
(2.) £17,500, Civil Charges of Expedition to Egypt.

TRANSVAAL, 1882-3.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £14,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Expenses connected with the Transvaal" 1509
After debate, *Moved,* "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross*:)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 96, Noes 128; Majority 32.—(Div. List, No. 17.)
Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES), 1882-3.

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £2,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens" 1536

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICES, &c. ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill* :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed:—After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) £5,200, Houses of Parliament 1538

Amendment proposed, "That the Vote be reduced by the sum of £340,"—(*Viscount Emlyn* :)—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn* :—Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £1,700, County Court Buildings.

(7.) £350, Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade.

(8.) £6,700, Rates on Government Property.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1541

(9.) £4,741, Shannon Navigation.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1542

(10.) £1,000, Royal University, Ireland, Buildings.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1544

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £2,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, including Rents and Furniture, and for the maintenance of certain Cemeteries abroad" 1545

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,500, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Rylands* :)—After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 59, Noes 92; Majority 33.—(Div. List, No. 18.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot* :)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(12.) £6,300, Foreign Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1552

(13.) £3,500, Board of Trade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1555

(14.) £2,053, Charity Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1557

(15.) £465, Civil Service Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1558

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot* :)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

Municipal Corporations (Unreformed) Bill [Bill 6]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) 1559

After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* 19th March.

Seed Advances (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill [Bill 108]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Dr. Cameron*) .. 1559

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross* :)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Public House Licensing Committees Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Barran, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Jackson*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 110] 1563

Clerical Disabilities (House of Commons) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Roundell, Mr. Lyon Playfair, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Thorold Rogers, Mr. Gregory*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 111] 1563

[2.0.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, MARCH 6.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—Question, Lord Brabourne; Answer, The Earl of Derby 1564

Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition Bill (No. 1)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a,"—(*The Earl Stanhope*) .. 1565

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months,")—(*The Lord Bramwell* :)—After debate, *Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition Bill*—continued.]

on Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 58, Not-Contents 20; Majority 38.

List of Cont. and Not-Cont. 1582

Resolved in the *Affirmative:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

LAND LAW (IRELAND)—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to continue the inquiry, commenced by the Select Committee of last Session, into the working of recent legislation in reference to land in Ireland and its effect upon the condition of the country,"—(*The Earl of Donoughmore*) 1583

After short debate, Motion *agreed to.*

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS (SCOTLAND) BILL—Question, Observations, The Earl of Galloway; Reply, The Lord Chancellor 1585

[7.0.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, MARCH 6.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Alloa, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 1587

Moved, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain:*)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Debate *further adjourned* till *Tuesday* next.

Barry Dock and Railways Bill (*by Order*)—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1598

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Exeter, Teign Valley, and Chagford Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1598

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Hull and Lincoln Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1598

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Creyke.*

Question proposed, "That the word "now" stand part of the Question:"—*Moved,* "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain:*)—Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn:*—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *further adjourned* till *Tuesday* next.

Oxford, Aylesbury, and Metropolitan Junction Railway Bill (*by Order*)—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1599
Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Seafield Dock and Railway Bill (*by Order*)—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1599
Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Windsor, Ascot, and Aldershot Railway Bill (*by Order*)—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1600
Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Midland, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Milford Junction Railway Bill (*by Order*)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 1600
After short debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Second Reading be deferred till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

SPAIN—INTERNATIONAL LAW—SURRENDER OF CUBAN REFUGEES—THE PAPERS—Observations, Sir R. Assheton Cross 1600

QUESTIONS.

—:o:—

POST OFFICE—CONTRACTS—THE MAIL SERVICE BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN—Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1601
FACSIMILES OF IRISH MANUSCRIPTS—Question, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1603
POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—Question, Mr. Kennard; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1604
NAVY—CASE OF WILLIAM BOWLES AND G. MUNDEN—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.. 1605
ARMY—ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY RAILWAY CORPS—Question, Viscount Newport; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1606
ARMY—VACCINATION OF RECRUITS—Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1606
EGYPT (INDIAN CONTINGENT)—EXPENSES—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1606
POOR LAW—VACCINATION OF PAUPER CHILDREN—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1607
UNITED STATES—THE NEW TARIFF—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1607
EGYPT—THE NEW EGYPTIAN INDEMNITY LOAN—Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1607
POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Fawcett 1608
CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME—Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1609

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—REPORTED MURDER OF LORD ARDILAUN'S BAILIFF—Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland 1609

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND NAVY ESTIMATES—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1610

ARMY RETURNS—Question, Colonel Alexander; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1610

ARMY ESTIMATES—THE MILITIA VOTE—Question, Earl Percy; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1610

SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL—Question, Lord Colin Campbell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1610

THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1611

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION—RESOLUTIONS—

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the system of Private Bill Legislation calls for the attention of Parliament, and of Her Majesty's Government, and requires reform,"—(*Mr. Craig Sellar*) 1611

After debate, Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House adheres to the Resolution upon Private Legislation, agreed to on the 22nd of March 1872,"—(*Mr. Dodson*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After further short debate, [House counted out] [8.30.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment Bill [Bill 13]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Anderson*) .. 1648

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "although the Legislature is willing and anxious to give further assistance in the suppression of Cruelty to Animals, this House cannot approve of a Bill which threatens seriously to interfere with recognised and legitimate sport,"—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 195, Noes 40; Majority 155.—(Div. List, No. 19.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* next.

Borough Franchise (Ireland) Bill [Bill 22]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dawson*) .. 1692

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is inexpedient, in the present unsettled condition of Ireland, to introduce any measure making large changes in the present Irish Parliamentary Franchise,"—(*Mr. Mulholland*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

County Court Judges Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hastings, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Hinde Palmer*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 112] 1706

Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Dodson, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Hibbert*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 113] 1706

[5.50.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 8.

Metropolitan District Railway—Ventilators on the Thames Embankment—Notice, The Earl of Milltown 1706

Navy—Dock Accommodation at Malta—Question, Viscount Sidmouth; Answer, The Earl of Northbrook 1707

Contempts of Court Bill—

Bill to amend the law as to Contempts of Court—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*) 1707

After short debate, Bill read 1ª (No. 15.)

South Africa—The Transvaal—Use of Dynamite by the Boers—Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, The Earl of Derby 1714

Medical Act Amendment Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Privy Seal*); read 1ª (No. 16) 1717

[5.30.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MARCH 8.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Bristol and London and South Western Junction Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 1717

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

Kingston-upon-Hull Docks Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 1719

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

Distribution of Parliamentary Papers—Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1720

Scotland—The Skye Crofters—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Lord Colin Campbell, Dr. Cameron; Answers, The Lord Advocate 1720

Army—The Armoured Train at Alexandria—Question, Earl Percy; Answer, Mr. Brand 1721

Church of England—Free and Appropriated Sittings in Churches—Alteration of a Parliamentary Paper—Question, Mr. A. Grey; Answer, Sir John R. Mowbray 1722

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East India—Code of Criminal Procedure (Native Jurisdiction over British Subjects)—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1723

Africa (West Coast)—Portugal and the Congo—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1724

Africa (West Coast)—The French Expedition to the Congo—Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1725

Egypt (Re-organization)—The Cadastral Survey—Question, Mr. Passmore Edwards; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1725

Poor Law (Ireland)—Workhouses in Donegal—Question, Mr. Shaw; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1726

Poor Law—Deportation of Paupers—Question, Mr. Shaw; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1726

Chelsea Hospital—The Departmental Committee—Question, Colonel Milne Home; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter 1727

Parliament—Privilege—Interference of a Peer in Elections—Lord Carrington—Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, The Attorney General 1727

Excise—Brewing Licences—Question, Mr. Biddell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1729

Inland Revenue—English and Scotch Income Tax—Question, Mr. Biddell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1729

Prisons (Ireland)—Mullingar Gaol—Pollution of the Brosna—Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1730

Navy—The Royal Marines—Question, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1730

Spain—International Law—Surrender of Cuban Refugees—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1730

Metropolitan Improvements—Old Temple Bar—Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1731

Poor Law (Ireland)—The Loughrea Board of Guardians—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1731

Law and Police (Ireland)—Terence Grealish—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1732

Parliamentary Elections—The Mid Cheshire Election—Questions, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Lord Claud Hamilton, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, The Attorney General 1733

Spain—The Steamship "Tangier"—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1736

Spain—International Law—The "Leon XIII."—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1736

Egypt—Arabi Pasha—Conditions of Detention at Ceylon—Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1737

The Bankruptcy Bill—Memorandum of Amendments—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1737

Army (The Auxiliary Forces)—Irish Volunteers—Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1738

Scotland — Disturbances at Fraserburgh — Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1739

South Africa—The Territorial Authority of the Cape Government—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. 1740

Ireland—Report of the Public Works Commissioners—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1740

Egypt (Indian Contingent)—Expenses—The Correspondence—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1741

Army—Promotion of Subalterns—Question, Mr. Greer; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1741

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LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF MR. M'PHILPIN—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1742

DRAINAGE OF RIVERS (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BARROW—Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Dawson; Answers, Mr. Courtney .. 1743

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ILL-TREATMENT BY THE POLICE—MICHAEL BANICAN—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1743

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT)—Question, Mr. Kennard; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1744

SCOTLAND—THE PROCURATOR FISCAL OF FRASERBURGH—Questions, Dr. Cameron; Answers, The Lord Advocate 1745

POLICE PROTECTION (IRELAND)—THE EARL OF KENMARE'S KERRY ESTATE —Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1746

JUDICATURE AMENDMENT ACT, 1875—THE JUDGES' RULES—JURISDICTION OF ENGLISH HIGH COURTS OVER DOMICILED SCOTCHMEN—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1747

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY—VENTILATING SHAFTS ON THE THAMES EMBANKMENT—Questions, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Puleston; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain 1747

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS IN COUNTY KERRY—Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1748

INDIA—HYDERABAD—THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY—Question, Mr. M'Lagan; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1749

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—TRAINING COLLEGES—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1750

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—ST. JAMES'S PARK—Question, Mr. Montague Guest; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1750

STATE OF IRELAND—APPREHENDED DISTRESS—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1750

ARMY—THE COMMITTEE ON ARMY DRESS—Question, Colonel Barne; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1751

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS—THE EMPLOYMENT OF PENSIONERS—Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1751

WEST INDIES (JAMAICA)—THE SEIZURE OF THE "FLORENCE"—Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Baron Henry De Worms; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1752

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—PURCHASE OF A BUILDING AT PORT SAID—Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1753

EGYPT—THE NEW INDEMNITY LOAN—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1754

THE SEEDS ACT—SUPPLY OF SEEDS, IRELAND—Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1754

KILMAINHAM PRISON (RELEASE OF MR. PARNELL, &C.)—NOTICE OF MOTION (SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE)—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1754

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Heneage; Answer, Mr. Gladstone.. 1755

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1756

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL —Question, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answer, Mr. Gladstone.. .. 1757

VACCINATION ACTS—CASE OF MR. ARMFIELD—Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1757

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SITTINGS IN SUPPLY—Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1758

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—THE EASTER HOLIDAYS—Question, Mr. Montague Guest; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1759

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1882-3)—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £500, Friendly Societies Registry.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1759

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £20,280, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Stationery, Printing, and Paper, Binding, and Printed Books for the several Departments of Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and some Dependencies, and for the two Houses of Parliament, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishment of the Stationery Office, and the cost of Stationery Office Publications, and of the Gazette Offices; and for sundry Miscellaneous Services, including a Grant in Aid of the publication of Parliamentary Debates" .. 1759

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £19,780, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Buxton*:)—After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1779

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £15,280, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 50, Noes 118; Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 20.)

Original Question again proposed 1783

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £1,100, Works and Public Buildings Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1784

(4.) £627, Fishery Board, Scotland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1786

(5.) £18, Lord Lieutenant's Household, Ireland.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £2,750, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments" .. 1803

After long debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £750, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*) .. 1844

After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 15, Noes 156; Majority 141.—(Div. List, No. 21.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(7.) £142, Record Office, Ireland.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(8.) £1,700, Wreck Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to.* .. 1851

(9.) £210, Revising Barristers, England.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £40,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83" 1852

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10,000, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor*:)—After debate, *Moved,* "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Parnell*:)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 17, Noes 97; Majority 80.—(Div. List, No. 22.)

Original Question again proposed 1869

After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Isle of Man (Harbours) Bill [Bill 101]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. J. Holms*) .. 1879

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

Borough Franchise (Ireland) Bill [Bill 22]—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment to Second Reading [7th March] 1879
After short debate, Adjourned Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 114] 1880
[2.15.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, MARCH 9.

Malta (Constitution and Administration)—Motion for an Address—
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further papers and correspondence respecting the constitution and administration of Malta,"—(*The Earl De La Warr*) 1881
After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Africa (West Coast) (The River Congo)—Question, Observations, Lord Mount-Temple; Reply, Earl Granville 1889

Land Law (Ireland)—Nomination of Select Committee—
Moved, "That the Select Committee on the Land Law (Ireland) Act be re-appointed,"—(*The Earl of Donoughmore:*)—Motion *agreed to:*—List of the Committee 1893

The Charity Commissioners—Scheme for St. Dunstan's-in-the East—Question, The Earl of Redesdale; Answer, Lord Carlingford .. 1893

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Privy Seal*); read 1ª (No. 17) 1894
[5.30.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 9.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Private Bills (Referees)—Rules for the Practice and Procedure of the Referees on Private Bills 1895

QUESTIONS.

Public Health (Ireland)—Wakes—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1896
Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Messrs. O'Brien, Gilhooly, and Hodnett—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1896
Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Mr. T. Harrington—Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Sexton; [No reply] 1897
Parliament—Privilege—Mr. Healy, M.P.—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1898
rade and Commerce—Oversizing of Cotton Cloth—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1899
and Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Sub-Commissions—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1899

[*March* 9.]

Page

THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE—EXCLUSIVE RIGHT OF RUSSIA OVER THE KILIA MOUTH—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1900

SCOTLAND—THE CROFTERS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 1901

SCOTLAND—DESTITUTION IN THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS—THE SEEDS ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL—Questions, Mr. D. Cameron; Answers, The Lord Advocate 1902

DOMINION OF CANADA—DETENTION OF THE "ATALAYA"—Question, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1902

STATE OF IRELAND—DISTRESS IN THE WEST AND NORTH-WEST—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1903

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—PARLIAMENTARY OATHS ACT (1866) AMENDMENT BILL—Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 1903

SOUTH AFRICA (THE TRANSVAAL)—CRUELTIES OF THE BOERS—Questions, Lord Eustace Cecil, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1904

SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL—Notice of Question, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Question, Sir Joseph W. Pease; Answer, Mr. Speaker 1907

SALE OF POISONS — LEGISLATION—PATENT MEDICINES — Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1908

THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE—THE KILIA MOUTH—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1908

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. J. Lowther, Lord Randolph Churchill, Colonel Makins, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Gorst, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone.. 1908

EGYPT—THE EARL OF DUFFERIN'S DESPATCH—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1910

INDIA—DEATH OF SIR SALAR JUNG—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1910

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

FACTORY AND EDUCATION ACTS (SCOTLAND)—RESOLUTION—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the want of harmony which practically exists between the Factory and Education Acts in Scotland be remedied by legislation at the earliest opportunity,"—(*Mr. Cochran-Patrick*,)—instead thereof 1910

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

LAW AND JUSTICE—DORMANT FUNDS IN CHANCERY—Observations, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Reply, The Attorney General:—Short debate thereon 1935

THE BRITISH COLONIES—GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION—Question, Observations, Mr. R. N. Fowler 1938

WEST INDIES (JAMAICA)—SEIZURE OF THE "FLORENCE"—Observations, Mr. Gorst; Reply, Mr. Evelyn Ashley:—Debate thereon .. 1939

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1882-3).

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) Question again proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £40,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

Whereupon Question again proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10,000, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor*) 1967

After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 14, Noes 115; Majority 101.—(Div. List, No. 23.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £45,032, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission" 2006

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Parnell*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(2.) £42,122, Public Education.
(3.) £2,050, British Museum.
(4.) £130, London University.
(5.) £600, Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).
(6.) £63, Sydney and Melbourne International Exhibitions.

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £31,312, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad" .. 2008

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £30,992, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 18, Noes 59; Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 24.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(8.) £1,750, Consular Services.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 2018
(9.) £1,182, Suppression of the Slave Trade.
(10.) £3,500, Colonies, Grants in Aid.
(11.) £6,600, Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(12.) £4,500, Superannuations and Retired Allowances.

(13.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £4,060, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, to enable the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to commute, under the provisions of the Act 36 and 37 Vic. c. 57, or otherwise, certain Annuities charged on the Exchequer" 2018

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £112, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 9, Noes 53; Majority 44.—(Div. List, No. 25.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(14.) £500, Temporary Commissions.

(15.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £450, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for certain Miscellaneous Expenses" 2020

Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 42, Noes 17; Majority 25.—(Div. List, No. 26.)

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

(16.) £17,000, Customs Department.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 2023
(17.) £11,000, Inland Revenue.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICES, &c. ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

(18.) £14,000, Post Office Packet Service.
(19.) £87,000, Post Office Telegraphs.

CIVIL SERVICE EXCESSES, 1881-2.

(20.) *Resolved,* That a sum, not exceeding £3,706 7*s.* 2*d.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses on certain Grants for Civil Services, for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1882. [Then the several Services are set forth.]

ARMY EXCESSES, 1881-2.

(21.) *Resolved,* That a sum, not exceeding £44,197 2*s.* 6*d.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses of Army Expenditure beyond the Grants for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1882.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [March 8] *reported* 2024
Resolution 1 *agreed to.*
Resolution 2 :—After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*
Resolution 3 *agreed to.*
Resolution 4 :—After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*
Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

Borough Franchise (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Dawson, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Lalor, Mr. Kenny*) ; *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 115] 2026

[3.45.]

LORDS.

SAT FIRST

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

The Lord Keane, after the death of his brother.

FRIDAY, MARCH 2.

The Lord Minster (the Marquess of Conyngham), after the death of his father.

NEW PEERS.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR—The Earl Granville, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, acquainted the House that Her Majesty had been pleased to create Roundell, Lord Selborne, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, a Viscount and Earl of the United Kingdom, by the style and title of Viscount Wolmer of Blackmoor, in the county of Southampton, and Earl of Selborne in the said county.

Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., General and Adjutant-General of Her Majesty's Forces, and late General Commanding-in-Chief the Expeditionary Force in Egypt, created Baron Wolseley of Cairo, and of Wolseley in the county of Stafford.

COMMONS.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

DURING RECESS—

For *Chelsea Borough*, *v.* Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, baronet, President of the Local Government Board.

For *Haddington County*, *v.* Hon. Francis Charteris, commonly called Lord Elcho, called up to the House of Peers.

For *Mallow Borough*, *v.* Right Hon. William Moore Johnson, one of the Judges of the High Court of Justice in Ireland.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

For *the County of Dublin*, *v.* Right Hon. Thomas Edward Taylor, deceased.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

For *Newcastle upon Tyne*, *v.* Ashton Wentworth Dilke, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

For *Westmeath County*, *v.* Hugh Joseph Gill, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

For *Portarlington*, *v.* Hon. Bernard Edward Barnaby Fitzpatrick, *now* Lord Castleton, called up to the House of Peers.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1.

For *Wycombe Borough*, *v.* Lieutenant Colonel William Henry Peregrine Carington, commonly called the Hon. William Henry Peregrine Carington, Manor of Northstead.

For *Chester County* (Mid Division), *v.* Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, called up to the House of Peers.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7.

For *the County of Tipperary*, *v.* John Dillon, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

Chelsea—Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, baronet.

Wigan—Hon. Algernon Fulke Egerton.

Liverpool—Samuel Smith, esquire.

Haddington—Lord Elcho.

Mallow—William O'Brien, esquire.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

City of Newcastle upon Tyne—John Morley, esquire.

THURSDAY, MARCH 1.

County of Dublin—Edward Robert King-Harman, esquire.

MONDAY, MARCH 5.

Borough of Portarlington—Robert Abraham Brewster French-Brewster, esquire.

THE MINISTRY

Of the Right Honourable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,
At the Commencement of the Fourth Session of the 22nd Parliament,
February 15th, 1883.

THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury	Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. Earl of Selborne.
Lord President of the Council and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G.
Lord Privy Seal	Right Hon. Lord Carlingford.
Secretary of State, Home Department	Right Hon. Sir William V. Harcourt.
Secretary of State, Foreign Department	Right Hon. Earl Granville, K.G.
Secretary of State for the Colonies	Right Hon. Earl of Derby.
Secretary of State for India	Right Hon. Earl of Kimberley.
Secretary of State for War	Right Hon. Marquess of Hartington.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Right Hon. Earl of Northbrook.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Right Hon. John G. Dodson.
President of the Board of Trade	Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.
President of the Local Government Board	Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke. Bt.

NOT IN THE CABINET.

Postmaster General	Right Hon. Henry Fawcett.
Field Marshal Commanding in Chief	H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.
Chief Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings	Right Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre.
Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education	Right Hon. A. J. Mundella.
Lords of the Treasury	C. C. Cotes, Esq. Herbert Gladstone, Esq. R. W. Duff, Esq.
Lords of the Admiralty	Admiral Sir Astley Cooper Key, Admiral Lord Alcester, Rear Admiral Thomas Brandreth, Rear Admiral Sir F. W. Richards, Sir Thomas Brassey, and George W. Rendel, Esq.
Joint Secretaries of the Treasury	Leonard H. Courtney, Esq. Right Hon. Lord R. Grosvenor.
Secretary of the Admiralty	H. Campbell-Bannerman, Esq.
Secretary to the Board of Trade	John Holms, Esq.
Secretary to the Local Government Board	John Tomlinson Hibbert, Esq.
Under Secretary, Home Department	Right Hon. Earl of Rosebery.
Under Secretary, Foreign Department	Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.
Under Secretary for Colonies	Hon. A. Evelyn Ashley.
Under Secretary for War	Earl of Morley.
Under Secretary for India	J. Kynaston Cross, Esq.
Paymaster General	Right Hon. Lord Wolverton.
Judge Advocate	Right Hon. George Osborne Morgan.
Attorney General	Sir Henry James.
Solicitor General	Sir Farrer Herschell.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate	Right Hon. J. B. Balfour.
Solicitor General	A. Asher, Esq.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. Hugh Law.
Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. George Otto Trevelyan.
Attorney General	Right Hon. A. M. Porter.
Solicitor General	John Naish, Esq.

QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

Lord Steward	Right Hon Earl Sydney.
Lord Chamberlain	Right Hon. Earl of Kenmare.
Master of the Horse	His Grace the Duke of Westminster.
Treasurer of the Household	Right Hon. Earl of Breadalbane.
Comptroller of the Household	Right Hon. Lord Kensington.
Vice Chamberlain of the Household	Right Hon. Lord Charles Bruce.
Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms	Right Hon. Lord Carington.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard	Right Hon. Lord Monson.
Master of the Buckhounds	Right Hon. Earl of Cork and Orrery.
Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal	Lord Alfred H. Paget.
Mistress of the Robes	Her Grace the Duchess of Roxburghe.

ROLL OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

In the Fourth Session of the Twenty-Second Parliament of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

46° VICTORIÆ 1883.

Mem.—*According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.*

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.
His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert Duke of Edinburgh.
His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn.
His Royal Highness Leopold George Duncan Albert Duke of Albany.
His Royal Highness George William Frederick Charles Duke of Cambridge.
———— Archbishop of Canterbury.
Roundell Earl of Selborne, *Lord High Chancellor*.
William Archbishop of York.
John Poyntz Earl Spencer, *Lord President of the Council.*
Chichester Samuel Lord Carlingford, *Lord Privy Seal.*

Henry Duke of Norfolk, *Earl Marshal of England.*
Edward Adolphus Duke of Somerset.
Charles Henry Duke of Richmond.
Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of Grafton.
Henry Charles Fitzroy Duke of Beaufort.
William Amelius Aubrey de Vere Duke of Saint Albans.
George Godolphin Duke of Leeds.
Francis Charles Hastings Duke of Bedford.
William Duke of Devonshire.
John Winston Duke of Marlborough.
Charles Cecil John Duke of Rutland.
William Alexander Louis Stephen Duke of Brandon. (*Duke of Hamilton.*)
William John Arthur Charles James Duke of Portland.
William Drogo Duke of Manchester.
Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of Newcastle.
Algernon George Duke of Northumberland.
His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale.
Arthur Richard Duke of Wellington.
Richard Plantagenet Campbell Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.
George Granville William Duke of Sutherland.
Harry George Duke of Cleveland.
Hugh Lupus Duke of Westminster.

John Marquess of Winchester.
Henry Charles Keith Marquess of Lansdowne.
John Villiers Stuart Marquess Townshend.
Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of Salisbury.
John Alexander Marquess of Bath.
James Marquess of Abercorn. (*Duke of Abercorn.*)
Francis Hugh George Marquess of Hertford.
John Patrick Marquess of Bute.
William Alleyne Marquess of Exeter.
William Marquess of Northampton.
John Charles Marquess Camden.
Henry Marquess of Anglesey.
William Henry Hugh Marquess of Cholmondeley.
Ernest Augustus Charles Marquess of Ailesbury.

Frederick William John Marquess of Bristol.

Archibald Marquess of Ailsa.

George Augustus Constantine Marquess of Normanby.

George Frederick Samuel Marquess of Ripon.

William Marquess of Abergavenny.

John Robert Earl Sydney, *Lord Steward of the Household.*

Charles Henry John Earl of Shrewsbury.

Edward Henry Earl of Derby.

Francis Power Plantagenet Earl of Huntingdon.

George Robert Charles Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

William Reginald Earl of Devon.

Henry Charles Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.

Rudolph William Basil Earl of Denbigh.

Francis William Henry Earl of Westmorland.

Montague Earl of Lindsey.

———— Earl of Stamford.

George James Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.

George Philip Earl of Chesterfield.

John William Earl of Sandwich.

Arthur Algernon Earl of Essex.

William George Earl of Carlisle.

Walter Francis Earl of Doncaster. (*Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)

Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury.

———— Earl of Berkeley.

Montagu Earl of Abingdon.

Richard George Earl of Scarbrough.

George Thomas Earl of Albemarle.

George William Earl of Coventry.

Victor Albert George Earl of Jersey.

William Henry Earl Poulett.

Sholto John Earl of Morton. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Walter Henry Earl of Mar and Kellie. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Claude Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

George Earl of Haddington. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Alexander Earl of Leven and Melville. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Dunbar James Earl of Selkirk. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Thomas Barnes Earl of Dundonald. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Sewallis Edward Earl Ferrers.

William Walter Earl of Dartmouth.

Charles Earl of Tankerville.

Heneage Earl of Aylesford.

Francis Thomas De Grey Earl Cowper.

Arthur Philip Earl Stanhope.

Thomas Augustus Wolstenholme Earl of Macclesfield.

Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl Graham. (*Duke of Montrose.*)

William Frederick Earl Waldegrave.

Bertram Earl of Ashburnham.

Charles Augustus Earl of Harrington.

Isaac Newton Earl of Portsmouth.

George Guy Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick.

Augustus Edward Earl of Buckinghamshire.

William Thomas Spencer Earl Fitzwilliam.

Dudley Francis Earl of Guilford.

Charles Philip Earl of Hardwicke.

Henry Edward Earl of Ilchester.

Reginald Windsor Earl De La Warr.

Jacob Earl of Radnor.

John Poyntz Earl Spencer. (*In another Place as Lord President of the Council.*)

Allen Alexander Earl Bathurst.

Arthur Wills John Wellington Blundell Trumbull Earl of Hillsborough. (*Marquess of Downshire.*)

Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon.

William David Earl of Mansfield.

John James Hugh Henry Earl Strange. (*Duke of Atholl.*)

William Henry Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

Hugh Earl Fortescue.

Henry Howard Molyneux Earl of Carnarvon.

George Henry Earl Cadogan.

James Howard Earl of Malmesbury.

John Vansittart Danvers Earl of Lanesborough. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

Edward Nugent Earl of Milltown. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

Stephen Earl of Mount Cashell. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

Henry John Reuben Earl of Portarlington. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Hugh Earl Annesley. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Earl of Erne. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Henry Reginald Earl of Clonmell. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
George Charles Earl of Lucan. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Somerset Richard Earl of Belmore. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
James Francis Earl of Bandon. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
James Earl of Caledon. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Francis Robert Earl of Rosslyn.
George Grimston Earl of Craven.
William Hillier Earl of Onslow.
Charles Earl of Romney.
Henry Thomas Earl of Chichester.
Arthur Edward Holland Grey Earl of Wilton.
Edward James Earl of Powis.
Horatio Earl Nelson.
Lawrence Earl of Rosse. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Sydney William Herbert Earl Manvers.
Horatio Earl of Orford.
Henry Earl Grey.
Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale.
Dudley Francis Stuart Earl of Harrowby.
Henry Thynne Earl of Harewood.
William Hugh Earl of Minto.
Alan Frederick Earl Cathcart.
James Walter Earl of Verulam.
Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl Brownlow.
Henry Cornwallis Earl of Saint Germans.
Albert Edmund Earl of Morley.
Orlando George Charles Earl of Bradford.
Frederick Earl Beauchamp.
William Henry Hare Earl of Bantry. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Earl of Eldon.
Richard William Penn Earl Howe.
Charles Somers Earl Somers.
John Edward Cornwallis Earl of Stradbroke.
Francis Charles Earl of Kilmorey. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
George Henry Robert Charles William Earl Vane. (*Marquess of Londonderry.*)
William Pitt Earl Amherst.
John Frederick Vaughan Earl Cawdor.
William George Earl of Munster.
Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of Camperdown.
Thomas George Earl of Lichfield.
John George Earl of Durham.
Granville George Earl Granville.
Henry Earl of Effingham.
Henry John Earl of Ducie.
Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough.
James Henry Robert Earl Innes. (*Duke of Roxburghe.*)
Thomas William Earl of Leicester.
William Earl of Lovelace.
Lawrence Earl of Zetland.
Charles William Francis Earl of Gainsborough.
Francis Charles Granville Earl of Ellesmere.
George Stevens Earl of Strafford.
Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of Cottenham.
Henry Richard Charles Earl Cowley.
Archibald William Earl of Winton. (*Earl of Eglintoun.*)
William Earl of Dudley.
John Francis Stanley Earl Russell.
John Earl of Kimberley.
Richard Earl of Dartrey.
William Ernest Earl of Feversham.
Frederick Temple Earl of Dufferin.
John Robert Earl Sydney. (*In another Place as Lord Steward of the Household.*)
Henry George Earl of Ravensworth.
Edward Montagu Stuart Granville Earl of Wharncliffe.
Thomas George Earl of Northbrook.
John Thomas Earl of Redesdale.
Hugh Mac Calmont Earl Cairns.
Edward Robert Lytton Earl of Lytton.
Edward Earl of Lathom.
George Watson Earl Sondes.
Roundell Earl of Selborne. (*In another Place as Lord High Chancellor.*)

Robert Viscount Hereford.
William Henry Viscount Strathallan. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Henry Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John.
Evelyn Viscount Falmouth.
George Viscount Torrington.
Charles William Viscount Leinster. (*Duke of Leinster.*)
Francis Wheler Viscount Hood.
Mervyn Viscount Powerscourt. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

JAMES Viscount LIFFORD. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

HAYES Viscount DONERAILE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

CORNWALLIS Viscount HAWARDEN. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

JOHN EDWARD LEVESON Viscount ST. VINCENT.

ROBERT Viscount MELVILLE.

WILLIAM WELLS Viscount SIDMOUTH.

GEORGE FREDERICK Viscount TEMPLETOWN. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

JOHN CAMPBELL Viscount GORDON. (*Earl of Aberdeen.*)

EDWARD FLEETWOOD JOHN Viscount EXMOUTH.

JOHN LUKE GEORGE Viscount HUTCHINSON. (*Earl of Donoughmore.*)

RICHARD SOMERSET Viscount CLANCARTY. (*Earl of Clancarty.*)

WELLINGTON HENRY Viscount COMBERMERE.

HENRY CHARLES Viscount CANTERBURY.

ROWLAND CLEGG Viscount HILL.

CHARLES STEWART Viscount HARDINGE.

GEORGE STEPHENS Viscount GOUGH.

CHARLES Viscount EVERSLEY.

CHARLES Viscount HALIFAX.

ALEXANDER NELSON Viscount BRIDPORT.

EDWARD BERKELEY Viscount PORTMAN.

EDWARD Viscount CARDWELL.

GATHORNE Viscount CRANBROOK.

ROBERT Viscount SHERBROOKE.

RICHARD BICKERTON PEMELL Viscount LYONS.

JOHN Bishop of LONDON.

JOSEPH BARBER Bishop of DURHAM.

EDWARD HAROLD Bishop of WINCHESTER.

ROBERT Bishop of RIPON.

JOHN THOMAS Bishop of NORWICH.

JAMES COLQUHOUN Bishop of BANGOR.

HENRY Bishop of WORCESTER.

CHARLES JOHN Bishop of GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

WILLIAM Bishop of CHESTER.

THOMAS LEGH Bishop of ST. ALBANS.

JAMES Bishop of HEREFORD.

WILLIAM CONNOR Bishop of PETERBOROUGH.

CHRISTOPHER Bishop of LINCOLN.

GEORGE Bishop of SALISBURY.

HARVEY Bishop of CARLISLE.

FREDERICK Bishop of EXETER.

ARTHUR CHARLES Bishop of BATH AND WELLS.

JOHN FIELDER Bishop of OXFORD.

JAMES Bishop of MANCHESTER.

RICHARD Bishop of CHICHESTER.

JOSHUA Bishop of ST. ASAPH.

JAMES RUSSELL Bishop of ELY.

WILLIAM BASIL Bishop of ST. DAVID'S.

VALENTINE AUGUSTUS Lord KENMARE. (*Earl of Kenmare*), *Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*

DUDLEY CHARLES Lord DE ROS.

ALFRED JOSEPH Lord MOWBRAY.

GEORGE MANNERS Lord HASTINGS.

EDWARD SOUTHWELL Lord DE CLIFFORD.

THOMAS CROSBY WILLIAM Lord DACRE.

CHARLES HENRY ROLLE Lord CLINTON.

ROBERT NATHANIEL CECIL GEORGE Lord ZOUCHE OF HARYNGWORTH.

CHARLES EDWARD HASTINGS Lord BOTREAUX. (*Earl of Loudoun.*)

FRANCIS ROBERT Lord CAMOYS.

HENRY Lord BEAUMONT.

HENRY Lord WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

SACKVILLE GEORGE Lord CONYERS.

HUBERT GEORGE CHARLES Lord VAUX OF HARROWDEN.

RALPH GORDON Lord WENTWORTH.

ALFRED THOMAS TOWNSHEND Lord BRAYE.

ROBERT GEORGE Lord WINDSOR.

ST. ANDREW Lord ST. JOHN OF BLETSO.

FREDERICK GEORGE Lord HOWARD DE WALDEN.

WILLIAM BERNARD Lord PETRE.

FREDERICK BENJAMIN Lord SAYE AND SELE.

JOHN FRANCIS Lord ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

JOHN STUART Lord CLIFTON. (*Earl of Darnley.*)

JOHN BAPTIST JOSEPH Lord DORMER.

GEORGE HENRY Lord TEYNHAM.

HENRY VALENTINE Lord STAFFORD.

GEORGE FREDERICK WILLIAM Lord BYRON.

LEWIS HENRY HUGH Lord CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH.

WILLIAM COUTTS Lord ASHFORD.

HORACE COURTENAY Lord FORBES. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

ALEXANDER Lord SALTOUN. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

WILLIAM BULLER FULLERTON Lord ELPHINSTONE. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

CUNNINGHAME Lord BORTHWICK. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

CHARLES Lord BLANTYRE. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

Charles John Lord Colville of Culross. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Alexander Hugh Lord Balfour of Burley. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Walter Hugh Lord Polwarth. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Richard Edmund Saint Lawrence Lord Boyle. (*Earl of Cork and Orrery.*)
George Lord Hay. (*Earl of Kinnoul.*)
Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord Middleton.
William John Lord Monson.
Frederick George Brabazon Lord Ponsonby. (*Earl of Bessborough.*)
Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord Scarsdale.
George Florance Lord Boston.
Charles George Lord Lovel and Holland. (*Earl of Egmont.*)
Augustus Henry Lord Vernon.
Edward St. Vincent Lord Digby.
George Douglas Lord Sundridge. (*Duke of Argyll.*)
Edward Henry Julius Lord Hawke.
Henry Thomas Lord Foley.
Arthur de Cardonnel Lord Dinevor.
Thomas Lord Walsingham.
William Lord Bagot.
Charles Henry Lord Southampton.
John Richard Brinsley Lord Grantley.
George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord Rodney.
Richard Henry Lord Berwick.
James Henry Legge Lord Sherborne.
John Henry De La Poer Lord Tyrone. (*Marquess of Waterford.*)
Henry Bentinck Lord Carleton. (*Earl of Shannon.*)
Charles Lord Suffield.
Dudley Wilmot Lord Dorchester.
Lloyd Lord Kenyon.
Charles Cornwallis Lord Braybrooke.
William Archer Lord Amherst.
George Hamilton Lord Fisherwick. (*Marquess of Donegal.*)
Henry Charles Lord Gage. (*Viscount Gage.*)
Thomas John Lord Thurlow.
William George Lord Auckland.
Charles George Lord Lyttelton.
Henry George Lord Mendip. (*Viscount Clifden.*)
George Lord Stuart of Castle Stuart. (*Earl of Moray.*)
Alan Plantagenet Lord Stewart of Garlies. (*Earl of Galloway.*)
James George Henry Lord Saltersford. (*Earl of Courtown.*)
William Lord Brodrick. (*Viscount Midleton.*)
Frederick Henry William Lord Calthorpe.
Peter Robert Lord Gwydir.
Charles Robert Lord Carrington.
William Henry Lord Bolton.
George Lord Northwick.
Thomas Lyttleton Lord Lilford.
Thomas Lord Ribblesdale.
Edward Lord Dunsany. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Edward Donough Lord Inchiquin. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Thomas William Lord Massy. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Robert Lord Clonbrock. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Edward Henry Churchill Lord Crofton. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Dayrolles Blakeney Lord Ventry. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Henry Francis Seymour Lord Moore. (*Marquess of Drogheda.*)
John Henry Wellington Graham Lord Loftus. (*Marquess of Ely.*)
William Lord Carysfort. (*Earl of Carysfort.*)
George Ralph Lord Abercromby.
Charles Edmund Lord Ellenborough.
Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord Sandys
Henry North Lord Sheffield. (*Earl of Sheffield.*)
William Macnaghten Lord Erskine.
George John Lord Monteagle. (*Marquess of Sligo.*)
George Arthur Hastings Lord Granard. (*Earl of Granard.*)
Hungerford Lord Crewe.
Alan Legge Lord Gardner.
John Thomas Lord Manners.
John Adrian Louis Lord Hopetoun. (*Earl of Hopetoun.*)
Richard Lord Castlemaine. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Charles Lord Meldrum. (*Marquess of Huntly.*)
George Frederick Lord Ross. (*Earl of Glasgow.*)
William Willoughby Lord Grinstead. (*Earl of Enniskillen.*)
William Hale John Charles Lord Foxford. (*Earl of Limerick.*)
Francis George Lord Churchill.
George Robert Canning Lord Harris.
Reginald Charles Edward Lord Colchester.
Schomberg Henry Lord Ker. (*Marquess of Lothian.*)

Henry Francis Lord Minster. (*Marquess Conyngham.*)
James Edward William Theobald Lord Ormonde. (*Marquess of Ormonde.*)
Francis Richard Lord Wemyss. (*Earl of Wemyss.*)
John Strange Lord Clanbrassill. (*Earl of Roden.*)
William Lygon Lord Silchester. (*Earl of Longford.*)
Clotworthy John Eyre Lord Oriel. (*Viscount Massereene.*)
Hugh Lord Delamere.
George Cecil Weld Lord Forester.
John William Lord Rayleigh.
Edric Frederic Lord Gifford.
Hubert George Lord Somerhill. (*Marquess of Clanricarde.*)
James Ludovic Lord Wigan. (*Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.*)
Uchter John Mark Lord Ranfurly. (*Earl of Ranfurly.*)
George Lord De Tabley.
Charles Stuart Henry Lord Tenterden.
William Conyngham Lord Plunket.
William Henry Ashe Lord Heytesbury.
Archibald Philip Lord Rosebery. (*Earl of Rosebery.*)
Richard James Lord Clanwilliam. (*Earl of Clanwilliam.*)
William Draper Mortimer Lord Wynford.
William Henry Lord Kilmarnock. (*Earl of Erroll.*)
Arthur James Francis Lord Fingall. (*Earl of Fingall.*)
William Philip Lord Sefton. (*Earl of Sefton.*)
Robert Bermingham Lord Clements. (*Earl of Leitrim.*)
Thomas Lord Kenlis. (*Marquess of Headfort.*)
William Lord Chaworth. (*Earl of Meath.*)
Charles Adolphus Lord Dunmore. (*Earl of Dunmore.*)
Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord Poltimore.
Edward Mostyn Lord Mostyn.
Henry Spencer Lord Templemore.
Valentine Frederick Lord Cloncurry.
John St. Vincent Lord De Saumarez.
Lucius Bentinck Lord Hunsdon. (*Viscount Falkland.*)
Thomas Lord Denman.
William Frederick Lord Abinger.
Philip Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.
Alexander Hugh Lord Ashburton.
Edward Richard Lord Hatherton.
George Henry Charles Lord Strafford.
Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord Worlingham. (*Earl of Gosford.*)
William Frederick Lord Stratheden.
Geoffrey Dominick Augustus Frederick Lord Oranmore and Browne. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Simon Lord Lovat.
William Bateman Lord Bateman.
James Molyneux Lord Charlemont. (*Earl of Charlemont.*)
Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord Kintore. (*Earl of Kintore.*)
George Ponsonby Lord Lismore. (*Viscount Lismore.*)
Derrick Warner William Lord Rossmore.
Robert Shapland George Julian Lord Carew.
Charles Frederick Ashley Cooper Lord De Mauley.
Arthur Lord Wrottesley.
Charles Douglas Richard Lord Sudeley.
Frederick Henry Paul Lord Methuen.
Henry Edward John Lord Stanley of Alderley.
William Henry Lord Leigh.
Beilby Lord Wenlock.
William Lord Lurgan.
Thomas Spring Lord Monteagle of Brandon.
James Lord Seaton.
John Manley Arbuthnot Lord Keane.
John Lord Oxenfoord. (*Earl of Stair.*)
Charles Crespigny Lord Vivian.
John Lord Congleton.
Denis St. George Lord Dunsandle and Clanconal. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Victor Alexander Lord Elgin. (*Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.*)
William Henry Forester Lord Londesborough.
Samuel Jones Lord Overstone.
Charles Robert Claude Lord Truro.
Arthur Lord De Freyne.
Edward Burtenshaw Lord Saint Leonards.
Richard Henry Fitz-Roy Lord Raglan.
Gilbert Henry Lord Aveland.
Valentine Augustus Lord Kenmare. (*Earl of Kenmare.*) (*In another Place as Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*)
Henry Lord Belper.
James Lord Talbot de Malahide.
Robert Lord Ebury.
Alexander William George Lord Skene. (*Earl Fife.*)

Charles Compton William Lord Chesham.
Frederic Augustus Lord Chelmsford.
John Lord Churston.
Ian Charles Lord Strathspey. (*Earl of Seafield.*)
Henry Lord Leconfield.
William Tatton Lord Egerton.
Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar.
Fitz Patrick Henry Lord Lyveden.
William Lord Brougham and Vaux.
Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord Kinnaird.
Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord Westbury.
Francis William Fitzhardinge Lord Fitzhardinge.
Luke George Lord Annaly.
Richard Monckton Lord Houghton.
William Lord Romilly.
George Philips Alexander Lord Barrogill. (*Earl of Caithness.*)
Thomas Lord Clermont.
James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord Meredyth. (*Lord Athlumney.*)
Windham Thomas Lord Kenry. (*Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl.*)
Charles Stanley Lord Monck. (*Viscount Monck.*)
John Major Lord Hartismere. (*Lord Henniker.*)
Hedworth Hylton Lord Hylton.
Hugh Henry Lord Strathnairn.
Edward Gordon Lord Penrhyn.
Gustavus Russell Lord Brancepeth. (*Viscount Boyne.*)
John Henry Lord Kesteven.
Arthur Lord Ormathwaite.
William Lord O'Neill.
Robert Cornelis Lord Napier.
Jenico William Joseph Lord Gormanston. (*Viscount Gormanston.*)
John Hamilton Lord Lawrence.
James Plaisted Lord Penzance.
John Lord Dunning. (*Lord Rollo.*)
James Lord Balinhard. (*Earl of Southesk.*)
William Lord Hare. (*Earl of Listowel.*)
Edward George Lord Howard of Glossop.
Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord Castletown.
John Emerich Edward Lord Acton.
Thomas Charles Lord Robartes.
George Grenfell Lord Wolverton.
Algernon William Fulke Lord Greville.
Thomas Lord O'Hagan.
William Lord Sandhurst.
Frederic Lord Blachford
Francis Lord Ettrick. (*Lord Napier.*)
Gavin Lord Breadalbane. (*Earl of Breadalbane.*)
James Charles Herbert Welbore Ellis Lord Somerton. (*Earl of Normanton.*)
Robert Alexander Shafto Lord Waveney.
Henry Austin Lord Aberdare.
James Lord Moncreiff.
John Duke Lord Coleridge.
William Lord Emly.
Chichester Samuel Lord Carlingford. (*In another Place as Lord Privy Seal.*)
Thomas Francis Lord Cottesloe.
Edmund Lord Hammond.
John Slaney Lord Hampton.
John Lord Winmarleigh.
Charles Alexander Lord Douglas. (*Earl of Home.*)
John William Lord Ramsay. (*Earl of Dalhousie.*)
John Lord Fermanagh. (*In another Place as Earl of Erne.*)
William Richard Lord Harlech.
Henry Gerard Lord Alington.
John Lord Tollemache.
Robert Tolver Lord Gerard.
Mortimer Lord Sackville.
Colin Lord Blackburn. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Charles Bowyer Lord Norton.
George William Lord Shute. (*Viscount Barrington.*)
William Lord Watson. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Lawrence Lord Haldon.
Ivor Bertie Lord Wimborne.
Arthur Edward Lord Ardilaun.
Alexander Dundas Ross Lord Lamington.
Charles Frederick Lord Donington.
Arthur Edwin Lord Trevor.
Montagu William Lord Rowton.
William Francis Lord Mount-Temple.
Edward Hugessen Lord Brabourne.
Odo William Leopold Lord Ampthill.
William Montagu Lord Tweeddale. (*Marquess of Tweeddale.*)
William Ulick Tristram Lord Howth. (*Earl of Howth.*)
Donald James Lord Reay.
Harcourt Lord Derwent.
Henry James Lord Hothfield.
Dudley Coutts Lord Tweedmouth.
George William Wilshere Lord Bramwell.
John David Lord Fitzgerald. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Frederick Beauchamp Paget Lord Alcester.
Garnet Joseph Lord Wolseley.

LIST OF THE COMMONS.

THE NAMES OF MEMBERS

Returned to serve in the Twenty-second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, summoned to meet at Westminster the Twenty-ninth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty, as by the several Returns filed in the Office of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery appears: amended to the Opening of the Fourth Session on the 15th Day of February, 1883.

BEDFORD COUNTY.

James Howard,
Marquess of Tavistock.

BEDFORD.

Samuel Whitbread,
Charles Magniac.

BERKS COUNTY.

Sir Robert James Loyd-Lindsay, K.C.B.,
John Walter,
Philip Wroughton.

READING.

George Palmer,
Rt. Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre.

WINDSOR (NEW).

Robert Richardson Gardner.

WALLINGFORD.

Pandeli Ralli.

ABINGDON.

John Creemer Clarke.

BUCKINGHAM COUNTY.

Sir Robert Bateson Harvey, bt.,
Hon. Thomas Francis Fremantle,
Hon. Rupert Clement George Carington.

AYLESBURY.

Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, bt.,
George William Erskine Russell.

BUCKINGHAM.

Sir Harry Verney, bt.

MARLOW (GREAT).

Owen Lewis Cope Williams.

WYCOMBE (CHEPPING).

Hon. William Henry Peregrine Carington.

CAMBRIDGE COUNTY.

Rt. hon. Sir Henry Bouverie William Brand, G.C.B.,
Edward Hicks,
James Redfoord Bulwer.

CAMBRIDGE (UNIVERSITY).

Rt. Hon. Alexander James Beresford Beresford-Hope,
Rt. Hon. Henry Cecil Raikes.

CAMBRIDGE.

William Fowler,
Hugh Shield.

CHESTER.

(East Cheshire.)

William Cunliffe Brooks,
William John Legh.

(Mid Cheshire.)

Hon. Wilbraham Egerton,
Piers Egerton Warburton.

(West Cheshire.)

Hon. Wilbraham Frederick Tollemache,
Henry James Tollemache.

MACCLESFIELD.

STOCKPORT.

Charles Henry Hopwood,
Frederick Pennington.

BIRKENHEAD.

David Mac Iver.

CHESTER.

CORNWALL COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

William Copeland Borlase,
Charles Thomas Dyke Acland.

(Western Division.)

Sir John St. Aubyn, bt.,
Arthur Pendarves Vivian.

TRURO.

Sir James Macnaghten M'Garel-Hogg, bt.,
Edward William Brydges Willyams.

PENRYN AND FALMOUTH.

David James Jenkins,
Reginald Balliol Brett.

BODMIN.

Hon. Edward Frederic Leveson-Gower.

LAUNCESTON.

Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, knt.

LISKEARD.

Leonard Henry Courtney.

HELSTON.

Walter Napleton Molesworth St. Aubyn.

ST. IVES.

Charles Campbell Ross.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Edward Stafford Howard,
George James Howard.

(Western Division.)

David Ainsworth,
Hon. Percy Scawen Wyndham

CARLISLE.

Robert Ferguson,
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, bt.

COCKERMOUTH.

Edward Waugh.

WHITEHAVEN.

Rt. hon. George Augustus Frederick Cavendish Bentinck.

DERBY COUNTY.

(North Derbyshire.)

Lord Edward Cavendish,
John Frederick Cheetham.

(South Derbyshire.)

Sir Henry Wilmot, bt.,
Thomas William Evans.

(East Derbyshire.)

Alfred Barnes,
Hon. Francis Egerton.

DERBY.

Michael Thomas Bass,
Rt. Hon. Sir William George Grenville Venables Vernon Harcourt.

DEVON COUNTY.

(North Devonshire.)

Rt. hon. Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, bt., G.C.B.,
Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, bt.

(East Devonshire.)

Sir John Henry Kennaway, bt.,
William Hood Walrond.

(South Devonshire.)

Sir Massey Lopes, bt.,
John Carpenter Garnier.

TIVERTON.

Sir John Heathcoat Heathcote-Amory, bt.,
Viscount Ebrington.

PLYMOUTH.

Peter Stewart Maclver,
Edward George Clarke.

BARNSTAPLE.

Sir Robert Walter Carden, knt.,
Viscount Lymington.

DEVONPORT.

John Henry Puleston,
George Edward Price.

TAVISTOCK.

Lord Arthur Russell.

EXETER.

Edward Johnson,
Henry Stafford Northcote, C.B.

DORSET COUNTY.

Hon. William Henry Berkeley Portman,
John Floyer,
Hon. Edward Henry Trafalgar Digby.

WEYMOUTH AND MELCOMBE REGIS.

Henry Edwards,
Sir Frederick John William Johnstone, bt.

DORCHESTER.

William Ernest Brymer.

BRIDPORT.

Charles Nicholas Warton.

SHAFTESBURY.

Hon. Sidney Carr Glyn.

WAREHAM.

Montague John Guest.

POOLE.

Charles Schreiber.

DURHAM COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Charles Mark Palmer,
Sir George Elliot, bt.

(Southern Division.)

Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, bt.,
Hon. Frederick William Lambton.

DURHAM (CITY).

Thomas Charles Thompson,
Sir Farrer Herschell, knt.

SUNDERLAND.

Edward Temperley Gourley,
Samuel Storey.

GATESHEAD.

Walter Henry James.

SHIELDS (SOUTH).

James Cochran Stevenson.

DARLINGTON.

Theodore Fry.

HARTLEPOOL.

Thomas Richardson.

STOCKTON.

Joseph Dodds.

ESSEX COUNTY.

(West Essex.)

Sir Henry John Selwin-Ibbetson, bt.,
Lord Eustace Cecil.

ESSEX COUNTY—*cont.*

(East Essex.)

James Round,
Samuel Brise Ruggles-Brise.

(South Essex.)

Thomas Charles Baring,
William Thomas Makins.

COLCHESTER.

Richard Knight Causton,
William Willis.

MALDON.

George Courtauld.

HARWICH.

Sir Henry Whatley Tyler, knt.

GLOUCESTER COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Rt. hon. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, bt.,
John Reginald Yorke.

(Western Division.)

Robert Nigel Fitzhardinge Kingscote,
Lord Moreton.

STROUD.

Walter John Stanton,
Henry Robert Brand.

TEWKESBURY.

Richard Biddulph Martin.

CIRENCESTER.

Thomas William Chester Master.

CHELTENHAM.

Charles Conrad Adolphus du Bois de Ferrières

GLOUCESTER.

Charles James Monk,

HEREFORD COUNTY.

Sir Joseph Russell Bailey, bt.,
Michael Biddulph,
Thomas Duckham.

HEREFORD.

Joseph Pulley,
Robert Threshie Reid.

LEOMINSTER.

James Rankin.

HERTFORD COUNTY.

Abel Smith,
Hon. Henry Frederick Cowper,
Thomas Frederick Halsey.

HERTFORD.

Arthur James Balfour.

HUNTINGDON COUNTY.

William Henry Fellowes,
Lord Douglas Gordon.

HUNTINGDON.

Viscount Hinchingbrook.

KENT COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Aretas Akers Douglas,
Edward Leigh Pemberton.

(West Kent.)

Sir Charles Henry Mills, bt.,
Viscount Lewisham.

(Mid Kent.)

Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart Dyke, bt.,
Sir Edmund Filmer, bt.

ROCHESTER.

Sir Arthur John Otway, bt.,
Roger Leigh.

MAIDSTONE.

Alexander Henry Ross,
John Evans Freke Aylmer.

GREENWICH.

Thomas William Boord,
Baron Henry de Worms.

CHATHAM.

John Eldon Gorst.

GRAVESEND.

Sir Sydney Hedley Waterlow, bt.

CANTERBURY.

LANCASTER COUNTY.

(North Lancashire.)

Randle Joseph Feilden, C.M.G.,
Rt. Hon. Frederick Arthur Stanley.

(North-east Lancashire.)

Rt. Hon. Marquess of Hartington,
Frederick William Grafton.

(South-east Lancashire.)

William Agnew,
Robert Leake.

LANCASTER COUNTY—*cont.*

(South-west Lancashire.)

Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B.,
John Ireland Blackburne.

LIVERPOOL.

Edward Whitley,
Lord Claud John Hamilton,
Samuel Smith.

MANCHESTER.

John Slagg,
Jacob Bright,
Hugh Birley.

PRESTON.

William Farrer Ecroyd,
William Edward Murray Tomlinson.

WIGAN.

Thomas Knowles,
Hon. Algernon Fulke Egerton.

BOLTON.

John Kynaston Cross,
John Pennington Thomasson.

BLACKBURN.

William Edward Briggs,
William Coddington.

OLDHAM.

John Tomlinson Hibbert,
Hon. Edward Lyulph Stanley.

SALFORD.

Benjamin Armitage,
Robert Arthur Arnold.

CLITHEROE.

Richard Fort.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

Hugh Mason.

BURY.

Robert Needham Philips.

ROCHDALE.

Thomas Bayley Potter.

WARRINGTON.

John Gordon McMinnies.

BURNLEY.

Peter Rylands.

STALEYBRIDGE.

William Summers.

LEICESTER COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Rt. hon. Lord John Manners, G.C.B.
Edwyn Sherard Burnaby.

(Southern Division.)

Thomas Tertius Paget,
Albert Pell.

LEICESTER.

Peter Alfred Taylor,
Alexander M'Arthur.

LINCOLN COUNTY.

(North Lincolnshire.)

Rowland Winn,
Rt. Hon. James Lowther.

(Mid Lincolnshire.)

Henry Chaplin,
Hon. Edward Stanhope.

(South Lincolnshire.)

John Compton Lawrance,
Sir William Earle Welby-Gregory, bt.

GRANTHAM.

John William Mellor,
Charles Savile Roundell.

BOSTON.

STAMFORD.

Marston Clarke Buszard.

GRIMSBY (GREAT).

Edward Heneage.

LINCOLN.

Charles Seely,
John Hinde Palmer.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis Hamilton,
Octavius Edward Coope.

WESTMINSTER.

Rt. Hon. William Henry Smith,
Lord Algernon Malcolm Arthur Percy.

TOWER HAMLETS.

James Bryce,
Charles Thomson Ritchie.

HACKNEY.

Rt. Hon. Henry Fawcett,
John Holms.

FINSBURY.

Sir Andrew Lusk, bt.,
William Torrens M'Cullagh Torrens.

MARYLEBONE.

Sir Thomas Chambers, knt.,
Daniel Grant.

CHELSEA.

Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, bt.,
Joseph Firth Bottomley Firth.

LONDON (UNIVERSITY).

Sir John Lubbock, bt.

LONDON.

William James Richmond Cotton,
Robert Nicholas Fowler,
Rt. hon. John Gellibrand Hubbard,
William Lawrence.

MONMOUTH COUNTY.

Hon. Frederick Courtenay Morgan,
John Allan Rolls.

MONMOUTH.

Edward Hamer Carbutt.

NORFOLK COUNTY.

(West Norfolk.)

William Amhurst Tyssen Amherst,
George William Pierrepont Bentinck.

(North Norfolk.)

Sir Edmund Henry Knowles Lacon, bt.,
Edward Birkbeck.

(South Norfolk.)

Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, bt.
Robert Thornhagh Gurdon.

LYNN REGIS.

Sir William Hovell Browne Ffolkes, bt.,
Rt. Hon. Robert Bourke.

NORWICH.

Jeremiah James Colman,
Jacob Henry Tillett.

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Hon. Charles Robert Spencer,
Lord Burghley.

(Southern Division.)

Sir Rainald Knightley, bt.,
Pickering Phipps.

PETERBOROUGH.

Hon. William John Wentworth Fitzwilliam,
George Hampden Whalley.

NORTHAMPTON.

Henry Labouchere,
Charles Bradlaugh.

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Rt. hon. Henry George (Percy) Earl Percy,
Sir Matthew White Ridley, bt.

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY —*cont.*

(Southern Division.)

Albert Henry George Grey,
Wentworth Blackett Beaumont.

MORPETH.

Thomas Burt.

TYNEMOUTH.

Thomas Eustace Smith.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Joseph Cowen,
Ashton Wentworth Dilke.

BERWICK-UPON-TWEED.

David Milne Home,
Hubert Edward Henry Jerningham.

NOTTINGHAM COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Cecil George Savile Foljambe,
Viscount Galway.

(Southern Division.)

George Storer,
Thomas Blackborne Thoroton Hildyard.

NEWARK-UPON-TRENT.

Thomas Earp,
William Newzam Nicholson.

RETFORD (EAST).

Francis John Savile Foljambe,
Frederick Thorpe Mappin.

NOTTINGHAM.

Charles Seely, jun.,
Arnold Morley.

OXFORD COUNTY.

John Sidney North,
William Cornwallis Cartwright,
Edward William Harcourt.

OXFORD (UNIVERSITY).

Rt. hon. Sir John Robert Mowbray, bt.,
John Gilbert Talbot.

OXFORD (CITY).

WOODSTOCK.

Lord Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill.

BANBURY.

Bernhard Samuelson.

RUTLAND COUNTY.

Rt. hon. Gerard James Noel,
George Henry Finch.

SALOP COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Viscount Newport,
Stanley Leighton.

(Southern Division.)

Sir Baldwyn Leighton, bt.,
John Edmund Severne.

SHREWSBURY.

Charles Cecil Cotes,
Henry Robertson.

WENLOCK.

Alexander Hargreaves Brown,
Cecil Theodore Weld Forester.

LUDLOW.

Hon. George Herbert Windsor Windsor-Clive.

BRIDGNORTH.

William Henry Foster.

SOMERSET COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Sir Philip John William Miles, bt.,
Lord Brooke.

(Mid Division.)

Richard Horner Paget,
William Stephen Gore-Langton.

(Western Division.)

Mordaunt Fenwick Bisset,
Edward James Stanley.

BATH.

Sir Arthur Divett Hayter, bt.,
Edmond Robert Wodehouse.

TAUNTON.

Sir Henry James, knt.,
Samuel Charles Allsopp.

FROME.

Henry Bernhard Samuelson.

BRISTOL.

Samuel Morley,
Lewis Fry.

SOUTHAMPTON COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

William Wither Bramston Beach,
Rt. hon. George Sclater-Booth.

(Southern Division.)

Lord Henry John Montagu-Douglas-Scott,
Francis Compton.

WINCHESTER.

Richard Moss,
Viscount Baring.

PORTSMOUTH.

Hon. Thomas Charles Bruce,
Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

LYMINGTON.

Edmund Hegan Kennard.

ANDOVER.

Francis William Buxton.

CHRISTCHURCH.

Horace Davey.

PETERSFIELD.

William Nicholson.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Henry Lee,
Charles Parker Butt.

STAFFORD COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

William Young Craig,
Harry Tichborne Davenport.

(Western Division.)

Alexander Staveley Hill,
Francis Monckton.

(Eastern Division.)

Michael Arthur Bass,
Henry Wiggin.

STAFFORD.

Charles Benjamin Bright M'Laren,
Thomas Salt.

TAMWORTH.

Hamar Alfred Bass,
Jabez Spencer Balfour.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

Charles Donaldson Hudson,
William Shepherd Allen.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

Rt. hon. Charles Pelham Villiers,
Henry Hartley Fowler.

STOKE-UPON-TRENT.

William Woodall,
Henry Broadhurst.

WALSALL.

Sir Charles Forster, bt.

WEDNESBURY.

Alexander Brogden.

LICHFIELD.

Theophilus John Levett.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Frederick St. John Newdegate Barne,
Lord Rendlesham.

(Western Division.)

William Biddell,
Thomas Thornhill.

IPSWICH.

Thomas Clement Cobbold, C.B.,
Jesse Collings.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

Joseph Alfred Hardcastle,
Edward Greene.

EYE.

Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett.

SURREY COUNTY.

(East Surrey.)

William Grantham,
James Watney.

(Mid Surrey.)

Sir Henry William Peek, bt.
Sir James John Trevor Lawrence, bt.

(West Surrey.)

Rt. hon. George Cubitt,
Hon. William St. John Fremantle Brodrick.

SOUTHWARK.

Arthur Cohen,
James Edwin Thorold Rogers.

LAMBETH.

Sir James Clarke Lawrence, bt.,
Sir William McArthur, kt., K.C.M.G.

GUILDFORD.

Denzil Roberts Onslow.

SUSSEX COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

George Burrow Gregory,
Montague David Scott.

(Western Division.)

Sir Walter Barttelot Barttelot, bt.,
Earl of March.

SHOREHAM (NEW).

Sir Walter Wyndham Burrell, bt.,
Robert Loder.

BRIGHTHELMSTONE.

John Robert Hollond,
William Thackeray Marriott.

CHICHESTER.

Rt. Hon. Lord Henry George Charles Gordon Lennox.

LEWES.

William Langham Christie.

HORSHAM.

Sir Henry Fletcher, bt.

MIDHURST.

Sir Henry Thurston Holland, bt., K.C.M.G.

WARWICK COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

William Bromley Davenport,
Charles Newdigate Newdegate.

(Southern Division.)

Sir John Eardley Eardley Wilmot, bt.,
Hon. Gilbert Henry Chandos Leigh.

BIRMINGHAM.

Philip Henry Muntz,
Rt. hon. John Bright,
Rt. hon. Joseph Chamberlain.

WARWICK.

Arthur Wellesley Peel,
George William John Repton.

COVENTRY.

William Henry Wills,
Henry William Eaton.

WESTMORELAND COUNTY.

Earl of Bective,
Hon. William Lowther.

KENDAL.

James Cropper.

(WIGHT) ISLE OF.

Hon. Anthony Evelyn Melbourne Ashley.

NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT.

Charles Cavendish Clifford.

WILTS COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Walter Hume Long,
George Thomas John Sotheron Estcourt.

(Southern Division.)

Rt. hon. Lord Henry Frederick Thynne,
Viscount Folkestone.

NEW SARUM (SALISBURY).

John Passmore Edwards,
Coleridge John Kennard.

CRICKLADE.

Mervin Herbert Nevil Story-Maskelyne,
Sir Daniel Gooch, bt.

DEVIZES.
Sir Thomas Bateson, bt.

MARLBOROUGH.
Rt. hon. Lord Charles Bruce.

CHIPPENHAM.
Sir Gabriel Goldney, bt.

CALNE.
Lord Edmond George Petty Fitzmaurice.

MALMESBURY.
Charles William Miles.

WESTBURY.
Charles Nicholas Paul Phipps.

WILTON.
Hon. Sidney Herbert.

WORCESTER COUNTY.

(*Eastern Division.*)

William Henry Gladstone,
George Woodyatt Hastings.

(*Western Division.*)

Sir Edmund Anthoney Harley Lechmere, bt.,
Frederick Winn Knight.

EVESHAM.
Frederick Dixon Dixon-Hartland.

DROITWICH.
John Corbett.

BEWDLEY.
Enoch Baldwin.

DUDLEY.
Henry Brinsley Sheridan.

KIDDERMINSTER.
John Brinton.

WORCESTER.
Thomas Rowley Hill,
Æneas John McIntyre.

YORK COUNTY.

(*North Riding.*)

Sir Frederick Acclom Milbank, bt.,
Hon. Guy Cuthbert Dawnay.

(*East Riding.*)

Christopher Sykes,
William Henry Harrison Broadley.

(*West Riding, Northern Division.*)

Sir Matthew Wilson, bt.,
Isaac Holden.

(*West Riding, Eastern Division.*)

Sir Andrew Fairbairn, knt.,
Sir John William Ramsden, bt.

(*West Riding, Southern Division.*)

Hon. William Henry Wentworth Fitzwilliam,
William Henry Leatham.

YORK COUNTY—*cont.*

LEEDS.
John Barran,
William Lawies Jackson,
Herbert John Gladstone.

PONTEFRACT.
Rt. hon. Hugh Culling Eardley Childers,
Sidney Woolf.

SCARBOROUGH.
William Sproston Caine,
Rt. hon. John George Dodson.

SHEFFIELD.
Rt. hon. Anthony John Mundella,
Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley.

BRADFORD.
Rt. hon. William Edward Forster,
Alfred Illingworth.

HALIFAX.
Rt. hon. James Stansfeld,
Thomas Shaw.

KNARESBOROUGH.
Thomas Collins.

MALTON.
Hon. Charles William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam.

RICHMOND.
Hon. John Charles Dundas.

RIPON.
Rt. hon. George Joachim Goschen.

NORTHALLERTON.
George William Elliot.

THIRSK.
Hon. Lewis Payn Dawnay.

HUDDERSFIELD.
Edward Aldam Leatham.

WAKEFIELD.
Robert Bownas Mackie.

WHITBY.
Arthur Pease.

MIDDLESBOROUGH.
Isaac Wilson.

DEWSBURY.
John Simon.

YORK CITY.
Ralph Creyke,
Joseph Johnson Leeman.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.
Charles Morgan Norwood,
Charles Henry Wilson.

BARONS OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

DOVER.
Charles Kaye Freshfield,
Alexander George Dickson.

BARONS OF THE CINQUE PORTS—*cont.*

HASTINGS.
Charles James Murray,
Sir Thomas Brassey, K C.B.

SANDWICH.
Henry Arthur Brassey,

HYTHE.
Sir Edward William Watkin, bt.

RYE.
Frederick Andrew Inderwick.

WALES.

ANGLESEA.
Richard Davies.

BEAUMARIS.
Morgan Lloyd.

BRECKNOCK COUNTY.
William Fuller Maitland.

BRECKNOCK.
Cyril Flower.

CARDIGAN COUNTY.
Lewis Pugh Pugh.

CARDIGAN, &c.
David Davies.

CARMARTHEN COUNTY.
Walter Rice Howell Powell,
Viscount Emlyn.

CARMARTHEN, &c.
Sir John Jones Jenkins, kt.

CARNARVON COUNTY.
William Rathbone.

CARNARVON, &c.
Thomas Love Duncombe Jones-Parry.

DENBIGH COUNTY.
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, bt.,
Rt. hon. George Osborne Morgan.

DENBIGH, &c.
Sir Robert Alfred Cunliffe, bt.

FLINT COUNTY.
Right Hon. Lord Richard Grosvenor.

FLINT, &c.
John Roberts.

GLAMORGAN COUNTY.
Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot,
Sir Henry Hussey Vivian, bt.

GLAMORGAN COUNTY—*cont.*

MERTHYR TYDVIL.

Henry Richard,
Charles Herbert James.

CARDIFF, &c.

Sir Edward James Reed, K.C.B.

SWANSEA, &c.

Lewis Llewellyn Dillwyn.

MERIONETH COUNTY.

Samuel Holland.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

Stuart Rendel.

MONTGOMERY, &c.

Hon. Frederick Stephen Archibald Hanbury-Tracy.

PEMBROKE COUNTY.

William Davies.

PEMBROKE, &c.

Henry George Allen.

HAVERFORDWEST.

Rt. Hon. Lord Kensington.

RADNOR COUNTY.

Sir Richard Green Price, bt.

NEW RADNOR.

Samuel Charles Evans Williams.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEENSHIRE.

(*East Aberdeenshire.*)

Hon. Sir Alexander Hamilton Gordon, K.C.B.

(*West Aberdeenshire.*)

Robert Farquharson.

ABERDEEN.

John Webster, LL.D.

ARGYLE.

Lord Colin Campbell.

AYR.

(*North Ayrshire.*)

Robert William Cochran-Patrick.

(*South Ayrshire.*)

Col. Claud Alexander.

KILMARNOCK, RENFREW, &c.

John Dick-Peddie.

BURGHS OF AYR, &c.

Richard Frederick Fotheringham Campbell.

BANFF.

Robert William Duff.

BERWICK.

Hon. Edward Marjoribanks.

BUTE.

Charles Dalrymple.

CAITHNESSSHIRE.

Sir John George Tollemache Sinclair, bt.

WICK, KIRKWALL, &c.

John Pender.

CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS.

Rt. hon. John Blair Balfour.

DUMBARTON.

Archibald Orr Ewing.

DUMFRIESSHIRE.

Robert Jardine.

DUMFRIES, &c.

Ernest Noel.

EDINBURGHSHIRE.

Rt. hon. William Ewart Gladstone.

EDINBURGH.

Thomas Ryburn Buchanan,
Samuel Danks Waddy.

UNIVERSITIES OF EDINBURGH AND ST. ANDREWS.

Rt. hon. Lyon Playfair.

BURGHS OF LEITH, &c.

Andrew Grant.

ELGIN AND NAIRN.

Sir George Macpherson Grant, bt.

BURGHS OF ELGIN, &c.

Alexander Asher.

FIFE.

Hon. Robert Preston Bruce.

BURGHS OF ST. ANDREWS.

Stephen Williamson.

KIRKCALDY, DYSART, &c.

Sir George Campbell, knt.

FORFAR.

James William Barclay.

TOWN OF DUNDEE.

George Armitstead,
Frank Henderson.

MONTROSE, &c.

Rt. hon. William Edward Baxter.

HADDINGTON.

Lord Elcho.

HADDINGTON BURGHS.

Alexander Craig Sellar.

INVERNESS.

Donald Cameron.

INVERNESS, &c.

Charles Fraser Mackintosh.

KINCARDINESHIRE.

Sir George Balfour, K.C.B.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

John Heron-Maxwell.

LANARK.

(*North Lanarkshire.*)

Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, bt.

(*South Lanarkshire.*)

John Glencairn Carter Hamilton.

GLASGOW.

George Anderson,
Charles Cameron, LL.D.,
Robert Tweedie Middleton.

UNIVERSITIES OF GLASGOW AND ABERDEEN.

James Alexander Campbell, LL.D.

LINLITHGOW.

Peter McLagan.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.

Samuel Laing.

PEEBLES AND SELKIRK.

Charles Tennant.

PERTH.

Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G.

TOWN OF PERTH.

Charles Stuart Parker.

RENFREWSHIRE.

Alexander Crum.

PAISLEY.

William Holms.

GREENOCK.

James Stewart.

ROSS AND CROMARTY.

Sir Alexander Matheson, bt.

ROXBURGH.

Hon. Arthur Ralph Douglas Elliot.

HAWICK, SELKIRK, &c.

Rt. Hon. George Otto Trevelyan.

STIRLING.

Joseph Cheney Bolton.

STIRLING, &c.

Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

FALKIRK, &c. BURGHS.

John Ramsay.

SUTHERLAND.

Marquess of Stafford.

WIGTON.

Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, bt.

WIGTON, &c. BURGHS.

Rt. hon. Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay, bt.

IRELAND.

ANTRIM COUNTY.

James Chaine,
Edward Macnaghten.

BELFAST.

William Ewart,
James Porter Corry.

LISBURN.
Sir Richard Wallace, bt.

CARRICKFERGUS.
Thomas Greer.

ARMAGH COUNTY.
James Nicholson Richardson,
Maxwell Charles Close.

ARMAGH (CITY).
George De La Poer Beresford.

CARLOW COUNTY.
Edmund Dwyer Gray,
Donald Horne Macfarlane.

CARLOW (BOROUGH).
Charles Dawson.

CAVAN COUNTY.
Charles Joseph Fay,
Joseph Gillis Biggar.

CLARE COUNTY.
The O'Gorman Mahon,
William Henry O'Shea.

ENNIS.
Matthew Joseph Kenny.

CORK COUNTY.
William Shaw,
David Latouche Colthurst.

CORK (CITY).
John Daly,
Charles Stewart Parnell.

YOUGHAL.
Sir Joseph Neal McKenna, knt.

BANDON BRIDGE.
Richard Lane Allman.

KINSALE.
Eugene Collins.

MALLOW.
William O'Brien.

DONEGAL COUNTY.
Thomas Lea,
John Kinnear.

DOWN COUNTY.
Lord Arthur William Hill,
Viscount Castlereagh.

NEWRY.
Henry Thomson.

DOWNPATRICK.
John Mulholland.

DUBLIN COUNTY.
Rt. hon. Thomas Edward Taylor,
Ion Trant Hamilton.

DUBLIN (CITY).
Maurice Brooks,
Robert Dyer Lyons.

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.
Rt. hon. David Robert Plunket,
Rt. hon. Edward Gibson.

FERMANAGH.
William Humphrys Archdale,
Viscount Crichton.

ENNISKILLEN.
Viscount Cole.

GALWAY COUNTY.
Mitchell Henry,
Colonel John Philip Nolan.

GALWAY (BOROUGH).
John Orrell Lever,
Thomas P. O'Connor.

KERRY.
Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, bt.,
Rowland Ponsonby Blennerhassett.

TRALEE.
The O'Donoghue.

KILDARE.
James Leahy,
Charles Henry Meldon, LL.D.

KILKENNY.
Edward Mulhallen Marum,
Patrick L. Martin.

KILKENNY (CITY).
John Francis Smithwick.

KING'S COUNTY.
Sir Patrick O'Brien, bt.,
Bernard Charles Molloy.

LEITRIM COUNTY.
Arthur Loftus Tottenham,
Francis O'Beirne.

LIMERICK COUNTY.
William Henry O'Sullivan,
Edmund John Synan.

LIMERICK (CITY).
Richard O'Shaughnessy,
Daniel FitzGerald Gabbett.

LONDONDERRY COUNTY.
Sir Thomas M‘Clure, bt.,
Rt. Hon. Andrew Marshal Porter.

COLERAINE.
Sir Henry Hervey Bruce, bt.

LONDONDERRY (CITY).
Charles Edward Lewis.

LONGFORD COUNTY.
George Errington,
Justin McCarthy.

LOUTH COUNTY.
Philip Callan,
Alan Henry Bellingham.

DUNDALK.
Charles Russell.

DROGHEDA.
Benjamin Whitworth.

MAYO COUNTY.
John O'Connor Power,
Isaac Nelson.

MEATH COUNTY.
Robert Henry Metge,
Edward Sheil.

MONAGHAN COUNTY.
John Givan,
William Findlater.

QUEEN'S COUNTY.
Richard Lalor,
Arthur O'Connor.

PORTARLINGTON.
Hon. Bernard Edward Burnaby Fitzpatrick.

ROSCOMMON COUNTY.
Andrew Commins, LL.D.,
James O'Kelly.

SLIGO COUNTY.
Thomas Sexton,
Denis Maurice O'Conor.

TIPPERARY COUNTY.
Patrick James Smyth,
John Dillon.

CLONMEL.
Arthur Moore.

TYRONE COUNTY.
John William Ellison Macartney,
Thomas Alexander Dickson.

DUNGANNON.
James Dickson.

WATERFORD COUNTY.
Henry Villiers Stuart, of Dromana,
John Aloysius Blake.

DUNGARVAN.
Frank Hugh O'Donnell.

WATERFORD (CITY).
Richard Power,
Edmund Leamy.

WESTMEATH COUNTY.
Timothy Daniel Sullivan,
Henry Joseph Gill.

ATHLONE.
Sir John Ennis, bt.

WEXFORD COUNTY.
John Barry,
Garrett Michael Byrne.

WEXFORD (BOROUGH).
Timothy Michael Healy.

NEW ROSS.
John Edward Redmond.

WICKLOW COUNTY.
William Joseph Corbet,
James Carlile M‘Coan.

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

Fourth Session of the *Twenty-Second Parliament* of the
United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*,
appointed to meet 29 April, 1880, in the Forty-third
Year of the Reign of

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1883.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 15th February, 1883.

THE PARLIAMENT, which had been Prorogued from the 2nd December, 1882, to the 15th February, 1883, met this day for the despatch of Business, according to Proclamation, as follows:—

"*BY THE QUEEN—A PROCLAMATION.*

"Victoria R.

"Whereas Our Parliament stands prorogued to *Thursday* the Fifteenth Day of *February* One thousand eight hundred and eighty-three: We, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, hereby issue Our Royal Proclamation, and publish and declare Our Royal Will and Pleasure that the said Parliament shall, on the said *Thursday* the Fifteenth Day of *February* One thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, assemble and be holden for the Despatch of divers urgent and important Affairs; And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs, of the House of Commons, are hereby required and commanded to give their Attendance accordingly, at *Westminster*, on the said *Thursday* the Fifteenth Day of *February* One thousand eight hundred and eighty-three.

"Given at Our Court at *Osborne House, Isle of Wight*, this Twenty-eighth Day of *December*, in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and eighty-two, and in the Forty-sixth Year of Our Reign.

"God save the Queen."

The Session was opened by Commission.

The House of Peers being met;

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House,

"That it not being convenient for Her Majesty to be personally here present this day, She has been pleased to cause a Commission under the Great Seal to be prepared, in order to the holding of this Parliament."

Then Five of the LORDS COMMISSIONERS —namely, The LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR, The LORD PRIVY SEAL (The Lord Carlingford); The LORD HIGH STEWARD (The Earl Sydney); The EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY (Master of the Buckhounds), and The LORD MONSON (Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard)—being in their Robes, and seated on a Form placed between the Throne and the Woolsack, commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to let the COMMONS know "The Lords Commissioners desire their immediate Attendance in this House, to hear the Commission read."

Who being at the Bar, with their Speaker:—The Commission was read by the Clerk:—Then

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR *delivered* HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH to both Houses of Parliament, as follows:—

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I HAVE summoned you at a date somewhat later than is usual, on account of the advanced period to which the labours of the last Session were protracted.

"I have the satisfaction of maintaining with all foreign Powers relations of friendship and good-will.

"At the close of the last Session I had the pleasure of recording my gratitude to my sea and land forces for suppressing with rapidity and completeness a formidable rebellion in Egypt. Since then tranquillity has been restored to that country, clemency has been shown by its Ruler to the leaders of the rebellion, and the withdrawal of the British troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will admit.

"The reconstitution of the Government of Egypt and the reorganization of its affairs under the authority of the Khedive have in part been accomplished, and will continue to receive my earnest attention. It will be my endeavour to secure that full provision shall be made for the exigencies of order, for a just representation of the wants and wishes of the population, and for the observance of international obligations.

"I have already been able to fulfil the promise made by me to the Sultan and to the Great Powers of Europe, that I would submit to their friendly consideration the arrangements which appeared to me to be the best fitted to insure the stability of the Khedive's Government, the prosperity and happiness of the Egyptian people, the security of the Suez Canal, and the peace of Europe in the East.

"To those objects my policy has been directed in the past and will be addressed in the future; and I continue to rely with confidence on its just appreciation by other countries.

"A Conference of the Great Powers has assembled in London to consider measures for better securing the freedom of navigation on the Danube, which is placed under their guarantee, and forms part of the public law of Europe.

"The condition of Zululand, and the possibility of renewed disturbances there, have engaged my most serious attention. With a view to the preservation of peace and order, I have caused the former Ruler of that country to be replaced in possession of the greater part of the territories held by him before the war. I earnestly hope that this step may lead to the establishment of a more stable government, and to the maintenance of good relations betwen the Zulu nation and the adjoining Colony of Natal.

"Papers on these subjects will be presented to you.

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The Estimates for the services of the coming year are in a forward state of preparation, and will be speedily laid before you.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I am happy to state that the improvement in the social condition of Ireland, to which I referred in December, continues. Agrarian crime has sensibly diminished, and the law has been everywhere upheld.

" At the same time, the existence of dangerous Secret Societies in Dublin and other parts of the country calls for unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive.

" Measures will be promptly submitted to you for the codification of Criminal Law; for the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal; and for the amendment and consolidation of the laws relating to Bankruptcy and Patents. There will also be brought to your early notice Bills for preventing Corrupt Practices at Elections, and for perpetuating and amending the Ballot Act.

" I have on previous occasions referred to the importance of effecting reforms in the Local Government of the different parts of the United Kingdom. Proposals for the better government of the Metropolis will, in the first place, be submitted to you, and, if time should permit, will be followed by other measures relating to reform of Local Government.

" Your attention will be called to Bills dealing with the Conservancy of Rivers and the Prevention of Floods; with the Police in Scotland; with the Universities in that part of the United Kingdom; and with Education in Wales.

" You will also be invited to consider a proposal which will more effectually secure to tenants in England and Scotland compensation for agricultural improvements.

" You have provided in recent years by a liberal devotion of your time for the most urgent among the needs of Ireland. The claims both of general legislation and of other portions of the United Kingdom will now demand from you a just regard. I trust, however, that you will be able to deal during the present year with some of the legislative wants of Ireland for which provision has not yet been made.

" I rely upon your proceeding with energy and prudence; and I beseech Almighty God now, as heretofore, to bless your labours.

Then the Commons withdrew.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

PRAYERS.

ROLL OF THE LORDS—Garter King of Arms attending, *delivered* at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Fourth Session of the Twenty-second Parliament of the United Kingdom: The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

The Earl Granville, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, acquainted the House that Her Majesty had been pleased to create Roundell, Lord Selborne, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, a Viscount and Earl of the United Kingdom, by the style and title of Viscount Wolmer of Blackmoor, in the county of Southampton, and Earl of Selborne in the said county; and his Lordship, having retired to robe, was introduced in the usual manner.

NEW PEER.

Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., General and Adjutant-General of Her Majesty's Forces, and late General Commanding-in-Chief the Expeditionary Force in Egypt, having been created Baron Wolseley of Cairo, and of Wolseley in the county of Stafford—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Keane, after the death of his brother.

SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, *pro formâ*, read 1^a.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

The Queen's Speech *reported* by The Lord Chancellor.

The Earl of DURHAM: My Lords, I rise for the purpose of moving a humble Address to Her Majesty in answer to the gracious Speech from the Throne to which your Lordships have lately listened. That Speech, my Lords, whether we look to that portion of it which relates to foreign affairs, or whether we consider those passages in which Her Majesty treats of the condition of these Islands, contains much on the whole that is calculated to inspire Parliament and the people of this country with feelings of thankfulness and satisfaction. Her Majesty has been able to inform us that her relations with Foreign Powers are of a friendly character. This announcement, my Lords, is fortunately one which, for many years past, Her Majesty has been justified in making. The circumstances of the present moment give it peculiar significance. That Her Majesty should find it possible to make this announcement immediately after the intervention of this country in Egypt—an intervention in which this country found itself engaged alone—without any formal mandate from any of the Great Powers of Europe—is a conspicuous proof of the confidence of those Powers in the disinterestedness of our policy and the sincerity of our professions. Our policy, my Lords, has been that which has been from the first laid down by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his despatches to our Representatives in Egypt and at the Courts of the great European Powers. It may, I think, be summed up under four heads—the prevention of anarchy in Egypt, the promotion of the well-being and prosperity of the Egyptian people, the fulfilment of our obligations to the Ruler of that country, and the protection of the great military and commercial highway to the East, in which this country is interested far beyond any other maritime Power. Our professions have been professions of disinterestedness, of our intention under no circumstances to make use of our successes in Egypt for the purpose of annexation or aggrandizement. My Lords, I think I may say with confidence that the Papers which have been presented to us establish conclusively both the necessity of our intervention in Egypt, and the fact that we did not engage in it single-handed until every effort had been made to secure the approbation of the European Powers, and especially that of our old ally France, whose interests in Egypt are second only to our own. The revolution brought about, and the lawless demands and interference of the Military Party, under Arabi Pasha, with the Egyptian Government, rendered it incumbent on this country to prevent anarchy, and to fulfil our obligations to the Khedive. It was not until every peaceful expedient and endeavour had been made to induce the rebels to return to their allegiance that recourse was had to force. We must deplore the loss of life and property which occurred in Alexandria and elsewhere through the fanaticism of the rebels; but, with respect to the burning of Alexandria, it may be attributed solely to the hoisting of the false flag of truce, under the protection of which the withdrawal of the troops was effected, and at nightfall the town was handed over to pillage and incendiarism. The British Admiral was bound by all the usages of civilized warfare to respect that flag of truce, and had he not been thus delayed he would have occupied the town in time to prevent the deplorable results which followed its evacuation by the rebels. He wisely declined to attempt the landing of the small force at his command at night, with 12,000 rebels in the vicinity of the city. The campaign which ensued showed the valour and discipline of our Army and Navy, and the skill of our Commanders, It is satisfactory to know that the great changes in naval construction, and the vast improvements in gunnery, have not spoilt the good seamanship and the old fighting qualities of our sailors. We have had substantial proof also that the changes in the system of Army service have not led to any diminution of discipline or to any deterioration of the physical powers and endurance of our troops. As to the future of Egypt, it is not too much to hope that Lord Dufferin, whose personal qualities and intimate knowledge of Oriental politics so well fit him for his post, will be able to assist the Khedive in establishing the Government of Egypt on a more liberal and representative basis. The Khedive and his subjects no doubt derive great advantages from the assistance of the distinguished English and French officials who have hitherto held the position of Controllers. That system of Dual Control, however, which Her Majesty's Government found in existence when they succeeded to Office was inconsistent with the development of national institutions and offensive to the national susceptibilities. From the jealousies thus created the revolutionary movement may be said to have derived its strength. The appointment of an English official who will act as the Financial Counsellor of the Khedive, but who will hold his office and derive his authority directly from him, will not be open to these objections. Until the Egyptians have proved their capacity to govern themselves and to take their place among the free communities of the world, it would be unfair to deny them an opportunity of laying the foundation of national institutions. In the meantime, this country has incurred a responsibility for the establishment of order, and it is manifestly its duty to do so to the best of its ability before it can safely leave Egypt to its own resources. The Papers on the Table show that endeavours will be made to secure our interests in respect to the Suez Canal by stipulations advantageous to this country as a great maritime Power. The formation of a small and disciplined Egyptian force, under the direction of a distinguished English General officer, and the re-organization of the police in that country, will afford the best securities for the maintenance of order and the protection of the loyal population.

Owing to the disposition of the Natives, and the nature of the changes made by Sir Garnet Wolseley in Zululand in the establishment of 13 independent Rulers in the place of Cetewayo, that country had not assumed the tranquillity necessary to the well-being of South Africa. There was constant danger of civil war, which would probably have ended in the assumption of permanent authority by the most powerful of those Chiefs. Annexation, or the restoration of Cetewayo, its lawful King, was the only alternative to avert this danger. Her Majesty's Government wisely decided that it would be impolitic to add another Native territory to our already large responsibilities in South Africa. Cetewayo was therefore restored; but, in order to keep faith with those Chiefs who were unwilling to accept his rule, it has been deemed advisable to reserve a district between Natal and Cetewayo's territory, and in this district those Chiefs who desire to remain subject to British paramount authority can live under the protection of the British Resident. Another Chief, Usibebu, has been left in an independent position in the North-east corner of Zululand. These changes of territory will deprive Cetewayo of about one-third of his former Kingdom; but it was only by this alternative that there could be any reasonable hope that he would be able to govern the remainder. I believe that Cetewayo has been received cordially and with satisfaction by the majority of the Zulu Chiefs.

My Lords, Her Majesty informs us that among the measures that will be submitted to us is one to secure compensation to tenants for agricultural improvements. The exceptional difficulties under which agriculture has been carried on during the last few years have directed attention to the legal conditions under which that industry is carried on. The subject is one of the greatest intricacy; but there is a remarkable unanimity in favour of giving further security to the tenant for the improvements effected by him which have added to the value of his holding in all cases where such security is not provided by lease, custom, or agreement. The Report of the Royal Commission, presided over by the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), and the complete agreement on this point of all who have lately taken a prominent part in agricultural politics, have placed this almost beyond question. Under these circumstances, we may feel confident that legislation on these lines will be welcomed, irrespective of Party considerations. At the same time, it is to be hoped that the Government measure will be so framed as to avoid anything approaching to confusion between the interests of the owners and the occupiers of the land, or to the diminution of the good feeling which has hitherto subsisted between these two classes. The evidence taken by the Royal Commission shows beyond dispute that in England an enormous majority of the permanent improvements has been executed by the landlord, and that there is room for the further application of capital on an extensive scale in the draining and equipment of farms. The Report also shows that it is impossible to expect the tenant farmers, owing to the heavy losses which they have experienced through the recent depression, to provide this capital. We should, therefore, view with mistrust any measure calculated to deter the owners of land from applying their capital to those improvements, while we gladly welcome any measure that will increase and justify the confidence of the tenant, and induce him to maintain and develop the fertility of the soil.

Passing to that part of Her Majesty's gracious Speech which has reference to the United Kingdom, and to the terms in which Her Majesty is able to speak of the condition of Ireland, it is impossible not to be struck by the great contrast in the condition of that country as compared with that to which Her Majesty bore witness in January, 1881, when Her Majesty's gracious Speech stated, in reference to Ireland, that agrarian crimes in general had multiplied far beyond the experiences of recent years; that the administration of justice had been frustrated; and that, with respect to these offences, there was an impossibility of procuring evidence on account of the system of terrorism which paralyzed almost alike the exercise of private rights and the performance of civil duties. For some time after the delivery of that Speech the state of Ireland, far from showing any improvement, passed rapidly from bad to worse. The agrarian crimes, which in 1879 had been 863, had risen in 1880 to 2,590, and in 1881 to 4,439. In contrast to this state of things, we now find ourselves face to face with a steady and progressive diminution in the number of agrarian crimes. The total for the month of January last, including threatening letters, is only 90, as compared with 479 in January, 1882. The administration of justice is no longer frustrated. There have been numerous convictions where none have ever been obtained before, and evidence has been forthcoming in many cases where it was feared terrorism would be successfully employed to shield the criminals. It is particularly noticeable that this evidence is forthcoming, not only from the lips of informers and approvers, but from witnesses who belong to the same class as the criminals. Recent disclosures have amply justified the Government for having applied last year to Parliament for exceptional measures for the repression of agrarian crime, and, above all, of secret societies. There is significant proof of the utility of this measure in the very marked diminution of crime which has shown itself from the time when the first conviction on a capital charge was obtained. I think your Lordships will agree with me that great praise is due to the special juries who tried these cases. They have done their duty honestly and fearlessly, undeterred by abuse and threats, and even attempts at assassination. It is gratifying that, owing to the conduct of the special juries engaged in these critical cases, it has not been found necessary to have recourse to the alternative of trial before Judges only without juries. It is not too much to say in praise of the manner in which Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary, assisted by the permanent staff, have administered the measure, that they have relieved the people of Ireland from an intolerable tyranny, and that this has been done without any material interference with the personal liberty and freedom of any loyal subject. But, my Lords, the Government have not relied on measures of repression alone. Concurrently with these measures for the maintenance of order they have passed remedial measures for the redress of grievances, the existence of which has in past years lent strength to disaffection and agitation in Ireland. The Land Act has secured the tenants of Ireland in the occupation of their holdings at fair rents. However, owing to the exceptional pressure of bad seasons, many tenants were unable to avail themselves of that Act until the passing of the Arrears Act brought them within reach of its advantages. The fact that 90,000 of the tenants of Ireland have appealed under this Act is a satisfactory proof of its utility and necessity. It is, however, impossible to consider the case of Ireland without referring to the case of those occupiers whose circumstances place them beyond the reach of remedial measures, and whose chronic poverty leads to their chronic disaffection. It is to the relief of this class that the Emigration Clauses of the Arrears Act must be applied, in the words of the noble Earl below me who has lately joined Her Majesty's Government. That noble Earl expressed his belief that those clauses must be administered in a spirit of generosity; and I believe that all of your Lordships will be of the same opinion.

With respect to Irish legislation, both Houses of Parliament will be glad to promote further reforms where the necessity for them has been shown, and it is to be hoped they will give to them that careful and temperate consideration which, under the improved circumstances of that country, there should be no difficulty in obtaining for them.

There are many other measures of useful legislation which Her Majesty's Government will bring forward during the present Session—such as the municipal reform of London, the Bankruptcy Bill, the laws relating to patents, &c.—and altogether there is every prospect of the present being a fruitful Session. I will now conclude by thanking you for the indulgence you have shown me, and beg to move that the Address be now presented to Her Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"WE, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that Your Majesty has the satisfaction of maintaining with all foreign Powers relations of friendship and good-will.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that since the close of the last Session tranquillity has been restored to Egypt, clemency has been shown by its Ruler to the leaders of the rebellion, and that the withdrawal of the British troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will admit.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that the reconstitution of the Government of Egypt and the re-organisation of its affairs under the authority of the Khedive, have in part been accomplished, and will continue to receive Your Majesty's earnest attention; and that it will be Your Majesty's endeavour to secure that full provision shall be made for the exigencies of order for a just representation of the wants and wishes of the population, and for the observance of international obligations.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that Your Majesty has already been able to fulfil the promise made to the Sultan and to the Great Powers of Europe, to submit to their friendly consideration the arrangements which appeared to Your Majesty to be the best fitted to ensure the stability of the Khedive's Government, the prosperity and happiness of the Egyptian people, the security of the Suez Canal, and the peace of Europe in the East; that to those objects Your Majesty's policy has been directed in the past and will be addressed in the future; and that Your Majesty continues to rely with confidence on its just appreciation by other countries.

"We learn with satisfaction that a Conference of the Great Powers has assembled in London to consider measures for better securing the freedom of navigation on the Danube.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that with a view to the preservation of peace and order in Zululand, Your Majesty has caused the former Ruler of that country to be replaced in possession of the greater part of the territories held by him before the war. We join with Your Majesty in earnestly hoping that this step may lead to the establishment of a more stable government, and to the maintenance of good relations between the Zulu nation and the adjoining Colony of Natal.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that papers on these subjects will be presented to us.

"We rejoice to learn that the improvement in the social condition of Ireland, to which Your Majesty referred in December, continues, that agrarian crime has sensibly diminished, and that the law has been everywhere upheld, although the existence of dangerous Secret Societies in Dublin and other parts of the country calls for unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive.

"We humbly assure Your Majesty that our careful consideration shall be given to the measures which may be submitted to us, and we earnestly trust that the blessing of Almighty God may attend our labours."

LORD REAY, in rising to second the Motion, said: My Lords, I am sure the House will grant me a large amount of its usual indulgence, now that I rise to address it for the first time under the exceptional circumstances of my previous Parliamentary training in another country. Though I look back to that experience with mingled feelings of gratitude and pleasure, that training adds another and a formidable difficulty to those recognized by all who have to address this House for the first time.

The feature in the Speech from the Throne which will be greeted with general satisfaction is, that we may look forward to a Session not wholly absorbed by Irish legislation, in which Great Britain may expect to have her due share of legislative attention. I will not add anything to what the noble Earl (the Earl of Durham) has said about Ireland. It would be presumptuous on my part, in the presence of so many of your Lordships who are acquainted with all the details of Irish difficulties, and, besides, I do not think the Irish Question can be dealt with in a more masterly way than it has been treated by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) in his speech to his constituents at Hawick, from which I gather that the Government will continue to apply force to the disloyal faction, and will endeavour to conciliate, by every means in their power, the patriotic Party of Order, putting aside minor Party differences. I shall only add that I noticed, with much satisfaction, that, for the relief of exceptional distress, the Government are not prepared to start an exceptional central machinery, but will leave the local authorities to deal with it. The distress is not general, but in certain localities it is acute. We cannot forget the demoralization of 1847 through the centralized system of relief to 3,000,000 of people, which was only removed by the test of the workhouse; and it is now generally admitted that in 1879-80 extraneous aid, though granted with the best of motives, was not attended with results which could warrant a repetition. One of the chief evils of Irish Government certainly has been that the people have looked to Dublin and to the Castle to aid and assist them. The important lesson they have to learn is to become self-reliant, and to work out for themselves their own happiness; making the most of the privileges which have been granted them in recent Acts of Parliament, by individual thrift, and industry. No further burdens can or ought to be thrown on the Central Government of Ireland. The way in which it is administered, at the peril of their lives, by the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary for Ireland gives them a lasting claim on the gratitude of their countrymen, whose best wishes attend them in their efforts to preserve the unity of the Empire.

Next to Ireland, my Lords, Egypt demands our attention. The achievements in the short and brilliant campaign of Her Majesty's Naval and Military Forces have already met with the recognition of your Lordships' House. Lord Wolseley made it his chief object to save Cairo, by making the forced Cavalry march the culmination of his plans; and with such nicety and precision were those plans drawn that the necessity never arose for deviating from them. Through the success which attended the elaborate preparations made by the two great spending Departments, and the incessant care and toil of the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) and the late Secretary of State for War (Mr. Childers), we have restored peace and quiet in that distracted country. The industrious researches of the archæologist, embracing even, as I believe, the mummy of the peerless Cleopatra, can be re-commenced. Did the Egyptian campaign require justification? There is hardly an instance of an intervention which excited so little jealousy. All the Great Powers approved of our action. I say all, because certainly France did not want anarchy to prevail in Egypt, though she judged it more prudent to abstain from restoring order. The neglect of the great interests which we have in Egypt would certainly not have been condoned by the bulk of the English nation. Would the exponents of the non-intervention theory tell us whether they would have been prepared to face the alternatives of non-intervention by England? The question, fortunately, is sufficient to show that there can only be one answer to it. There never has been among sober-minded men any shadow of doubt what our own interests and Egyptian interests required. The Egyptian people have certainly a greater love for the plough than for the sword. All we did and all we are doing is to invite them to return to their fields, and to secure to them the fruits of their labour, with a minimum of taxation necessary to defray the expenses of good government. We are organizing Egypt with and for the Egyptians, and on that account the *status quo ante* cannot be restored. It is quite clear that the question of the time for our withdrawal can only be settled when the work of organization is complete. A peaceful and happy Egypt is as much an Egyptian as a British interest.

Let us now see what view the French took of their interests in Egypt. For that we must look back for a few moments to some remarkable passages in French history of last summer. On the 10th of June, as we remember, Admiral Conrad and his Fleet left Alexandria. On the 18th of July there was a debate in the French Chamber on the Vote of Credit for Egypt. The Report of the Committee which had to consider this Vote was favourable; but all responsibility of action was left to M. de Freycinet. On the other hand, M. de Freycinet declined to use the grant of money directly for the protection of the Suez Canal and of the French inhabitants in Egypt, unless the Chamber took the initiative, because he did not wish to appear to have a pre-conceived plan of action. The Chamber adopted the Vote by a majority of 424 to 64. In the course of that debate, the statesman whose premature death has been so lately mourned in France (M. Gambetta) urged, in the most emphatic manner, that England and France should not part company. He said—

> "Make any sacrifice rather than break the English alliance. . . . . The reason which induces me to maintain this alliance and the English co-operation in the Mediterranean and in Egypt is the fear—let me be well understood—that, in addition to the breach with England, which would be most unfortunate, you surrender to England now and for ever lands, rivers, canals, where your rights to trade and settle are as good as hers."

One reason, my Lords, why I call your attention to this passage is that it strikingly discloses the misconception too often entertained by foreign statesmen of the policy of England. Gambetta failed to see that the surrender of territory to England meant in this, as in all other cases, not a monopoly for Englishmen, but equal rights of settling and trading to the French, as well as to all other nations. The fear of Gambetta had no foundation in fact. To return to this very important French debate, and its bearings on English policy, we must note the views expressed by some of the chief French statesmen, which led up to non-intervention. Gambetta looked on the Vote of Credit as an instalment. The Government deprecated the notion that this Vote meant immediate action. M. Clémenceau, the Chief of the Radical Party, repudiated the idea that French and English interests were identical, and maintained that, through the Control, France had lost ground in Egypt. When the debate came on in the Senate, the Duc de Broglie agreed in the main with M. Clémenceau's view and with M. de Freycinet's former opinion, that an Anglo-French intervention would lead to a policy of adventure. Gambetta's views were ably advocated by M. Waddington, supported by M. Scherer, editor of *Le Temps*, and by M. de St. Vallier, late French Ambassador at Berlin. The Senate carried the Vote of Credit on the 25th of July by a large majority. Meanwhile the Government had proposed to the Chamber an additional Vote of Credit. The Committee to which it was referred repudiated intervention, and, finally, the Vote itself. In the debate in the Chamber, M. de Freycinet pointed out the innumerable complications to which intervention, without a European mandate, would lead, but that protection of the Canal was a very simple affair. M. Clémenceau denied this, contending that it was impossible to draw a distinction between the Egyptian Question and the question of the Suez Canal, because the Canal must be protected at Cairo. The result of this debate was the rejection of the Vote by 417 to 75—a rejection under circumstances which made it as clear as sunlight that France would not intervene, because a Government with a policy of intervention could not be formed. Non-intervention was the deliberate decision of the Representatives of the French people—the decision of an overwhelming majority, after exhaustive debates in both the Senate and the Chamber. England was prepared to co-operate with France; England always maintained the attitude assumed in the Joint Note of January, 1882; and France was left entirely free to do as she liked. The Vote of the French Châmber on the 29th of July put an end to dual intervention and to Dual Control. It did not put an end to the cordial relations which exist between the two countries; and the refusal to co-operate with us has certainly left no rancour on this side of the Channel. Our feelings towards France are those of cordial sympathy. We fully recognize the patriotic motives which led to the decision, as also the friendly tone of the debates towards ourselves. When the Duc de Broglie, the foremost Representative of all the great traditions of French statesmanship, and M. Clémenceau, the Representative of the anti-traditional school, take the same view of French interests, I think we may consider them perfectly safe. In the great question of Mohammedanism we are certainly not less interested than the French. The difference between French and English interests in Egypt is this — that the French interests are those of individuals, and ours are national interests. This is the main reason why Europe showed more jealousy of an Anglo-French than of an English intervention alone. The Suez Canal is our main road to India, and we see, as M. Clémenceau saw, that the key of the situation is kept at Cairo. The Canal, we ought never to forget, is due to French enterprize; its signal success is best proved by the fact that it is about to be enlarged by the owners of the Canal, whose chief and only interest lies in its freedom from obstruction. Whatever may be the other regulations in reference to the Canal, the main point is that our men-of-war shall be able at all times to pass through it. No Power can object to our claims in regard to the Canal, and our wishes are identical with those of other Powers who have an interest second only to ours as regards the importance of their shipping and of their Eastern Dependencies.

The dangers of the Control were obvious. Nothing but praise is due to Mr. Baring, to M. de Blignières, and to Sir Auckland Colvin. Anyone who looks carefully into the changes introduced in November, 1879, in the functions of the Controllers, as originally settled in November, 1876, will at once perceive how very delicate the machinery was which they had to set in motion, and how the absence of friction entirely depended on the harmony existing between the two Controllers. Let it not be forgotten that what is abolished was really a quadrilateral Control. The Dual Control in another and a much more effective form always continues—namely, the influence exercised by the political Agents of England and France. The danger of a divergence of opinion between the political and financial Agents of each country is now removed. You secure to the political Agents a stronger and a better position by giving them the entire control of British interests, both financial and political—in fact, in Egypt the two are so united as to become one. It is hardly possible to conceive a position of greater responsibility than that of Her Majesty's future Representative at Cairo. He must have a combination of all the rarest gifts. English influence in the East means the selection and employment of men like Lord Dufferin and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. It cannot be denied that if there was an element of danger in the defunct Dual Control, its abolition entails greater responsibility and watchfulness than ever; for a policy, like that of the ex-Khedive for instance, would at once revive the old dangers. The Dual Control, as had been foreseen by Count Kalnoky and by M. de Giers, could not survive.

The Danube Conference will, we may hope, lead to a definite settlement of a difficult question. As the harbour dues between Galatz and Sulina are nearly all paid by us, it is obvious that we are largely interested in the solution of the question, and in the freedom of navigation, which has enormously increased. Fortunately, the principal points are settled, and only minor points remain to be dealt with.

What are the results, my Lords, of the foreign policy of the noble Earl? The noble Earl has kept us out of alliances, too often the cause or the result of weakness. Instead of alliances, my Lords, the noble Earl has secured to us the friendly feeling of the whole of Europe—not only of such an old friend as Austria, but of the whole of the smaller Powers as well as of the Great Powers. Through what means? Through a straightforward and consistent policy, in which there was, and there is, nothing to conceal. The noble Earl the Leader of this House may well feel satisfied in looking back, because he must be conscious that his successful management of foreign affairs in a period of considerable anxiety has materially increased the influence of England.

One of the most important measures to which I may now call your Lordships' attention is that of the Municipal Government of London. The growing needs of the Metropolis, the multiplicity and the intricacy of the problems which this huge agglomeration of human beings gives us to solve, makes it absolutely necessary to establish a machinery which will be able to deal with them. It might have been done by creating a number of units—a number of municipalities. It seems, however, simpler and more rational to go on historic lines, and to create one Municipality for the whole of London, working, of course, through subordinate bodies in the various districts. We all know the difficulties thrown in the way of securing a good water supply, and what are the results of a snowstorm. If any further proof were needed, I should call your Lordships' attention to the Report of 1837, which contemplated the formation of a Municipality—to Sir George Lewis's Report of 1854, followed by the creation of the Metropolitan Board in 1855, for the purpose mainly of superintending London drainage, but gradually enlarging its useful sphere of action. Then we have had many attempts of private Members to deal with the subject—J. S. Mill, Charles Buxton, Lord Elcho, and Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth; but leading men on both sides have felt that the Government ought to undertake the work. The *Mairie Centrale* had terrors for the French Chamber, and on the same 19th of July that it adopted the Vote of Credit it rejected the *Mairie Centrale* by a majority of 100. But then what does the *Mairie Centrale* represent? Let me give an illustration of what it represents. Some officials who were going to proclaim a new Government were ascending the stairs of the Hôtel de Ville. "Where are you going?" said an old messenger. "We are going to proclaim the Government." "I beg your pardon, gentlemen, but you are going the wrong way. This is the window from which new Governments are always proclaimed." Well, my Lords, our *Mairie Centrale* is certainly not connected with the proclamation of new Governments. Its memories are essentially genial, I might even add convivial. It is associated with every generous and charitable movement. Its honours are coveted by our best men. These traditions remain undisturbed. The Mansion House will still be the heart of London. It will be the same power for national improvement and for international courtesy which it is now. The Lord Mayor will preside over an assembly which will be representative, and which will, in some respects, be as important as the Chamber of an independent State. I need not give a catalogue of subjects, but I should like to mention one for the consideration of the new body—a University for London. Ours is the only great capital without a University, in the strict sense of the word; and there is no capital where you could have a better University by organizing the various existing Colleges and courses of lectures, especially as regards law and medicine.

It is obvious why the question of County Government should be speedily settled. First, we have the absolute necessity of simplifying a system of which the complications are well known to us; then we have the difficulty of dealing with certain matters as long as the County Boards are not representative; and, lastly, the importance of strengthening the sense of citizenship in some sections of the rural community. The difficulty attending the re-adjustment of boundaries, where boundaries overlap, appears to be considerably exaggerated. By simplifying the machinery of county government, by having fewer areas, and by investing the authorities of each area with the whole of its administration, you reduce the expenditure, and you make the problem of local taxation a much easier one to solve. By the creation of County Boards you also make the work of the Local Government Board lighter. In the County Boards you will find a proper authority for controlling Poor Law Guardians and School Boards, for granting licences, and you have in it the proper body for stimulating education in its higher grades. The County Boards will be invaluable to the English Universities in the great work they have undertaken of superintending education all over the country. The unselfish activity of the Universities in leading the intellectual life of the nation is beyond all praise. They are doing work which elsewhere is done by the State, only they are doing it with superior wisdom. The supreme danger of a Democracy is that it does not recognize its own ignorance. The dangerous success of false prophets will be minimized as long as the English Universities lead the rising Democracy. I do not speak of the Scotch Universities, for the simple reason that they have always been essentially Democratic bodies, and that to their influence is due so much that is characteristic of Scotland. But the County Boards have another function to perform. What is the present danger of our rural life? The loss of so many of our most useful men. The attraction to a young farmer of becoming a landowner in our Colonies, or in the United States of America, is great, and doubly so, since lack of capital renders the stocking of a new farm so difficult. On a County Board you can give him the same position he has now in the hunting field—a local interest and influence, and a sense of citizenship which may make him think twice before he leaves the old country for hard work in a new country. Unfortunately, we cannot increase the number of landowners, not because there is no land in the market, but because there are no agriculturists who will buy, and we cannot pass a Homestead Act. The greater the number of landowners, the greater is your safeguard against experimental or complicated agrarian legislation, for the numbers who would resist such legislation become a bulwark of stability. When the acreage is very small it is respected as a personalty. A Continental owner of 10 acres has much more absolute ideas of property than the owner of 10,000 acres in Great Britain; and I would much rather be the tenant of the latter than of the former, who looks upon his 10 acres as a pure investment.

The same reasons which plead in favour of County Boards can be urged in favour of those reforms which tenant farmers are justified in asking for. As long as none of the "three F's" of Irish Land Laws are to be discovered in them, I do not suppose they will meet with much opposition in this House. They are certainly not hidden in the clauses of the Bill which the Government will introduce to secure compensation for unexhausted improvements. The greater the number of improving tenants there are, so much the better for the country. I expect, however, that, as a rule, the landlord will carry out the permanent improvements, leaving to the farmer his capital for other purposes. The best remedy for agricultural depression and agricultural wrongs—and I do not deny there are such in exceptional cases—lies in the willingness of landowners to meet their tenants halfway, which we see everywhere around us. When we note that the Bill has been demanded by very moderate land reformers, and recommended by the Royal Agricultural Commission, it cannot be called revolutionary. Moreover, it is a result of the power given to one party to contract himself out of the Agricultural Holdings Act instead of having made it a matter for joint agreement. The notion that agricultural depression can be cured by legislation, or is due to existing laws, or to the tenure of our land system, is totally fallacious. The same causes which have produced agricultural depression here have been working out the same results under a totally different system of land tenure in other parts of Europe. I speak from my own experience and observation.

The influence of America on our rural economy is a factor which cannot be overlooked. It is a growing influence, and I do not believe that it will be confined to rural matters. The relations between the English-speaking communities on the face of the globe must necessarily become more and more intimate, and, I believe, more friendly. The fact of the financial surplus of the United States being their great political embarrassment is one of the most extraordinary events in history. That our people can so easily obtain a share in that prosperity is certainly most gratifying.

Scotland, my Lords, does not expect so rich a harvest of legislation as last year. Until Scotch administration is put on a more definite footing, Scotsmen know that they can only get their wants attended to by a series of happy coincidences. Scotland is, however, looking forward to the measures promised in the Speech from the Throne. All the Royal and Parliamentary burghs of Scotland have been consulted on the Police Bill, and there is no doubt that a codification of the police and municipal laws of Scotland would be attended with beneficial results. Scotland, my Lords, will be pleased to hear that the Universities are to have their wants, not investigated, but satisfied. When it is considered, in addition to what I have already said about the Scotch Universities, that Edinburgh is in numbers the most important University of the United Kingdom, that Glasgow is equally outgrowing its cradle, and that the Scotch Universities have to contend with a competition—of which I do not complain, but growing fiercer every day—of the English Universities, owing to the fact that the latter are more and more widening their sphere of influence, I trust that a measure ardently desired by the Scotch people will be allowed to pass this Session, and that it will be one of many. The privilege of increasing the conditions under which the people can attain prosperity is one which cannot be taken from us. It is the privilege we most care for.

I hope, and I firmly believe, in conclusion, that England is destined to continue to give an example to the world of a strong and sober Democracy, all the stronger because it unites steady progress with unbroken loyalty to our ancient Monarchy. I beg to second the Motion of my noble Friend.—[See page 13.]

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I believe that as far as my not very long experience in this House reaches, there exists no instance of an Amendment being moved to the Address, and I imagine that such a practice has been abandoned for a considerable time. In fact, I do not believe that since the displacement of Lord Melbourne's Administration in 1841 that course has been taken. I believe that this alteration in our practice is a wise one, because circumstances must be exceedingly exceptional which would make any Motion of that kind desirable in this House. But even if the case were otherwise, I should find it difficult to frame a bill of indictment against so impalpable and formless a Queen's Speech as this. I think that some feeling of that kind must have pressed upon the two noble Lords who have so ably moved and seconded the Address, because they felt it necessary, in order to give some additional interest to their agreeable discourses, to fall back upon such matters as the proceedings of the French Assembly some 12 months ago, and the military merits of the noble Lord who sits upon the Cross Benches, and whose presence here we all welcome as a high honour to the House. One of the noble Lords said that the Speech was one which must give great satisfaction to the House to hear. However that may be, I doubt whether it is one that gave great satisfaction to its authors to compose. It gives me the impression of an ordeal by fire. A number of burning questions lie about—matters of the deepest interest to the world—and the Speech moves about among the red-hot ploughshares with delicate steps, scarcely touching one of them, and certainly not allowing to remain upon its surface the slightest imprint of their contact. There are many subjects of interest just now. There is the question of the constitution of Egypt, of the future of Egypt, and of the policy of the Government in that country, and of the way in which that policy is to be received by Foreign Powers. We learn from the Speech that Her Majesty's Government had suppressed with rapidity and completeness a formidable rebellion in Egypt. Let me say in passing that the words used are those which are usually employed by those who have territorial possession of a country, and who are repressing a rebellion against their own authority. Then we are told that—

> "The withdrawal of the British troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will admit."

But the great anxiety of the world is to know whether the British troops are to be withdrawn altogether, and when; and upon neither of those questions does the Speech give us the slightest hint as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. The Government are able to say that they have submitted internal politics of France clear themselves, and she becomes more of a power in Europe than she is now, you must expect that your position in Egypt, unless very strongly secured, will be attacked, not only by the ambitions which may spring up among the Native population, but by the intrigues of Foreign Powers as well. There are other circumstances which ought not to be forgotten in dealing with the attitude of France towards this country in Egypt. The constant changes of Government in France have seemingly, and in reality, weakened that country, and have made the power of the Central Government over its distant agents far feebler than it was before. Now, what you have to fear, in your dealings in every part of the world, is, not so much the antagonism of the Central Government, which is enlightened and knows its own interests, but the action of distant agents, who are actuated by traditional feelings which they cannot shake off; and, in proportion as the Central Government is weak, you will find the difficulty of dealing with these matters in Egypt increase. I say this to illustrate what I have ventured to advance—namely, that at this moment the policy of dealing with this Egyptian Question by hints and innuendoes is singularly misplaced. The time is come when it would be of great diplomatic importance, and of great assistance to the conduct of England in the future, that her position with respect to Egypt should be fully and rigidly defined. We hear from one Member of the Government that the troops are not to stay in Egypt. We hear from another Member that they are to stay until certain objects are to be achieved, which we know cannot be achieved at an early period. We hear from Mr. Chamberlain that, considering the interests it has, it is impossible for England to look with apathy on anarchy in Egypt; and from the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) we hear an inspired panegyric on anarchy, which he appears to regard as the highest blessing that can be bestowed upon a nation. That seems to show that you have no definite policy; and those who look forward to the time when your troops will leave the country, and when their own influence and power will be restored again, are encouraged to make their preparations for that period, and to keep alive every source of discontent and disturbance which may be at their command. My Lords, the same may be said with regard to Ireland. Her Majesty's Government have changed their policy in Ireland. We have had efforts to maintain the law which we cannot too highly applaud. I think that the greatest praise is due to Lord Spencer for his exertions; but we cannot but regret that all these efforts were not made 12 or 18 months ago. In this, as in the former case, your change of policy, of course, does not wipe out the evils you have done. The agency by which you conducted, to a great extent, the government of Ireland, by your act, is gone. You formerly had the landowners of Ireland between you and the rest of the population. I am not speaking of the injury you have done them, and the resentments it may leave behind—that is another subject of discussion—but you have shattered their power, and they are now perfectly useless for the purpose of protecting the English Government, or of maintaining the connection between the two countries. Thus, the greater burden is thrown on the Central Government. On it now rests the whole exclusive responsibility of making head against what seems to be a rising popular feeling in that country. With these difficulties in front of you, of which nobody can underrate the magnitude, I would ask, have you a clear and settled policy? Do your Ministers know what they are going to do? Are they able to announce what they will grant and what they will refuse, so as to remove all the hopes of agitation? From the phrases of the Speech, one would imagine that Her Majesty's Government have never heard of the fierce conflict that has been going on between its Members on the subject of their Irish policy. Why, we have had a regular tournament all the winter between the various Members of Her Majesty's Government—a tournament in which Lord Hartington has challenged all comers. It was begun by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who avowed that his great nostrum for Irish evils was spending a million or two on emigration. Lord Hartington hastened to assure the world that that was a delusion, and was utterly opposed to the feelings and prejudices of the Irish people. Then there was the serious question, which is the burning question of the hour—the extension of local government in that country. Mr. Healy, before he went to prison, elaborated a careful scheme in that direction, and the matter has been dealt with by Members of the Government both inside and outside the Cabinet. I think Mr. Herbert Gladstone said he was in favour of considering Home Rule; Mr. Ashley would not grant Home Rule, but would give every possible extension of the municipal and Parliamentary franchise; while Mr. Courtney, as I have said, pronounced a perfectly Pindaric eulogium on the advantages of anarchy. Mr. Chamberlain again—I should be sorry to misquote him, because it is so strange in a Member of the Government to give utterance to such words—said—

> "As long as Ireland is without any institution of local government worthy of the name, so long the seeds of discontent and disloyalty will remain, only to burst forth into luxurious growth at the first favourable season."

Unfortunately, we have not had many utterances from Mr. Gladstone in this Recess. His constituents in Mid Lothian have, to their great grief, failed to receive a defence of his policy; but we progress rapidly in these times, and new ways of communication are constantly discovered by distinguished men. Mr. Gladstone, having abandoned the senate and the platform, has taken refuge behind the tea-table, and there he informs M. Clémenceau that the "curse of Ireland is centralization." He adds—

> "What I hope and desire, what I labour for and have at heart, is to decentralize authority there. We have disestablished the Church, and have relieved the tenant class of many grievances, and are now going to produce a state of things which will make the humblest Irishman realize that he is a governing agency, and that the government is to be carried on for him and by him."

I do not like the idea of the humblest Irishman as a governing agency. Now, these are the opinions of Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Chamberlain; what does Lord Hartington say? He says—

> "It is supposed by some that by changes in the system of local self-government we can restore contentment to the country. It would be madness, in my opinion, to give Ireland more extended self-government, unless we can receive from the Irish people some assurance that this boon would not be used for the purpose of agitation."

Now, it is not for me to reconcile these divergent opinions; it is enough to say that Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Gladstone's views are regarded by Lord Hartington as madness. What I do wish to press upon the House and upon Her Majesty's Government is, that this is no mere question of inconsistency. It is not an ordinary Party device of comparing the present with the former opinions of an adversary. It is a question whether, in a crisis of singular importance in Irish history, the Government have presented to the Irish people a plain and distinct policy in which they are all agreed, or whether, by their expressed disagreement, they are not encouraging the Irish people to further efforts in agitation. Two or three years ago we used to hear a great deal of the Concert of Europe. That has entirely disappeared from the speeches of the advocates of the Government; we have ceased to hope for such great things, and only ask now for the concert of Downing Street. We ask only that Downing Street shall be at one with itself, because we cannot but feel that these strange divergencies of opinion are not the result of accident, but are a necessary part of Party strategy. If this difference of opinion had concerned merely Egypt, I might have thought that predominant diplomatic considerations had driven the Government to it; but in respect to Ireland it is impossible not to feel that the speeches on one side or another are addressed successively to the two wings of the Liberal Party. When the Radicals begin to think that the pledges of 1880 are not being fulfilled, Mr. Chamberlain is sent down to pacify them; and when the Whigs begin to think that those pledges are taken too seriously, Lord Hartington is commissioned to set the matter right. I can well imagine that in so divided a flock what is called, in American parlance, "sitting on the gate," may be a judicious art, and a necessary resource of Party tactics. But, however necessary it may be for Party cohesion and to secure the obedience of confiding Radicals, I venture to say that no course can be pursued more dangerous to the interests of the Empire.

EARL GRANVILLE: I do not always agree with the noble Marquess, and, therefore, it is a great satisfaction to me to be in accord with him in at least four of the statements he has made. In the first place, I acknowledge the justice of his remark, that there was nothing to criticize in Her Majesty's Speech; and if the noble Marquess cannot find something to criticize, I defy the rest of mankind to do so. I agree with him also in his welcome to the noble and gallant Lord whom we are all so glad to see amongst us, and I cordially agree with the compliment he paid to the Mover and Seconder of the Address. The remarks of the Seconder of the Address were statesmanlike, and not merely of a conventional character; and with regard to the noble Earl, your Lordships will have observed the excellent tone and substance of his speech. In an hereditary Chamber it is interesting to see what qualities descend from generation to generation; and, from what we have heard to-day, I cannot doubt that the blood of the Lambtons, the Greys, and the Russells will produce the results of which the promise has been given this evening. The noble Marquess complains of a want of vigour in the Speech, which he attributes to the absence of Mr. Gladstone; but the whole tradition of Lord John Russell's experience would be contrary to that contention. Then, again, I am bound to say that when the noble Marquess makes it his principal complaint against the Queen's Speech in that it deals in innuendoes, it appears to me that the noble Marquess's speech just delivered consists entirely of innuendoes, with hardly any positive attack on Her Majesty's Government at all. Under these circumstances, it is not necessary for me to go into any details respecting the Bills announced in the Speech. The noble Marquess has spoken of Ireland, and I cannot help thinking that it is a very great tribute to the Government of Ireland at this moment that the noble Marquess has not found one single thing to complain of in the Government of that country during the last six months which have elapsed since Parliament first adjourned in the month of August. All his attacks have been founded upon speeches made by Gentlemen not in the Cabinet, and upon unwarranted gossip at dinner parties. I certainly do venture to take upon me to state, whatever shades of difference may be detected in our views with regard to the condition of Ireland, I am quite certain that no Member of Her Majesty's Government has, on the one hand, declared in favour of anything like Home Rule, any separation of the connection between the two countries, nor, on the other hand, has anyone denied that there may be measures for giving more interest in the government of Ireland to the Irish people, which it may be desirable to pass. Like my noble Friends the Mover and Seconder, the noble Marquess spoke with reference to Lord Spencer. It may be an invidious task to me to award any praise to a Colleague; but I cannot help saying on this occasion—and I do so entirely uninfluenced by personal or political feelings—that I believe what has been said by the three noble Lords who have preceded me does not, in the slightest degree, exceed the merits of the case. Within a short time, since Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan have been associated in the Government of Ireland, they have both taken upon themselves these arduous duties, the undertaking and discharge of which require both physical and moral courage. One of the reasons for the great success of Lord Spencer in that capacity has been that, on the one hand, no one loves Ireland more, no one is more associated with the feeling of the best portion of the Irish people, no one is more desirous of reforming any grievances that exist, and no one, at the same time, combines with that the highest sense of duty in carrying on in a firm and determined manner the war upon the enemies, not only of this country, but of Ireland itself. My Lords, the noble Marquess complains in particular of the want of concert on the part of Her Majesty's Government. As I said before, I have not been reading all the productions of the day; but I certainly have seen some, and I certainly have been told of other speeches and articles, not of Liberals accusing Conservatives of being disunited, but of different Members of the great united Conservative Party complaining of their Leaders and followers, and making up what appears to me to be a quarrel in that great and historical Party; and while speaking on this subject the noble Marquess might have dispelled some illusions which have been created on this side of the House. Then the noble Marquess went on to speak with regard to Egypt, and, as usual, he began by accusing the Government of vacillation and weakness in the first portion of their dealings with the Egyptian Question. The noble Marquess has not explained what he wished. Did he wish for more decisive language on our part, or for earlier decided action? I want to know what the thing is he complains of. Did not we speak loud enough? The great complaint last year was with regard to the Dual Note, in which we spoke very firmly, and which, I may say, we have adhered to, carrying out everything that was stated in that Note. That Note was complained of as being of too aggressive a character by the noble Marquess and some of his Friends. Then, is it want of action that is complained of? One Member of the late Government has twice stated that 100 policemen would have settled the whole thing. Once it was said on his own authority, and once on that of M. Gambetta. I do not know what force it was that M. Gambetta contemplated using on behalf of France; but I do not think it was his intention to send 100 *sergents-de-ville* to effect that purpose. Another Member of the late Cabinet only this week said that we ought to have landed 1,000 men at Alexandria. I believe that the landing of a force before the successful operations of the Fleet would have been madness. I remember at the time there was a discussion as to whether we should postpone any action on the part of the Fleet, and it was then stated that it would require a whole month to effect a combined land movement with France, whilst during that time the forts were being fortified, not to mention the immense moral effect that such a postponement would have against us. I believe, on the contrary, if we had not used every possible means before adopting measures of force—if we had not convinced the whole of Europe of our determination in this sense—I believe the danger of an early intervention on our part would have been immense, and I very much doubt whether it would have been effectual, while the result might have been a general European war. My Lords, the noble Marquess has treated this part of the question lightly; and, as he has preferred going into the speeches of Cabinet Ministers, and innumerable persons not in the Cabinet, I may make some reference to the speeches he made at Edinburgh. Those speeches were announced as very important ones. They were to have the effect sometimes attributed to the Mid Lothian speeches of Mr. Gladstone, and of course they were carefully prepared before they were made. I confess I felt very nervous and embarrassed as to what might be the power of the noble Marquess, and what the noble Marquess might do in attacking the Government policy on that occasion; and I must say that I never was more relieved in my life than when I read those speeches, because it appeared to me that the arguments of the noble Marquess were based exclusively on historical statements of fact, which I knew, when the opportunity came, could be absolutely and entirely destroyed. I am not going to trouble your Lordships with details of the noble Marquess's speeches; but I will give you an instance of the sort of argument he adduced in holding up the Government to reprobation. He described us as having asked the permission of Europe to invade Egypt, and, after having received a refusal of that permission, as having proceeded to take Egypt. I must say that if the Government had been guilty of such conduct it would have been very hypocritical, very inconsistent, and very audacious; and my only reason for supposing that Europe is not indignant is that I think it just possible that Europe doubted every single assertion which the noble Marquess made. I am at a loss to know when and where we asked the permission of Europe to invade Egypt; and when he states that we have now taken Egypt, I can only state that we have not taken it, and that we do not intend to take it. That is the sort of representation which was made. I will take another instance. The noble Marquess attacked the bombardment, and asked what could be thought of a Government which had taken a vast Fleet to Alexandria, where it had no international right, and, being there, demanded things to be done on shore, and those demands being refused they proceeded to bombard a commercial port contrary to International Law.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Not contrary to International Law, but in a place where they had no international right to be.

EARL GRANVILLE: I am right; contrary to International Law.

EARL CAIRNS: It was Mr. Bright who said that it was against International Law.

EARL GRANVILLE: I will admit it to be a perfectly legitimate argument on the part of Mr. Bright, but not in the mouth of the noble Marquess. With regard to the Fleet, what occurred first was, that in September Sir Edward Malet applied to the Government, stating that a panic existed; but he applied not so much on account of what might be done as because, if excitement occurred, it might be desirable there should be a place of refuge. We sent a ship, as did the French, and sent a telegram explaining why it was sent; and when that ship was removed, we had another despatch from Sir Edward Malet expressing a hope that his original request for a ship would not be disregarded. It has been stated that it was in consequence of our disregard of Sir Edward Malet's caution against sending a ship —exactly the reverse of what he did advise—that there was a massacre at Alexandria; that event having happened eight months later. I now come to another part of the question. I think it was on the 15th of May I stated in this House the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Egypt. The principal portion of that statement was that the French Government and ourselves had ordered squadrons to go to Alexandria. The noble Marquess spoke immediately afterwards, and said he had no objection to make to the statement I had just delivered. He said that we had inherited obligations from the late Government with regard to Tewfik, and that it was absolutely necessary that we should support those obligations, not only by despatches, but by force if necessary. Well, it would be perfectly consistent if Mr. Bright or Sir Wilfrid Lawson had used the noble Marquess's recent arguments, because they always objected to the despatch of the Fleet to Alexandria; but is it possible to conceive how the noble Marquess can lay down the principle that he entirely approves of our action, and then hold up the Government to execration at Edinburgh because we have taken a course which he entirely approved of at the time? I go further. He said, being there, we asked for things to be done on shore which we had no international right to do. Well; but on the 1st of June last, the noble Marquess stated in this House that if Her Majesty's Government were allowing the forts at Alexandria to be built, and were refusing to allow the Fleet to take the precautions which at once, and without any breach of International Law, would put a stop to these works, he thought they were running a great risk, and were taking a most imprudent course. However, I do not complain so much of the noble Marquess changing his opinions so greatly within six months, as that he should have said that we bombarded the commercial part of the town. It was said by Arabi Bey and by a small section of the hostile Press on the Continent that we bombarded the commercial part of the port of Alexandria; but all our official Reports, both civil and military, concur with the statements of the Admiral and the Naval officers — that the greatest care, humanity, and skill were exercised to concentrate the bombardment exclusively on the forts and the earthworks which had been erected. My Lords, it has been said that the great business of an Opposition was to oppose. Well, I admit, my Lords, that it is a very important function of an Opposition to criticize the conduct of the Government; but that ought to be done fairly, in accordance with the ordinary principles of justice, and with due regard to historical facts. I beg your Lordships' pardon for having dwelt so long on this subject; but I thought it necessary to put your Lordships on your guard. The noble Marquess stated in the summer of last year that there were two things which affected the honour of this country. One was the maintenance of Tewfik in his position as Khedive; the other was the removal of Arabi from the country. Now, both these things we have done. With regard to Tewfik, I have always been of opinion that our honour was deeply engaged in the maintenance of that Prince. The sudden deposition of Ismail greatly weakened the authority of the Khediviat. A deposition of Tewfik would have been fatal to it. I believe that was the opinion of the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Wolseley) on the Cross Benches. The removal of Arabi has been accomplished; and since that time I may fairly say that order, peace, and prosperity have been established in Egypt, and we have been enabled to communicate that fact to the Powers, together with a general expression of our views. That communication was certainly made earlier than I had hoped to be able to make it. Some are of opinion that it is desirable to annex, or, what amounts to the same thing, to maintain a complete protectorate over Egypt. This is a policy which Her Majesty's present Government could not easily pursue, considering the statements they have invariably made to Parliament and to Foreign Powers. Besides, I believe it is entirely out of the question as a wise measure on the part of this country. Lord Palmerston was always strongly against it, and Lord Beaconsfield once told a Foreign Ambassador that he would not take Egypt as a gift. India has been mentioned; but there is one great difference between India and Egypt. India is, comparatively speaking, isolated from European nations, other than ours; whereas Egypt has as neighbours many of the nations of Europe, and their inhabitants are swarming in Egypt. This, in itself, would constitute an immense difficulty if we were to take upon ourselves the whole government of the country. The other alternative proposed is that, having by means of our sailors and soldiers achieved that remarkable success, we ought to leave Egypt entirely to solve its own problems. In the first place, if we wished to wash our hands completely of Egypt, I am convinced that other Powers would intervene. In the second place, as we did enter into military operations, and as we did carry them to a successful issue, it appears to me that we should be absolutely without any justification for those operations if we were to leave Egypt in a state of anarchy, and without a reasonable prospect of having a stable and beneficent Government. The noble Marquess wishes me to state the exact date of the withdrawal of our troops from Egypt. My Lords, I cannot conceive that it would be prudent for me to make such a statement. We shall not keep our troops there any longer than is necessary; but it would be an act of treachery to ourselves, to Egypt, and to Europe, if we withdrew them without having a certainty, or, if not a certainty—because we cannot have certainty in the affairs of this life—until there is a reasonable expectation of a stable, a permanent, and a beneficent Government being established in Egypt. The noble Marquess says that our influence in Egypt consists in our troops, and that when they are withdrawn the memory of their prowess will fade away. But before the Expedition, and under a system which gave the French an equal control with ourselves, there was no doubt that the influence of this country in Egypt was very strong. To what is that influence owing? As regards our influence in Egypt, I believe that it will be considerably increased and strengthened by what has occurred there during the past six months. It is all very well for the noble Marquess to twit me with respect to the abolition of the Dual Control. Does he say we ought to have maintained the Control or not? There was not even an innuendo that we ought to have maintained it. Last year he urged us very much not to rely on France, but to rely on ourselves; and now he makes it, in a sort of indirect manner, an accusation that we are not in agreement with France. I doubt whether anyone in this House, or the other House, is more desirous than I have been all my life to maintain the best possible relations with France. I do not think it quite reasonable; but it is certainly natural that there should be some little irritation at this moment in France. But I believe that the real interests of both countries are identically the same in regard to the government of Egypt—that it should be orderly and stable, and such as best to conduce to the prosperity and peace of the country. I can most sincerely say that we shall hope for the good feeling of France. My noble Friend who seconded the Motion referred to the approval by the Powers of our action. There is no phrase in the Queen's Speech to that effect, because we have had no official communications on the subject. From the French Government we have had no communication whatever. That may be an unfavourable symptom. But the state of political affairs in that country may sufficiently account for the silence of the French Government. From Turkey we have had no communication, except that the Sultan approves of the abolition of the Control. With regard to Germany, Italy, and Austria, general expressions of approval have been received; and information has reached us from St. Petersburg that the Russian answer will be of a somewhat similar character. My Lords, if anyone ever deserved the confidence of his country, Sir Edward Malet deserves it, in consideration of the way in which he conducted the affairs of Egypt in times of extraordinary difficulty; but we thought it would not be fair to centre in one man constructive as well as diplomatic duties; and, therefore, we looked out for a man who should be best fitted to assist him in the work of construction in Egypt. We found that person in my noble Friend Lord Dufferin, who had arranged in so permanent a fashion the affairs of the Lebanon, who had great experience of government on the other side of the Atlantic, and who had also been so successful in diplomacy. He was, we thought, of all men especially fitted to work with Sir Edward Malet in carrying out exactly the principles which the Government had laid down. I trust and believe this policy of the Government will be that which is best calculated for the prosperity and peace of Egypt, which it is the interest of France and all the Powers, as it undoubtedly is of this country, to secure and maintain.

The Duke of ABERCORN said, Parliament was congratulated in the gracious Speech from the Throne upon the improved condition of Ireland; and much of that improvement was said by Members and supporters of the Government, out of Parliament, to be due to the remedial measures, as they were called, which had been introduced by the present Government. He was glad to say that there had been a considerable improvement in the state of the country; but that improvement was solely due to the vigour and courage with which his noble Friend (Lord Spencer) was carrying out the provisions of the Crimes Act, and it was an absolute delusion to suppose that remedial measures had in any degree contributed to that result. On the contrary, the remedial measures, which chiefly consisted in the confiscation of the landlord's property, had increased agitation and created dissatisfaction in the country population, because expectations were raised which could not be fulfilled. He had been resident in Ireland during the last five months, and he found that it was the opinion of everyone competent to form a judgment that the tenants were much more discontented and unsettled than they were at the close of the Duke of Marlborough's Viceroyalty, before any remedial legislation was introduced or even talked of. The improved state of Ireland during the last four months was entirely due to the vigour with which Lord Spencer had carried out the law; and, in doing so, he had done precisely what the Conservative Party had been urging the Government for the last three years to do, and precisely what, up to last May, they refused to do. Had the Government acted with the same vigour in 1880, we should not have seen Ireland in the disastrous position it was now in; and in the course he had taken Lord Spencer had acted upon the lines laid down by the Conservative Party, and in direct opposition to those laid down and enunciated by Mr. Gladstone as his Irish policy. But let it not for a moment be supposed that that improvement was a solid or a permanent one, or that any relaxation of the vigorous measures now used would not be followed by a renewal of outrages equally numerous and atrocious as those which had disgraced the last three years, and which could only be kept in abeyance at the present time, and for some time to come, by the rigid enforcement of the law. But while a good deal had been said and admitted about the improvement which had taken place in Ireland during the last few months, he was sorry to be obliged to dispel the illusion of noble Lords opposite, by pointing out that that improvement was only a comparative improvement upon the frightful series of agrarian outrages that had marked both occasions of Mr. Gladstone's Governments and the development of his Irish policy. When Mr. Gladstone took Office in the last days of 1868, the official Returns of the agrarian outrages for that year were only 160. Under Mr. Gladstone's Government they rose at once in 1869 to 767, and in 1870 to 1,329, or 12 times the amount of agrarian outrages in the average years of the preceding Conservative Government, when he (the Duke of Abercorn) was Lord Lieutenant. Simultaneously, again, with Mr. Gladstone's second advent to power, in 1880, when he ridiculed Lord Beaconsfield's warnings, when he announced that there was an absence of crime and outrage such as was unknown in the history of Ireland, and refused to renew the Peace Preservation Act, or to take any precaution against seditious agitation, the agrarian outrages, coincident with his resumption of Office, rose in that year to 2,585, and in 1881 to the frightful amount of 4,439, or, again, to 12 times the amount of the average annual agrarian crimes during the six years of Lord Beaconsfield's Government which preceded him. The first eight months of 1882 showed no improvement, the Returns of outrages for those months being close upon 3,000; but the last four months, in consequence of the vigorous action of Lord Spencer at the latter end of the summer, showed a great improvement over those frightful amounts. Yet he wished to point out that each month, even then, still showed an average amount of agrarian crime four times the amount of the average monthly agrarian crimes during the six years of the preceding Conservative Government. Nor was it easy to exaggerate the present dangerous state of Ireland when we were too well aware, by recent trials, that any official engaged in the direct administration of the law, from the Lord Lieutenant down to the honest juror, lived in daily danger from the hand of the assassin, unless protected by armed police. Such were the fruits of a legislation of remedial policy in the fourth year of its trial. It would be seen from these facts and figures that on each occasion when Mr. Gladstone had attempted to initiate a special Irish policy, that that policy had been marked by an immediate and unexampled burst of sedition, outrage, and murder. But the Government seemed equally unable to learn experience from the past or caution for the future, for we had heard a fresh danger to Ireland shadowed out in the speeches of prominent Members and supporters of the Government—notably in those of the President of the Board of Trade—who appeared to have some hidden art of forcing his Colleagues, whatever might be their opinion, to come round to his own—speeches which pointed to the future establishment of local County Boards all over Ireland, and to a possible future reduction of the franchise in that country. But there was a good deal more than that, for, according to a daily paper, supposed to be an organ of the Government, the Prime Minister himself had expressed the most advanced views of decentralization in Ireland, and had declared that the desire he had most at heart was—for these were his words as reported—

> "To make every Irishman realize that he is a governing agency, and that the Government is carried on for him and by him."

Those words, stripped of Mr. Gladstone's Utopian and transcendental phrases, meant simply that the very Irishmen who were now, and who had been for the last three years, defying the Imperial Government—men of the type of Town Councillor Carey (now on his trial), who was a good example of what a local County Board man would be in the South and West of Ireland—were to be the very men into whose influences the Government was to be handed over. If at any time the great body of Irishmen should show themselves to be fit for such self-government, such utterances would not seem, as they did now, merely those of an almost morbid sentimentalism; but that such rash views should be enunciated now, in the present state of Ireland, showed an amount of delusion which even experience of Mr. Gladstone's policy had not prepared the country for. Such measures as local representative County Boards in Ireland and a reduction of the franchise in Ireland, now or at any time, we were now able to foresee would place the whole local and representative power of Ireland in the hands of the party of sedition, and would be a fatal and permanent blow to the whole loyal population. Nothing in the present state of the country could be more suicidal than such measures for the integrity of the Empire, for the Government itself, and even for the Liberal Party in Ireland. The scenes that took place in Ireland at some of the Local Boards at this time ought to be a sufficient warning to the Government that the representative bodies of a much lower type that they looked forward to instituting would be nothing in three-fourths of Ireland but hot-beds of sedition, and the strongest impetus that could be given to absolute Home Rule or separation from this country. But the lowering of the franchise in Ireland would be a still more serious and dangerous catastrophe. The fact that such measures should be contemplated as possible or probable by Members of the Government showed, in addition to our former experience of the results of their policy, how little Mr. Gladstone or his Colleagues understood the nature of Irish difficulties or of the Irish character. He had had six years' experience of the government of Ireland, and at one period during the Fenian insurrection, in times that might have been as troublous as these if they had not been met with vigour, and he believed that the Irish were a people easily governed if governed with unvarying firmness and justice, but they would not be ruled, and never had been ruled, by unlimited concession, conciliation, and laxity at one moment, and by unlimited and spasmodic coercion at another. But we had, unfortunately, too sound an experience of the disastrous condition into which Ireland had been brought by this ignorance of the Irish character and by the wavering and shifty policy of the Government during their first two years of Office—a policy alternating from Kilmainham Treaties and the tampering with sedition for Party votes to fitful coercion and repression—a policy which the late Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary had the courage by resignation of Office to decline to participate in. The Government had never been able to realize that there were three distinct Parties in Ireland—first, as they were too well aware, a large body of seditious men, who, he believed, were in a minority, as those who forced on the first French Revolution were in a minority at first, but who were formidable from a combined power of mischief, who were irreconcilable and whom nothing would propitiate; they had then a large body of honest and loyal men, who alone were ready to support law and order and the union with this country at any sacrifice; and, lastly, they had still a larger body of men, who, having no strong views of their own, had been passive witnesses of the seditious outrages, and who were ready to throw in their lot with whichever should prove the stronger—the seditious agitator or the Imperial Government, but who would inevitably join that Party whom the Government, by the unconditional lowering of its flag to the claims of sedition, would have declared the strongest and made omnipotent in Ireland. While this was the hazardous position of the population of Ireland, to concede such measures as local representative boards of sedition all over Ireland and a reduction of the franchise there to a household, or rather to a hovel franchise, at the sentimental cry of ignorant or interested doctrinaires of the Liberal school—interested because they hoped to propitiate by them the Irish vote in England—would be an act not only of folly, but of criminal folly. There was but one safe and statesmanlike course in Ireland at present—to show that the law was stronger than sedition, and to show that the Government was resolved to enforce that law. The time for sentimental theories and of attempts to propitiate those who were irreconcilable was gone by; and if the Government could learn wisdom they must already be fully aware of that. But, on the other hand, if the Government would pursue the course they had lately—but too late—adopted in resolutely combating the seditious and revolutionary element in Ireland, he could assure them of the hearty support of the whole loyal population of Ireland, whether they were Conservatives or whether they were Liberals; all would join heartily, regardless of all Party feeling, in support of a Government which, forgetting its former errors, showed itself earnestly bent on enforcing the law. It might be said that he was premature in referring to subjects which were not formally laid before the House in the gracious Speech from the Throne; but these subjects were sufficiently in the air, if not at this moment actually on the platform of practical politics, to make the speeches of prominent Members of the Government, as well as the allusions in the Speech from the Throne in reference to them, matters of the gravest alarm. He had had experience for 50 years in Irish affairs, both in public and private life, and he had felt it his duty to give a solemn warning that measures such as the establishment of local county representative boards all over Ireland and the reduction of the franchise to a household franchise could lead but to one of two alternatives—the disintegration of the Empire or civil war. The future aspect of Ireland with such possible changes was a most dark and gloomy one. The only ray of light that could be hoped for in its future horizon was that which would arise from a rule of unvarying firmness and justice—not one halting between sentimental concession and undecided coercion. But, whatever might be its future, in looking back to the policy of the last three years, history would record the name of Mr. Gladstone as that of the statesman who, without evil intentions, but who, warped by prejudice and infatuated by Party spirit, had wrought greater ruin and desolation on Ireland, and greater degradation of its national character, than any Minister who for the last two centuries had governed that country.

EARL COWPER said, that he had not intended to address their Lordships upon that occasion; but when the noble Duke who had just spoken (the Duke of Abercorn) had inveighed against the remedial measures for Ireland which had been promoted and carried into law by the present Government, he (Earl Cowper) could not sit silent; and he could not help saying that whether or not those measures had had any actual influence in restoring quiet and order in that country, it was, in his opinion, quite impossible, after the very stringent measures of repression and coercion had been passed, that remedial legislation should not be proposed. Personally, soon after he went to Ireland, he had acknowledged and had clearly seen the necessity, in the then state of things in Ireland, for exceptional coercive legislation for that country; and, indeed, the necessity for it had been generally acknowledged, and it might even have been wished that that legislation had been proposed by Her Majesty's Government at an earlier period. It was also pretty well known that the Crimes Act had been drafted before he and Mr. Forster left Office. But he wished it to be clearly understood that he should never have lent his name to such measures if Her Majesty's Government had not introduced measures for redressing the grievances under which, most undoubtedly, the Irish tenantry were suffering at the time, and which were considered to be important. It must be remembered that the crimes which had been committed, and the agitation that had taken place, had been directed against the measures which the landlords had taken to enforce the payment of their rents, and that the Coercion Acts were passed to protect the landlords in enforcing the law against their tenants. In these circumstances, he was satisfied that the Liberal Party would never have assented to this exceptional and tremendous coercive legislation, which frequently, owing to the state of things in Ireland, was made use of to carry out Acts which, in many instances, were unjust, unless it was to be followed by remedial measures. He did not desire to trouble their Lordships further on the point on that occasion; but he could not allow the noble Duke's observations to pass unnoticed. He was glad that remedial measures were passed, and he hoped that the improvement in the condition of Ireland would go on increasing.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that the noble Earl who had just sat down (Earl Cowper) had declared that, if it had not been for remedial legislation, the Crimes Act would not have been passed; but he (the Marquess of Waterford) desired to point out, on the contrary, that if it had not been for the remedial legislation indicated by the Government the Crimes Act would never have been necessary. The noble Earl was the first speaker in their Lordships' House that night who had taken credit on behalf of the Government for the remedial legislation for Ireland. The slight and few allusions which were made to Ireland in the gracious Speech from the Throne needed some comment, because they were told, at the time of the passage of what had been called the remedial legislation, that it only required to pass those measures into law to bring about a vast improvement in the social condition of the country; and the Ministers who had spoken on this subject during the winter had taken credit to themselves and their remedial legislation for the improvement which had taken place. But now, in Her Majesty's gracious Speech, the Government did not dare to state that their remedial legislation had had any effect whatever, because they knew well that it was the Crimes Act, and the Crimes Act alone, which had produced the improvement on the surface of society—because he was sorry to say it was only on the surface—that had taken place. As an Irish landlord, he endorsed every word the noble Duke below him (the Duke of Abercorn) had said with regard to the administration of Irish affairs by the noble Earl the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Spencer), and he thought too much credit could not be given him for the manly and courageous manner in which he had administered the Crimes Act, and the success which had attended his efforts towards bringing to justice the authors of a hideous conspiracy. But Her Majesty's Ministers were well aware that if the Crimes Act were suspended for only one month, they would have all the horrors re-enacted despite their remedial legislation; and the Chief Secretary for Ireland evidently thought the same, because in a speech he delivered to his constituents last week at Hawick, he said, referring to the National League—

> "If the movement had been unchecked, in three months we should have had our worst difficulties all over again. The outrages would have been as numerous as ever, and the country would have been uninhabitable to any ordinary or civilized person."

That statement was a proof that the Irish Executive believed that their remedial legislation had not had any of the results they anticipated. But what was most curious in regard to this paragraph in Mr. Trevelyan's speech was that, as far as he (the Marquess of Waterford) could make out, the National League had never been checked. It was not declared illegal. No doubt, two small Provincial meetings of farmers at Ballymena and Loughrea were prevented; but two days before the Chief Secretary for Ireland made his speech at Hawick, a very large meeting of the National League took place in Dublin, which was not interfered with; at which were present four Members of Parliament, and at which speeches were made of the most inflammatory character, daring the Irish Government to interfere with their meeting, although they might have the courage to suppress small meetings in the country. Mr. Sexton stated that the Chief Secretary for Ireland himself admitted that the National League was perfectly legal. Mr. Sullivan showed the identity of the National League with the Land League, by saying that the "same tree would produce the same fruit." Six columns of *The Freeman* were taken up with the report of this meeting; and yet Mr. Trevelyan led his constituents to suppose that this movement, which he said if unchecked would have such frightful effects, had been checked. They all knew that the National League was merely the Land League in disguise, and if it was unchecked would have the effects specified by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He (the Marquess of Waterford) had taken part in several debates in their Lordships' House upon the administration of the Land Act. They had declared that that Act was being administered against all principles of justice, and had shown how the landlords could not expect any fair play from the manner in which the Act had been carried out, and the class of men who were chosen as Judges. They stated that these Courts were formed entirely in the interest of the tenants, and that the landlords were given no chance whatever. The statements were indignantly repudiated by noble Lords opposite; but they could hardly have expected that Mr. Trevelyan, in a speech which he delivered on October 3 to a deputation in Dublin, would admit in so many words every one of the charges which they had made. A deputation, which Mr. Trevelyan himself admitted was one-sided, waited upon him in Dublin to demand the dismissal of the valuers who had been appointed by the Land Commission, and not by the Government, after—as the Land Commission stated in a letter laid on the Table of the House of Commons—most careful consideration, for the purpose, not only of expedition in the decisions, but to get rid of appeals, by satisfying both parties that, through the assistance of an expert, the decisions were absolutely fair. The tenants, and those who acted for them, knew well that if fair decisions were arrived at, with the help of competent Court valuers, the ridiculous reductions which had been taking place could not possibly go on; and therefore there was a storm of clamour raised against the appointment of the valuers. But how did Mr. Trevelyan meet that storm? Did he answer the deputation by saying that the Land Court was a judicial tribunal, and that the Government had no power to interfere with their appointments? No; but he took upon himself to terrorize the valuers, by stating that if the reductions did not continue on the same scale as heretofore, no matter whether they were fair or not, the valuers would be dismissed. He even laid down a scale upon which the valuers were to proceed, and said that—

> "If the tenants came to the conclusion that they have lost very decidedly by the change, I am quite certain that the Government has quite sympathy enough with the tenants to

feel that it has taken a step which is injuring them."

And, again—

> "The Government will recognize that it has made a mistake, and will undo the mistake."

Was not that exactly what they on that (the Opposition) side of the House had held that the Government was doing with regard to the administration of this Act? They said that the landlords' property was being confiscated by packed Courts, under the control of the Government, for political purposes; and the Chief Secretary for Ireland came forward, in answer to political partizans, who threatened to withdraw their support, and said that he would interfere with a Court of Justice if one party to the suit was not satisfied with the decision. At the time the Land Act passed the Sub-Commissioners were not named. They had only the names of the Chief Commissioners before them, and immense stress was laid upon these appointments; but when the Chief Commissioners made arrangements for efficiently and fairly carrying out the law of the land, the Government stepped in and dismissed the valuers who, the Chief Commissioners declared, were necessary to assist the Sub-Commissioners to arrive at just decisions. Would such an interference be tolerated for one moment in any Court of Justice in England? And was it not a perfect parody on justice that a deputation of partizans, assisted by clamour, should be able to lay down how an Act of Parliament should be administered; or for the Government to stoop so low as to dismiss an official of a Court upon the application of a few tenants for political purposes? Such, however, had been the case with the Court valuers. By the removal of those officials the Government had practically taken away from the landlord the power to value his own estate, and had handed that power over to the tenant. The cases of Lord Talbot de Malahide finished the Court valuers; and yet those decisions were so fair that only one tenant appealed. That was the case of a holder of four farms; and, after most careful valuation by two of the chief valuers of the Court of Appeal, the Court was obliged to confirm every one of the decisions. A violent article appeared in *The Freeman's Journal*, and the Court valuers, not having accepted Mr. Trevelyan's scale of reductions, were dismissed. Mr. Trevelyan, in his speech in "another place," stated that his answer to the deputation did not bear the interpretation now placed upon it. He said he had "often re-assured the landlords," although if he attempted to do so he was signally unsuccessful, and he now sought to re-assure the tenants. But Mr. Samuel Black, a member of the deputation, and his friends in the North of Ireland understood the speech exactly as he understood it. Mr. Boyd, of Limavady, a leading Liberal in the North, speaking at a meeting where Mr. Black was present, said—

> "Has not the Chief Secretary practically proclaimed to our friends, the Court valuers, 'You are on your trial for three months. If during that time your reductions of rent are too small to please the farmers, you will then be sent off, bag and baggage; but if you act discreetly and do not encourage this howl of discontent and give substantial reduction, for the next three months, you will then be firmly seated in your saddles, and your £1,000 a-year will be secured to you.'"

And he was not contradicted. No wonder the Government did not take credit for having settled the Land Question when the Land Act had been denounced on all the platforms in the South-West and Midland Counties of Ireland. And in the North—at meetings where a large number of Liberal M.P.'s were present—resolutions had been passed that it was necessary to amend the Land Act without further delay, and laying down five provisions in which the Act needed amendment, notably among them the improvement in the Purchase Clauses. And there was no doubt that further pressure would be brought to bear on the Government, from the tenants' Representatives, to alter and amend an Act which the Government stated was to give so much satisfaction. In fact, as far as he (the Marquess of Waterford) could make out, nobody valued the Land Act, and even the Government seemed to have lost their love for it, and there was no mention of it in Her Majesty's gracious Speech. The landlords, on their side, did not much admire an Act administered as this had been, which carried ruin and destruction to their class throughout the land, and which had rendered their properties entirely unsaleable. He was reading in the paper the other day the account of two different classes of property put up for sale on the same day—one was several landlords' properties in the Encumbered Estates Court in different counties, for which there was not one single bidder; the other was the tenant right of 12 acres 23 perches of land, at the annual rent of £13 5*s*. 8*d*., for which the tenant right fetched £29 the statute acre—an increase of something like £12 an acre, compared with what the tenant right in the same county fetched, on an average, before the passing of the Land Act. He was sure their Lordships had read with satisfaction the letter written by the noble Earl the Lord Lieutenant to Sir Thomas M'Clure, stating the principles upon which the selections of the new Sub-Commissioners were made, though, at the same time, it seemed somewhat curious that he should apparently make excuses for what he had done respecting them. His Excellency, in writing to a rev. doctor upon the matter, said—

> "In making my selection, I have studiously searched for those whose practical knowledge and experience of farming would enable them to act skilfully in the difficult cases brought before them, and whose integrity of purpose, impartiality, and independence of position and character, would make their decisions respected by all parties coming before them."

But some of the appointments could hardly come up to the description of the noble Earl. He (the Marquess of Waterford) took, as a sample of the new appointments, Mr. William Gray, of Maze, one of the Attorney General for Ireland's most ardent adherents. He found that on January 17, 1882, he made the following remark in a public speech:—

> "I may be asked, what standard would I propose for fixing rents? My reply would be, 'Take the valuation, deduct the taxes, and the half would be a fair rent.' For instance, if Griffith's valuation of a farm be 20*s*. per acre, and the taxes, say, 3*s*., then 8*s*. 6*d*. per acre would be a fair rent."

And, again—

> "Landlords would, at 8*s*. 6*d*. per acre, have plenty to live on—indeed, as much as is good for them."

Now, could this gentleman come up to the noble Earl's conditions as to integrity of purpose and impartiality to all parties, which the noble Earl required before making the appointment? If Mr. Gray might be taken as a sample of the Sub-Commissioners appointed to replace the valuers, he could perfectly understand why the tenants were so jubilant at the latter's dismissal. He should also like to know whether Mr. Fitzpatrick, of Limerick, or Mr. Kiernan, of Monaghan, came up to the Lord Lieutenant's description, and whether any of those newly appointed had ever had any connection with the Land League? Those appointments demanded explanation, and further explanation was required of the Chief Secretary for Ireland's answer to the deputations and the dismissal of the Court valuers in answer to mere clamour from the worst section of the Irish people. There was no doubt, from the tone of Her Majesty's gracious Speech, that the Government had at last given up the false theory that their remedial legislation was a success. He was glad to hear that the Government would not give their support to Home Rule; but at the same time Mr. Gladstone and his family seemed to be dangerously playing with the question.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he was not prepared at that moment to supply the information desired by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Waterford) as to certain Assistant Commissioners; but it would be forthcoming if the noble Marquess desired it. He (Lord Carlingford) thought their Lordships had no desire to prolong this discussion. He had heard the speeches of the noble Marquess and of the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Abercorn), who had formerly governed Ireland, with profound regret, because they were speeches too full of passion and prejudice to be of any practical value. Those speeches consisted almost exclusively of references to the history of the past, and protests against possible future legislation. As to the past, it would be scarcely profitable to debate a history which had been over and over again discussed in that House; while as to the measures of the future, they were not before their Lordships, and it would be time enough to deal with them when they arrived; but there was nothing in the Speech which the House was now discussing which need give cause for alarm, either to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) or to the noble Marquess who had just spoken. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) seemed to think that there was some mystery, something below the surface of the words in that part of Her Majesty's Speech which referred to Irish measures. He talked of innuendoes. Neither on that subject, nor upon any other subject, had there been any innuendoes. The Speech simply said it would be impossible, and it would not be right, in consideration of the claims of the other parts of the United Kingdom, to give any considerable portion of the time of this Session to Irish measures of the first class; but it went on to say that that need not prevent some useful work in the way of legislation for Ireland being done—that was to say, the carrying of certain measures of a minor kind. With regard to the question of Court valuers, that was a question to which his noble Friend (the Marquess of Waterford), like a good many others, had attached a most exaggerated importance. He talked as if it was a case of interference on the part of the Government with the judicial functions of the Land Courts. It was nothing of the kind; it was merely a question of machinery—the question of deciding whether it was best to employ valuers, or to double the number of the non-legal Assistant Commissioners. The change was originally made, not because the Government or the Land Commission had any reason to believe that the Sub-Commissioners were acting unfairly in their decisions; it was done for two purposes—for the purpose of expediting the business and getting more rapidly through the work, and also with the hope that the number of appeals might be reduced, and that confidence in the Sub-Commissions might be increased. That hope proved to be absolutely unfounded, as no effect of that kind was produced by the appointment of the valuers. Suspicions had been aroused among the tenantry which could not be disregarded without the risk of destroying confidence in the Courts; and the change had, therefore, been introduced of which the noble Marquess now complained.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD pointed out that the change was not made by the Government, but by the Chief Commissioners.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, that the plan of employing valuers had been tried by the Irish Government on the suggestion of the Land Commission; but what he was saying was that confidence in the Commissioners was in danger of being lost, and that was a very grave matter to be considered. However much the landlords of Ireland might dislike the operations of the Land Act, they surely could not wish, in their own interest, that it should be robbed of a great part of its benefits by absolutely losing the confidence of the tenants. That being the case, he wanted to know why the Government, when they found that the experiment had failed, should be blamed for doing what they had done? Why should they be expected to persist in what had turned out to be a mistake? He believed it was far better to adopt the alternative system of doubling the number of Assistant Commissioners. It was better that the same men should deal with the valuation of a farm, and should fix a fair rent for it. The two things, upon an Irish holding, were quite different; but it was very desirable that the two things should not be separated. Whatever fault might be found with any of the new Assistant Commissioners, he could only say at that moment that he knew that infinite pains had been taken by his noble Friend (Earl Spencer) to obtain competent and impartial men for the duty. He should be very much surprised if his noble Friend had failed in finding any but the right men. With regard to a certain answer made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, he did not remember the exact expression to which reference had been made; but he knew it had been taken up "elsewhere," and that Mr. Trevelyan had made an ample vindication of himself. He said that he had endeavoured to remove the apprehensions of the tenants, and he asked why he should not do so? Over and over again endeavours had been made to relieve the apprehensions of the landlords. It was the desire of the Government, as far as they could, to remove the apprehensions, and, if possible, to gain the confidence of both landlords and tenants in the operation of the Land Act. He must protest against the extravagant statement that the Land Courts were under the control of the Executive Government; the statement was too baseless and extravagant to be argued against. He certainly must also express his astonishment at some of the expressions used by the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Abercorn). He was surprised to hear the noble Duke say that not only had none of the good effects expected followed from the Land Act, but that he would have had no remedial measures at all, but would have trusted to coercion alone.

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN was understood to say he did not mean that. What he intended to convey was, that remedial measures, without the enforcement of the law against crime, would not be effectual in securing the peace of Ireland.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) asked what the noble Duke did mean by his speech if he did not mean that? The noble Duke said the present improved condition of Ireland was in no degree due to the remedial measures of the Government, and that the Government ought to have had the courage to refuse to agree to any of these concessions. It was too soon to discuss the full effects of the remedial measures; the true name for them, however, was not concession, but reform — reform proved to be necessary and called for, as all other reforms of great magnitude both in this country and Ireland had been called for, and granted after careful inquiry and consideration. The Government refused to accept the view that remedial measures were of no avail, and that they must trust simply to coercion. They would pursue the course they had hitherto pursued; they would enforce the law with the powers which they now happily possessed, and would enforce it without relaxation. But while they continued to maintain order and punish crime with unceasing vigour and vigilance, they would never give up the hope of redressing, in due time, all proved grievances in Ireland.

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, that Mr. Justice O'Hagan, the Chief of the Land Commission, had stated in Court that the real object of the valuators was to inform the Court what the letting value of land was, so that the Court should be in a position to fix a fair rent. It was remarkable that, within the last few days, since the valuators had been done away with, one of the most prominent advocates of the tenants in the North, Mr. Todd, had stated that the Sub-Commissioners ought to be obliged to do the very same thing in open Court. This was what the valuators were to do; they had to inform the Court what was the full letting value of the land, supposing it to be in the landlord's hands. From that full value the Court would make the deductions necessary to arrive at the fair rent. The impression of the tenants as to the partiality of the Sub-Commissioners was shown by resolutions passed at a meeting in Donegal, stating that they had had confidence in Her Majesty's Government; that that confidence had been destroyed by recent decisions of Sub-Commissioners, and calling upon their Members of Parliament to get satisfactory—or packed—Sub-Commissioners appointed, as had been done in Tyrone and Londonderry through the act of their Members. He contended that the general feeling with respect to the Land Courts was that those bodies, which should be thoroughly impartial, were very much biassed. He thought it was very cold comfort for the land-owning classes of Ireland to be told that the Government had resolved not to depart from the policy they had hitherto pursued. He had always disliked the first part of the Act, but had strongly supported the Purchase Clauses. As regarded the Act of 1870, of which that of 1881 was confessedly the complement, brought in with the best intentions, it had, in many instances, done more harm than good to the tenants themselves, because it had led to the abuse of unlimited credit. He agreed with the noble Duke (the Duke of Abercorn) that the only way to govern Irishmen was by a combination of justice and firmness, and not by an attempt to combine conciliation with coercion. He hoped the noble Lord opposite (Lord Carlingford) would state what were the mysterious measures with regard to Ireland which Her Majesty's Government intended to propose this Session.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): It is not usual to enumerate measures in the Queen's Speech unless they are of the first class. I do not wish to bind the Irish Office absolutely to a list of measures; but the Chief Secretary for Ireland hopes to be able to bring in Bills relating to the Sea and Coast Fishery Fund, the Dublin Police and Constabulary, Loans to Distressed Unions, in cases where the Union is unable to pay its way in consequence of the present distress, a renewal, with extension, of the Sunday Closing Act, the Registration of Voters, and probably also a Bill for amending the system of

Lunatic Asylums, and a Bill, to which I myself attach great importance, for Union Rating in Ireland. There is no intention of introducing a Bill dealing with any part of the Land Act.

LORD WAVENEY said, he felt bound to congratulate the Government on the success of the measures adopted by his noble Friend (Earl Spencer). He could bear testimony to the fact that, at a very large meeting in Ulster, composed of tenant farmers, they resolved, whatever countenance Home Rule might receive anywhere else, that, in the Imperial Province of Ulster, they would not endure such outrages and disturbances as were common in other parts of the country. If the laws were firmly administered the Government would succeed, after long perseverance and long strife, in making the other three Provinces as loyal as Ulster. In Dublin they had gathered together the threads of a great conspiracy; but much remained to be done. Let those who were content to obey the law know that they would be protected in it, and let those who had the disposition to violate the law be pursued to the very uttermost, and in the end the peace of Ireland would be secured.

EARL DE LA WARR said, that, though they had been informed, in Her Majesty's Speech, that the re-organization of the affairs of Egypt under the authority of the Khedive had, in part, been accomplished, the country was left very much in the dark as to the origin of the war, if it was a war. The Prime Minister had designated the bombardment of Alexandria, which resulted in the destruction of a great commercial city, and the campaign which followed afterwards as a "military operation." But that so-called military operation was carried on in defiance of the protest of the Sultan, the Sovereign of Egypt. Now, although Her Majesty's Government had supplied the country with very meagre information with regard to events which ultimately led to the war, there was sufficient evidence to show that financial questions had had a very large share in producing the unhappy results which had ensued. When Mr. Goschen went to Egypt, in 1876, not as representing the British Government, but in the interest of the bondholders, financial matters were seriously disturbing the country; taxation was increasing, and large loans had been advanced at high rates of interest, the first of these standing in the name of Goschen, in 1862, before the accession of Ismail Pasha. Thus, what was supposed to be in the cause of civilization had already begun to vex and harass the country so far back as 1862. This was continued by a series of loans, which reached, in one instance, the high rate of 28 per cent. The *auri sacra fames* of money-lenders became supreme in 1879, when the country found itself burdened with nearly £100,000,000 of debt; while out of that, deducting interest, expenses, and sinking fund, only about one-half was realized by the Government of Egypt. Therein lay the chief source of that discontent which had since prevailed in the country. Instead of European civilization, the Native population found European exaction and oppression, which at length produced great uneasiness and discontent. While matters were assuming this serious form in Egypt—when the country was becoming bankrupt, and the population oppressed by taxation for the payment of the interest of the Debt, which absorbed a large portion of the Revenue—a step was, unhappily, taken by this country and by other countries of Europe to intervene between the creditors and the Egyptian Government, and to throw a certain amount of protection over the bondholders, even so far as to require the payment of coupons before the claims of Native servants of the State. Serious results had followed upon that course. Now, it had been from the first the view put forward by Her Majesty's Government, that the movement in Egypt was only a military one; and it had been described by the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) as a "military rebellion." It was, in some sense, a military rebellion; but if they looked to what took place in the year 1879, they would see that the cause of it, so far as it related to the Army, was not a political one, but rather to obtain redress for private wrongs. That was the account given by Mr. Vivian, who then represented the British Government at Cairo, in a despatch dated February, 1879, in which he attributed the rising to the reductions in the Army, which had recently been made on a large scale, by which about 2,500 officers were put on half-pay, without receiving the heavy arrears due to them. No doubt, the military came forward on this occasion; but discontent was spreading through the whole population, while a heavy taxation was rigidly enforced for the payment of foreign creditors; and if proof were wanting that the movement was a national one, and not a military one only, so early as 1879 and 1880, large numbers of persons, civil as well as military, were exiled to the Soudan for taking part in it. He was much struck with the candour of a correspondent of one of the daily papers, who, writing from Cairo, had said that, before he went there, he thought Arabi's influence was entirely confined to the military, but afterwards discovered that his Party was actually the nation. He (Earl De La Warr) believed that to be a true statement of the case. He would ask, then, whether the policy of Her Majesty's Government was a straightforward one, and whether they had not been treading very closely in the steps of a neighbouring country which not very long ago, under the pretext of self-defence, invaded and practically annexed a friendly State, all the while themselves professing friendship and alliance? So fell Tunis into the hands of France, and so was Egypt falling into the hands of England. A great deal had been said of the danger to the interests of this country of rebellion and anarchy in Egypt. But what was the danger? Was it to the Suez Canal? The Suez Canal was never menaced. And where was the anarchy and rebellion? He found in official Papers a story only of a people striving to free themselves from foreign interference and oppression, and that struggle crushed by a Government which called itself Liberal, under the pretext that the interests of this country were endangered. If Her Majesty's Government had guided and directed the national movement; if they had co-operated with the Sovereign of the country, instead of opposing and ignoring the legitimate authority of the Sultan, those results would have been avoided which had led to great loss of life and destruction of property, and had inflicted upon an unoffending people the miseries of war. It was difficult to discover what the intentions of Her Majesty's Government were. First, the avowed object was to restore the *status quo ante* in Egypt; then it was something not quite the *status quo ante;* and now it was a Constitution with an elected Chamber, which was as nearly as possible what was desired and asked for by the country and did exist before the outbreak of the war, but which Her Majesty's Government declined to sanction. Doubtless the interests of this country in Egypt were great; but they were best maintained not by a policy of interference and one which obstructed the Government and alienated the Native population, but by a friendly policy of justice to the people and of good faith with the Sovereign and Government of the country. If this course had been pursued our interests in Egypt and throughout the Ottoman Empire would have been best secured, and our legitimate influence in the East would have been more firmly established.

Address *agreed to, nemine dissentiente,* and ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

The Earl of REDESDALE appointed, *nemine dissentiente,* to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES — Appointed.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNALS—Appointed.

APPEAL COMMITTEE—Appointed.

House adjourned at a quarter past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 15*th February,* 1883.

The House met at half after One of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and having returned;—

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).

Mr. SPEAKER: Before I call to the Table any Members who may be waiting to take the Oath required by law, I think it will be convenient that I should read a letter which I have received from Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton. It is as follows:—

To the Right Honorable

The Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir,

On the 2nd March last I was, for the third time, duly elected one of the burgesses for the borough of Northampton to serve in the present Parliament, and have ever since been ready and willing to do all things by law required to entitle me to sit and vote. The House on the 6th March last, without hearing me, thought fit to prohibit me from fulfilling the obligations imposed by statute. My constituents petitioned to be heard at the Bar of the House in support of their right to my vote and speech as one of their lawful representatives, and I, through you, Sir, applied for leave to state to the House the grounds of law upon which I claimed to be entitled to obey the law and take my seat. The House did not express its pleasure, either on the petition of my constituents or on my application.

In two suits I have endeavoured to obtain a judgment of the High Court of Justice; 1st, on the legality of the administering of the Oath by me on February 21st last; and, 2nd, on the lawfulness of the act of the House in preventing me from complying with the statute. On the first point the Court refused to give judgment on demurrer on the ground that the pleadings (which followed precisely the recitals in the Journals of the House) were so drawn as to necessitate judgment in my favour; and also refused to allow the issues of fact to be tried on the ground that such action was friendly, and therefore collusive. On the 2nd point the Court said that it refused to suppose that the House of Commons would do "an act which in itself was flagrantly wrong," and further the Court refused to permit the exact facts to be ascertained by a jury on the ground that the order of the House must be taken to imply an adjudication for contempt.

I beg, Sir, under these circumstances, to respectfully state that, accompanied by my introducers, I shall according to statute, and to the law and custom of Parliament, present myself at the opening of the Session to be called by you to the Table, in order that I may do all things which may be lawfully required of me to enable me to sit and vote pursuant to the unimpeached return of my constituents.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
CH. BRADLAUGH.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, that as Mr. Bradlaugh had always been anxious to act in accordance with the wishes and feelings of the House, so far as was consistent with his duty to his constituents, he (Mr. Labouchere) would venture, with regard to the letter which had been read, to put a question to the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington). He wished to ask, Whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government during the present Session to bring in any Bill enabling Members to affirm or to take the Oath of Allegiance as they pleased? In the event of that being the intention of Her Majesty's Government, Mr. Bradlaugh had requested him to state that he would not present himself at the Table to take the Oath until the fate of that Bill had been decided.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that he was glad to be in a position very easily to give a satisfactory answer to the question put to him by his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). He begged to state that it was the intention of his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General that night to give Notice of Motion for to-morrow to ask for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Parliamentary Oaths Act. The Bill would be introduced with the object of enabling Members who objected to take the Oath to make a solemn Affirmation in its stead.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: I wish to give Notice, Sir, that when that Bill comes to a second reading I shall offer it the strongest opposition in my power.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MEMBER IMPRISONED (MR. HEALY).

QUESTION.

Mr. PARNELL: I beg most respectfully to ask you, Mr. Speaker, upon a question of Privilege, Whether you have yet received any letter from the Dublin Court of Queen's Bench, informing you of the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Healy, a Member of this House?

Mr. SPEAKER, in reply, said, that he had received such a letter, which he would read to the House before the proceedings on the Address commenced.

NEW WRITS DURING THE RECESS.

Mr. Speaker acquainted the House,—that he had issued Warrants for *New Writs, for* Chelsea Borough, *v.* Right honble. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, baronet, President of the Local Government Board; *for* Haddington County, Honble. Francis Charteris, commonly called Lord Elcho, called up to the House of Peers; *for* Mallow Borough, *v.* Right honble. William Moore Johnson, one of the Judges of the High Court of Justice in Ireland.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

Right honble. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, baronet, *for* Chelsea; Honble. Algernon Fulke Egerton, *for* Wigan; Samuel Smith, esquire, *for* Liverpool; Lord Elcho, *for* Haddington; William O'Brien, esquire, *for* Mallow.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MEMBER IMPRISONED (MR. HEALY).

Mr. Speaker acquainted the House that he had received a Letter from the Right honourable the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland, which Mr. Speaker read to the House as followeth:—

Queen's Bench, Dublin,
February 9, 1883.

Mr. Speaker,

I have the honour of making known to you for the information of the House of Commons, that on the 24*th day of January*, 1883, *an order was made by the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland, that Timothy Michael Healy, esquire, one of the Members of Parliament for the County of Wicklow, do enter into Recognisances himself in* £1,000, *with two or more Sureties in an aggregate sum of* £1,000, *to be of good behaviour towards Her Majesty the Queen and all Her Majesty's Subjects for the space of twelve months, and in default of entering into such Recognisances with such Sureties, that he be imprisoned for the space of six calendar months unless in the meantime he shall have entered into such Recognisances.*

And I have further to state that the said Timothy Michael Healy, having failed to comply with the said Order, a Warrant was issued from the Court of Queen's Bench on the 7*th day of the present month of February for the arrest and commitment to Prison of the said Timothy Michael Healy, and that he has been arrested and committed to Prison accordingly, I have thought it right to make this Communication for the purpose of accounting for the probable absence of the honourable Member, and of testifying my profound respect for the Honourable House.*

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
GEORGE A. C. MAY,
Chief Justice of Ireland.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, before formally moving that the letter which has been read by you be laid upon the Table, I think it may be convenient that I should make one or two observations. The Motion would, under ordinary circumstances, be made as a matter of course, and need no explanation whatever; but, having regard to recent occurrences, and to what may be in the minds of hon. Members, the question may perhaps arise why, in the communication which has been made, the same course should not be taken as in the case of the announcement of the imprisonment of Mr. Gray, the Member for Carlow. I wish to state in a few words what is the invariable practice of the House in such cases. I will not enter into any defence of the course we now propose to adopt, neither will I deal with any recital of precedents, although I believe that what I am about to state can be abundantly supported by precedent. I believe the Privileges of Parliament are in no way affected by the committal to prison of Mr. Healy, or that, having regard to the matter, any question of Privilege now arises upon which the House is in any way called upon to interfere. Members of Parliament are protected from arrest, but only under certain circumstances. There may be imprisonment for three different causes. In the first place, there may be imprisonment on civil process; secondly, for contempt of Court; and, thirdly, for crime, or for matters within the category of crime. As to the first branch of offence, every Member of Parliament is protected from arrest in respect of civil process, and the House has always ordered, and would, no doubt, insist upon the discharge of a Member so arrested, holding that the presence in the House of a Member of Parliament is of more importance than the discharge of a pecuniary obligation. As to the second class, that of imprisonment for contempt of Court, that offence may be divided into two classes. It may be of a grave character, partaking of the character of a criminal offence; or it may be of a minor character—for instance, a refusal to pay a certain sum of money which has been ordered to be paid by the Court. In order to decide under which category the offence is included, it has been the practice of the House, upon receiving notice that one of its Members has been imprisoned for contempt of Court, to refer the matter to a Committee appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances of the imprisonment, and to inquire under which category of offences the imprisonment has been ordered. I believe that, in all such cases, the House has, without question, appointed a Committee of Inquiry. But as to the third class of offences—that is, crime, or offences coming within the category of crime—the House has never taken any steps to interfere with imprisonment of offenders of that class, it having been repeatedly held that committal of a Member for refusal to give bail to keep the peace came within the category of those matters into which the House has not thought it necessary to inquire. I have thought it necessary to make this short statement in order to remove any apprehension that may exist in the mind of any hon. Member as to the reason why it is not proposed, as in the case of the hon. Member for Carlow, to move for a Committee of Inquiry. I believe the case which has been communicated to the House does not in any way infringe on the Privilege of the House, and that it is not the duty, neither is it open to the House to take any action upon it. Of course, in anything I have said I do not in the least intend it to be inferred that the policy which has led to the arrest of Mr. Healy, or the circumstances which led to that arrest, may not be a matter for the consideration of the House. All I wish to say is that this is not a case affecting Privilege, and that the House has no ground for taking action in the matter. I therefore simply move that the letter which has been read be laid upon the Table.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Letter of the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland do lie on the Table."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

MR. PARNELL, in rising to move an Amendment to the Motion, said: I think, Sir, it would have been very much more satisfactory if the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) had extended his remarks so as to put the House into possession of the precedents, which he said existed in support of his argument, that the arrest of a Member of this House, in default of finding bail, does not constitute a matter for inquiry by this House with regard to a breach of its Privileges. I am sure that the House, in considering a question of this very grave and important character—namely, the arrest of a Member in default of finding bail on a warrant issued only four or five days before the meeting of the House, when the alleged offence, which had formed the subject of the inquiries of the tribunal in question, had taken place so long ago as two months, and when the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland had for that time the Member in question within their jurisdiction, and on several occasions actually present in Court, and desirous of having his case investigated, and when the Court had persistently refused from time to time to go into this matter, or to take any step whatever during that interval of two months until the time came for Parliament to re-assemble—I think, having regard to all these circumstances, the House, in considering this matter, should require to have before it full and adequate information as to the grounds and character of the arrest. What did the demand in the case mean? Did it mean that the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), who has always been most punctual in his attendance at this House, and who we have every reason to suppose would be as punctual in future, and would have been in his place from day to day during this Session, did it mean that he was to give bail as regards an offence that he might be supposed to commit in this House, or which the Court of Queen's Bench supposed he was to commit in this House, or did the Court of Queen's Bench suppose that the hon. Member should give bail as regards an imaginary offence, which he had never committed, and which in all probability, owing to his attendance at this House, he could never commit? The case, I think, is materially altered when we come to consider the circumstances of the matter, and I would direct the attention of the House to the important fact that the letter of the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland is most meagre in its details. We are not informed, in accordance with precedents, as to the nature of the offence for which the hon. Member was required to find bail. We are not informed that the hon. Member had committed any offence at all. We are only told, in the most curt fashion, that the Court of Queen's Bench called upon the hon. Member to find bail; that the hon. Member refused to find bail, and that a warrant was issued by the Court of Queen's Bench for his arrest. That is all the information that has been vouchsafed by the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland to this High Court of Parliament, and I submit that this House has not been treated in accordance with the precedents observed by even higher legal functionaries than the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin. In the case of Mr. Charlton I find that the Lord Chancellor took the trouble to write to Mr. Speaker, and to inform him that he had issued his warrant—

> "For the committal of P. L. Charlton, Esq., for contempt of the High Court of Chancery, by writing a certain letter to William Brougham, Esq., a Master of the said Court, which letter was followed by another addressed to myself. I have thought it right to make this communication to the House for the purpose of accounting for the absence of the hon. Member, and to testify my profound respect for this honourable House."

There is a very great distinction between the method of procedure followed by the Lord Chancellor of the day in that case and the method of procedure adopted by the Court of Queen's Bench in the case of the hon. Member for Wexford. I regret exceedingly that the noble Marquess who now leads the House did not give his reasons as to why he thought this grave matter ought not to become the subject of an inquiry by a Committee of the House. We have seen, from time to time, that Committees have been appointed as a matter of course to investigate the committal of Members of the House sentenced in accordance with the law. We know, from what we gathered from the newspapers, that the jurisdiction invoked by the Court of Queen's Bench in the case is of an obsolete character. We are entitled also to say, as far as we have been able to examine the precedents, that no Court in England has ever invoked this particular jurisdiction for the purpose of checking or preventing political offences. We are given to understand that this is the first time that the summary jurisdiction of the magistrates—for that is the jurisdiction claimed as inherent in the Court of Queen's Bench—for the purpose of committing to prison, in default of finding bail, rogues and vagrants upon the high road, has been used for the purpose of imprisoning a Member of this House, and I feel sure that the House will pay much more attention to this grave exercise of jurisdiction than that which the Leader of the Government invites them to pay. We have before us the fact that a Member of the House has been arrested almost on his way to perform the duties which the Constitution and the mandate of his constituents impose on him. We have also the tardy action of the Court of Queen's Bench, which refrained for two months from taking any action in the matter. We might reasonably suppose that had the Court of Queen's Bench proceeded at once, the whole of the imprisonment of my hon. Friend might have expired by this time, for, in these days, it is idle to suppose that a sentence of six months' imprisonment can be carried out upon a Member like my hon. Friend. If there was such urgency for the action of the Court, and if the alleged offence was one of such gravity, why did the Court delay so long before taking any step? Why was its action withheld until the evident necessity for it had long since disappeared, and until my hon. Friend was about to resume his Parliamentary duties? We cannot suppose—and I do not wish to impute it—that Her Majesty's Government desired in this way to get rid of a troublesome opponent in this House; but depend upon it that it will be imputed to the Government in Ireland. There are many people who look upon this peculiar action as another proof of the desire of the Ministry to get rid of troublesome Members of this House; and they will consider that it is because my hon. Friend has shown remarkable ability in defending the rights of his country, that he has been marked out, and that his Parliamentary right has been taken from him at this moment by the extraordinary action of the Court of Queen's Bench. Sir, I trust that the House will, according to precedent, appoint a Select Committee for the purpose of inquiring into the nature of this arrest, and into the letter which you, Sir, have read to the House. I beg to move an Amendment to the Resolution of the noble Marquess, that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report whether this matter requires the further attention of this House.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out the words "do lie on the Table," in order to add the words "informing the House of the trial, arrest, and imprisonment of Mr. Healy, a Member of this House, be referred to a Select Committee, for the purpose of inquiring into all the matters connected with the proceedings referred to therein, and of reporting whether they demand the further attention of this House."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that he had very little to add to what had fallen from his noble Friend the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington); but he would remind the House that as the question came before them entirely as a matter of Privilege, and took precedence as such, they could not now enter either into the policy of the course of those who had engaged in those prosecutions, nor into particular proceedings during the trial in the Court of Queen's Bench. If those proceedings were illegal, there was a right in the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), as in every other subject, to contest their legality; and the House must leave the persons affected by them to their remedy elsewhere. The House could only deal with the question of Privilege, and it was only in that way that action could be taken. In regard to that, his noble Friend's proposition was that there was no Privilege in regard to the arrest of a Member of Parliament upon criminal proceedings, or on proceedings of the nature of criminal proceedings. He (the Attorney General) would support the statement by precedents, one of which he thought was conclusive. It was declared, by a Resolution of the House of Lords, passed in 1626, that the Privilege of that House was—

> "That no Peer of Parliament sitting in Parliament was to be imprisoned or restrained without the sentence or Order of the House, unless it were for treason or felony, or for refusing to give surety of the peace;"

and in 1697 a similar Resolution was adopted by the House of Commons, asserting that there was no Privilege in the case of breach of the peace. The letter from the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland just read stated distinctly that Mr. Healy was called upon and ordered to give surety for the peace, and refused to do so. Of course, sureties for the peace could not be given except to prevent a breach of the peace. That Resolution, both of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, pointed to a proceeding of the character of a criminal proceeding, and therefore he did not think the House could interfere. The House had always acted on that rule, and in the cases of Lord George Gordon, Mr. Smith O'Brien, and Mr. Feargus O'Connor, it had never inquired into the propriety of the arrest. If it did, it would come into conflict with the Courts of Justice and the administration of the criminal law; and he was sure they would not, in supporting their right to claim Privilege, question the way in which the Criminal Law was administered. All that his noble Friend and himself now said was not urged by way of objection to any Motion which might be made in order to challenge the policy of the Government, or to comment on proceedings elsewhere. He merely submitted that it would be contrary to all the precedents, if the House were now to call in question the administration of justice by the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland; and he would respectfully suggest to the House that it would be asserting an undue claim of Privilege if it were to interfere in the matter.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had given them very substantial reasons why the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) should be adopted. He had shown that the whole question was involved in such doubt and confusion, and that it was of so novel a character, that the House could not judge whether, in the present instance, it was maintaining its Privileges or not. Therefore, there ought to be some such inquiry as was proposed. The Lord Chief Justice, in the letter communicating this arrest, actually named a Member of the House who had no existence. He spoke of "Timothy Michael Healy, Esq., one of the Members for the County of Wicklow." No such person existed. Mr. Healy, as everyone but the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland knew, was Member for the Borough of Wexford. That was an illustration of the confusion in which the question was involved, and he must say also an illustration of the want of respect shown by the learned Judge to the House. The House was now dealing with a question of Privilege. If it were not so, they would not now be discussing it; and he contended that they ought carefully to ascertain whether or not Privilege had been struck at by the fact and the manner of that arrest. Precedent for the case there was none, and there could be none, because he believed this was the first time in the history of the House that a Member had been committed under an obsolete Statute, violently strained in its application; and therefore he thought they were entitled to ask the House to do what had been done in other doubtful cases—namely, to appoint a Committee to inquire into the whole circumstances. If they did not, they would, in his opinion, establish a very evil precedent for the future.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, the fact was that his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was imprisoned for declining to give bail under a certain Act, which, by its very terms, excluded the idea of its being applicable to Members of Parliament. The Act of Edward III., under which the proceedings were taken, was an Act directed against common strollers, vagrants, and similar persons, who were likely to create a breach of the peace in the most ordinary and vulgar acceptation of the term. During all the centuries it had been in operation there was not an instance of its having been strained to cover the case of a Member of Parliament, who, in the exercise of his constitutional duty in rendering an account to his constituents, had used words which might or might not be pleasing to the Government of the day. That Act empowered magistrates to demand securities for good behaviour from vagrant and vagabond persons, and it was passed to help magistrates to deal summarily with highwaymen and peacebreakers throughout the rural district, and was never directed against Members of Parliament, criticizing the conduct of the Government. His hon. Friend was at present a sufferer by that interpretation of this Act; but the Privilege of every Member of the House was gravely attacked when a Court of Justice could order a Member of Parliament to find securities for any sum, no matter how enormous, under an Act intended to restrain highwaymen and vagrants from breaking the peace. If that jurisdiction was to be upheld, no Irish Member would be safe against the monstrous interpretation given to the Act by the Court of Queen's Bench. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had warned the House against attempting anything which would look like a criticism of the administration of justice. They could not forget that on a recent remarkable occasion, this very Lord Chief Justice, addressing the Court of Queen's Bench, excused himself from discharging his judicial functions in a certain case, on the ground that he had prejudged the case, and therefore could not discharge his duty with impartiality; and yet it was the proceedings of this self-condemned tribunal that the hon. and learned Gentleman endeavoured to screen from the legitimate inquiry of Parliament. For his own part, he (Mr. O'Donnell) was sure that his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford was quite prepared to treat with indifference this infringement of his lawful liberties. His hon. Friend, he was sure, regarded this scandalous misinterpretation of an Act of Parliament, never intended to apply to such cases, as an additional reason why the masses of the Irish people should desire that the policy which the hon. Member advocated should be considered quite apart from the question of the Privilege of that House. He believed that the Government were actuated in this matter by the recollection that if the hon. Member for Wexford were allowed to appear in his place, he would be one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, witness to the breach of faith of the Government with regard to the promises which they solemnly gave last year to complete the legislation they had in hand, by amending the Land Act. The Government also, he had no doubt, desired to screen themselves from the criticism of a powerful opponent in the House. The Government, by their action in this matter, had done all in their power to provoke the people of Ireland to do something that might give a further excuse to renegade Liberals to show that they were well worthy of the atrocities of Turkey and Bulgaria. He would not intervene further between the House and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan), who was evidently anxious to spring up to defend his Government in their most unjustifiable proceedings, and their small regard to the straining of an Act of Parliament, when they had to deal with the Representative of a popular Irish constituency. He had long since predicted the career that lay before the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he had no doubt that, on the present occasion, they were about to witness a further effort of the right hon. Gentleman to show how the admirer of Charles James Fox could defend coercion and lawlessness of the worst description for the consideration, forsooth, of the Chief Secretary's Office, and for a seat in the Ministerial Cabinet.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I rise only for one moment to make a speech of extreme brevity, because I wish to keep absolutely within the lines laid down by yourself. I understand that this is not the occasion to defend the policy of the present application before the Queen's Bench, a course which I may say was stated publicly and completely by me on the 1st December last. So far from shrinking from any examination of this question, I can fairly say that I court it more eagerly than an examination of any single question relating to our conduct in Ireland, for I conceive it is one of the most important, as it is one which most carefully needs, and I think will bear, the consideration of the House. I gathered, Sir, by your silence during the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), that it was within the bounds of this debate to refer to the delay that had occurred between the speaking of those words which brought about the proceedings and the final committal of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) to prison. On that point it would not be right to keep silence, because it would involve a misconception of the proceedings of the Court. The real fact is that the hon. Member for Wexford might have had his case brought before the Court and discussed and judged on the 5th December, the first day on which he appeared. [MR. PARNELL: Yes; at a day's notice.] The interruption is needless, as the hon. Member will see as I go on. On that day Mr. Davitt applied for an adjournment of a week or 10 days, and I see that the hon. Member for Wexford was in Court at the time, and by his silence apparently gave consent to the application. The Attorney General for Ireland supported the application, and the Lord Chief Justice admitted the reasonableness of it; but, at the same time, he carefully explained both to Mr. Davitt and the hon. Member for Wexford that, owing to the arrangements of the Winter Assizes and the Christmas holidays, it would be extremely unlikely that the case would come on without very considerable delay. That was stated most clearly by the Lord Chief Justice; but, in spite of that, Mr. Davitt urged his application, and it was supported, as I say, by the tacit consent of the Member for Wexford. And when the Attorney General for Ireland asked that the same course should be adopted in all three cases, the hon. Member for Wexford did not object. The first occasion on which a full Court could be got together after that was the 17th January, because the Court of Queen's Bench very rightly thought it should not come before one or two Judges. The case was heard on the 17th, and very fully argued on both sides. Judgment was given on the 25th that the defendants should give bail; and I think the longest time that could be given was given after the service of the order, to enable the Gentlemen concerned to find bail if they wished, and to make up their minds, with the very serious contingency of going to prison if they preferred that. After that space had elapsed, and not till then, the warrant was served. I need not use many words in repudiating the statement that the Government was anxious to rid themselves of the presence of the hon. Member for Wexford. For myself I most deeply regret the hon. Member chose the course he has. I would ask hon. Members to reserve their judgment on the policy which the Government adopted on this matter, and to vote solely and entirely on the legal question as to whether this is a matter of Privilege, or whether it is not.

Mr. GORST said, he thought they were entitled to a little more information than the Government was inclined to give them in the matter. For himself, he thought they had not treated the question with the consideration which its importance deserved. He hardly thought that at so early a period of the Session they should have cause to regret the absence of the Leader of the House. Whatever their disagreements with him might be, he always treated the House with full information on, and full precedents for, the course he asked the House to take on occasions such as the present. What had been the conduct of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) on this occasion? He merely said there were precedents, without giving a single one. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, who followed the noble Marquess, when challenged by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), referred them not to any precedent, but, as an authority for the Privileges of the House of Commons, he referred them to a Resolution passed by the House of Lords in the days of the Stuarts. That was the only precedent produced up to that time for the course the Government proposed to take in refusing a Committee of Inquiry to determine at once this important question of Privilege. They must treat this matter of Privilege exactly as if it were the case of an English Member, and he protested against the doctrine laid down by the hon. and learned Attorney General, that the House had no jurisdiction to inquire into the legal proceedings which had taken place. The very fact that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had given them that *ex-parte* information was sufficient cause for the appointment of a Committee to take evidence and inform the House what those proceedings had been. Contrary to all precedent, and contrary to what was necessary for the safety of the Members of the House, the learned Judge, in the information he had given to the Speaker, had not condescended to state the nature of the offence for which the hon. Member had been committed. That was contrary to all precedent. In support of that statement he would refer the House to a Resolution of the Committee of Privileges which sat in 1831, and to the work of Sir Erskine May. That Committee, in summing up precedents, stated that it was established generally that Privilege was not claimable for an indictable offence. This was not an indictable offence at all. Then, in Sir Erskine May's book, it was stated that it was usual to state the cause of commitment. When Feargus O'Connor was committed to prison the police magistrate, Mr. Henry, subsequently Sir Thomas Henry, after he had committed him to prison, informed the Speaker that Feargus O'Connor had been committed to prison for seven days for assaulting a police-constable, and mentioned the Statute under which he was committed. In that case special information was given regarding the offence committed and the Statute under which the committal was made. He would ask hon. Members to contrast that with the information before the House in the present case, for the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland did not tell them that the hon. Member for Wexford had committed any crime. All the information contained in the letter presented to the House was that Mr. Healy had been held to bail for good behaviour. Before the House consented to pass over such a very grave act as the imprisonment of a Member, and before they consented to depart from precedent and from their ancient Privileges, they should require some further information from Her Majesty's Ministers than that which they had already received.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, that the House had lately got rid of a good many of its Privileges; and he, therefore, thought it would be well if it took care of those that remained. He did not, however, think the House would be caring for the remnant of its Privileges, if it refused to grant the investigation into the circumstances of his hon. Friend's (Mr. Healy's) imprisonment. It had been pointed out that his hon. Friend had been put in prison just at the opening of the Session, and that that imprisonment would not be over until the Session had almost closed. If they did not look on that as an attack on the Privileges of Parliament he would be very much surprised. Under those circumstances, could they doubt for a moment that the three Judges, who were well aware that Mr. Healy took an active part in the House in opposing the policy of the Government, had purposely framed his sentence so as to exclude him from Parliament? Why was it that Mr. Healy's imprisonment had been so long delayed? It was decided last Session that the *clôture* could only be applied by a certain majority of Members of that House; but it now appeared that so far, at least, as Irish Members were concerned, the *clôture* might now be applied by three Irish Judges. It should be remembered that in this case there was no trial, no jury, and that Mr. Healy's imprisonment was the act of three Judges; and if anyone would tell him that that was no interference with the Privileges of a Member of Parliament, he would be very much astonished, indeed, at his innocence. It might be said that Mr. Healy was at liberty to find bail; but the Judges in question very well knew that Mr. Healy would not give bail, because, by doing so, he would be making an admission of guilt, whereas he very properly regarded himself as innocent. The Judges knew very well that Mr. Healy would not give bail; and, therefore, he believed the object was to keep the hon. Member out of the House that Session. If that was not an attack on the Privileges of the House, he did not know what else it was; and he would be very much mistaken, indeed, if the House did not regard it in that light.

MR. P. MARTIN said, he desired to confine himself simply to the question of Privilege. He had listened to the statement of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), when he asked that the letter do lie upon the Table of the House, with surprise, and did not understand why that course had been adopted. He submitted inquiry by a Committee was the usual political and natural mode of proceeding. In assenting to these Amendments there was no binding assertion on the part of the House of the extent of their authority to interfere. There were circumstances of as novel character in the present case. Last Session, notwithstanding the findings of previous Committees in respect to the somewhat analogous case of contempt of Court, the Prime Minister had moved for a Committee to inquire whether the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) was entitled to complain in their commitment. He might observe, as to the Resolutions cited by the Home Secretary, that they did not in themselves distinctly apply to the case of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy). He had, as he understood, been committed for refusal to give bail to be of good behaviour, and not for "surety of peace." The letter of the Chief Justice was of a vague and unsatisfactory character. It gave no definite and precise particulars of the nature of the offence alleged to have been committed, or the circumstances under which the warrant was issued, and their brother Member was detained in custody. On that ground alone, the House ought not now to adopt a Resolution, the effect of which was to justify the imprisonment complained of by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell). It was not right to prejudge the case without full inquiry. That the House would not at the end of the investigation interfere with the committal by a Court of competent jurisdiction was answered by the precedent in Mr. Gray's case. A Committee would place before the House the full facts, and a decision could then be come to which would command confidence and respect in Ireland.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I only rise to make two or three observations with reference to what fell from the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). He charged my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General with resting this case upon the precedents of the Stuart time. If that had been the case, in my opinion, precedents of the Stuart time would be the best of all precedents; because it was at that time that Parliament was asserting its Privileges against the Crown; and during the whole history of the Stuart time, questions of Privilege, and, I may say, the question of the liberties and Privileges of Parliament, were decided. But, passing by that singular misreading of the history of this country, I come to the point of the hon. and learned Member's argument. He said you cannot find any precedent, except one of 200 years ago; and another hon. Member said that this matter was so new that it ought to be inquired into by a Committee. Now, the point is not new, neither is it obscure; but it is exactly one of those points which the House is frequently called upon to decide. The matter does not rest there, for you may go back for many centuries, to the time when the Reports were in Norman-French, and there you will find that the exemptions are treason-felony and refusing to give surety for breach of the peace. Century after century that has been acted upon. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham, with his usual courage, has cited an abstract from the work of Sir Erskine May, giving the Report of the Committee of 1831; but if he had given the whole Report, it would have exactly contradicted the conclusion to which he has arrived. The Committee of 1831 goes back not only to the time of the Stuarts, but to the time of the Plantagenets; and I find that, referring back to the precedent of 1675, the reference to the Privilege of Parliament is this—

> "By law the Privilege of Parliament belongs to every Member of the House of Commons in all cases except treason-felony and breach of the peace."

["Hear, hear!"] Yes; but that is only one of the series of precedents; and though the hon. and learned Member for Chatham lays it down that the Privilege of Parliament only applied to indictable offences, if he had read the Report of the Committee of 1831 he would have found refusal to give surety for breach of the peace.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: Where was the breach of the peace in this case?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: It comes clearly within the interpretation of the precedent that the Privileges of Parliament do not extend to a Member in cases where he is bound to good behaviour for a breach of the peace that is apprehended. The case to which that Committee applied was not an indictable offence. Therefore, the contention that Privilege only applies to an indictable offence is clearly a misapprehension. The distinction had been clearly drawn by that Committee, and it has been to-night re-affirmed by my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General; and I think the House will be very slow to endeavour, on this occasion, to extend the doctrine of Privilege to a degree never before anticipated.

Mr. SEXTON said, that he wished to address a few words to the House on the subject. He was glad to find that an English Member had risen in his place to endeavour to procure the application of Constitutional law and practice to this case, and to at least secure for the discussion of the case that attention which English Members seemed indisposed to give. He had listened with pain and disappointment to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and he would say that he regarded it as a pregnant example of that policy of evasion and make-believe which was the principal note of the new Administration in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to account for the delay in dealing with the hon. Member for Wexford's (Mr. Healy's) case by the adjournment for 10 days that had been asked for and granted; but he (Mr. Sexton) would like to know how an adjournment for 10 days could account for a consumption of three months. The Chief Secretary for Ireland told them that it was impossible to form a Court. There were a great many Judges in Ireland, however; but he (Mr. Sexton) supposed, on the principle that great bodies move slowly, it was impossible to get the Queen's Bench to form a Court during all that time. In that period, the Court of Queen's Bench might have called in a Judge and formed a Court; but the Executive in Ireland appeared to have so delayed the case that the imprisonment of the hon. Member for Wexford was made to begin, and would probably end with the Session. That was a grave ground for impeachment, on the principles of Privilege, both of the Executive and the Judges in Ireland, that they should imprison a Member of the House, so that the term of his imprisonment and of his withdrawal from that House should extend over a period when questions with which he was especially conversant should come before the House. Parliament had been always solicitous to inquire into the circumstances connected with questions touching the Privileges of its Members; and it would be of evil import, and have a most injurious effect on the public mind, at least in Ireland, did the House pass over, without due attention, the imprisonment of a man who had proved himself so active and useful in dealing with recent legislation of deep concern to such a large number of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had laid down a principle which appeared to strike the Treasury Bench with horror, but which he (Mr. Sexton) would also urge. That hon. and learned Gentleman asked that this case should be treated as if it concerned an English Member. ["Hear, hear!"] Such a claim to the Treasury Bench seemed to be unparaleled—they would not for a moment acknowledge it, and they had abundant proof, as was apparent from the mocking cheer of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport. [MR. HOPWOOD: I did not cheer or mock.] He would repeat they had abundant proof that this matter did not very much concern the House or Her Majesty's Government, as there was only an Irish Member in question. The noble Marquess the Leader of the House (the Marquess of Hartington) and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General were astray, both on the fact and law of this case. Could they wonder that the Lord Chief Justice for Ireland should describe his (Mr. Sexton's) hon. Friend (Mr. Healy) as the Member for the County of Wicklow, when the hon. and learned Attorney General for England, who had sat with him in the House for three years, should call him the Member for the County of Wexford. The hon. and learned Attorney General for England endeavoured to excuse what had been done in this case by referring to a Resolution passed by the House of Lords in 1626; but he (Mr. Sexton) would wish to point out both to the hon. and learned Gentleman and to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that, whatever might have been the effect of that Resolution, that was completely neutralized, and, as the Prime Minister would say, pulverized by a Resolution which had been subsequently passed by the House of Commons. Before 1849 the Privilege claimed was that Members should not be imprisoned except for treason-felony.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The earliest definition of the Privilege of Parliament is to be found in "Larke's Case," Rol., Parl. 8, H. VI., in which, in the old Norman-French, it is thus claimed by the Commons—

> "La Privilege de votre Court de Parlement d'etre quieters de touts arresters durant votre dit courte forprise par treason felonie ou suerte de pais."

MR. SEXTON said, that the Resolution of the House of Lords was, that during the sitting of Parliament no Member of that House should be imprisoned or restrained, unless for treason-felony or refusal to give suretyship of the peace. If that record stood it would, no doubt, be applicable to this case; but in 1675 the House of Commons passed a Resolution to the effect that the Privileges of the House of Commons should extend to Members in all cases, except in cases of treason-felony and breach of the peace. These were the exact words of the Resolution passed in 1675, and were evidently drawn in opposition to the Resolution which the House of Lords had passed previously. These words were not in the Norman-French quoted by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department. They were in the English language, and were specifically quoted by Sir Erskine May in his work. It was idle for the right hon. and learned Gentleman now to endeavour to confuse the issue before the House, and try to peruade them that a breach of the peace and an apprehension of a breach of the peace were one and the same thing. With regard to the offence charged against his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford, and the course proposed to be taken, it must be apparent to everyone that the offence alleged to be apprehended was not even stated in the letter read by the Speaker; and although this excuse might be offered for the learned Judge, that his Lordship could not possibly cite an offence when there was none on the record, he thought it was not too much to say that a Judge who had shown himself so ignorant of the facts of the case might not also be ignorant of the law connected with it. The offence was not even stated on the warrant on which his hon. Friend was arrested. He was in possession of a letter received by him that morning from the hon. Member for Wexford, and he was informed in that letter that in the warrant committing his hon. Friend to Kilmainham no offence was specified. It was merely an order from the Queen's Bench in Ireland directing its subordinate officers to take Mr. Healy into custody and lodge him in Kilmainham. He challenged the Government to show that any offence was specified on the warrant, and declared that it was not even alleged that the conduct of his hon. Friend was such as to lead to a breach of the peace. Of the three cases which had been cited by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) in respect to breach of Privilege, the first two were out of the question in regard to the treatment of the hon. Member for Wexford, and, as to the third, no act was or could be alleged against the hon. Gentleman. How then could it be said by the noble Marquess that the matter for which his hon. Friend was committed could be regarded as crime, or as falling within the category of crime? What was alleged against his hon. Friend was not even proved. The evidence against him rested on the memory of a police constable as to the correctness of a report in a newspaper of a speech made by his hon. Friend, and an allegation that he used language and took a course of conduct which, if persevered in and repeated still further, might possibly have the effect of leading to a breach of the peace in the future. He thought, under all these circumstances, it was clearly established that there was no offence whatever committed that would disentitle his hon. Friend to claim the Privileges of that House, if the House were in any mood to pay attention to such a claim put forward by an Irish Member. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham had appealed to the House to deal with that question as if it affected an English Member, and if that appeal went unanswered, if it were received indifferently by the Government, the result would be great dissatisfaction among the Irish people, and it would lead to a belief that an unfair distinction was made between English and Irish Members. The impression conveyed to the Irish people would be that if an English Member were imprisoned the question of Privilege would receive their very serious attention; but, in the case of an Irish Member, the House was disposed to pay no attention whatever to it, but was disposed rather to let the Courts in Ireland work their own sweet will with Members of Parliament and everybody else there, and allow also the claims and privileges of the House to sink into disuse and contempt.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that in this case the onus of proof clearly lay with the Government. No doubt the House had heard several speeches from the Treasury Bench; but up to that moment a similar case to that of his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), or to the course that had been adopted in reference to him, had not been brought before them. The Government, in this matter, were pursuing a course that no Government ever did before. They asked the House to allow this matter to pass unnoticed, and did not deign to bring forward any precedents to warrant that course. Now, the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan), in his latest and not his most improved style, impressed on the House the advisability of not discussing the policy involved in the arrest of the hon. Member for Wexford; but what he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would contend was this—that the matter was a matter of policy, because the Government were taking a course with regard to the hon. Member that no Government ever took before. The Government were doing in this case only what was in accordance with its general policy in Ireland. The last speaker (Mr. Sexton) was justified in drawing, so clearly as he had, the attention of the House to the singular difference in the Resolutions passed by the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and was justified in contending that that difference was not accidental. The House of Lords, it was plain, endeavoured to confine the limits of Privilege; but the House of Commons restored them to their original proportions. He wished to draw the attention of the House to a leading case with regard to the Privileges of Parliament—that of Wilkes, for in that case the Lord Chief Justice (Paget) laid down that in all cases except for treason-felony and actual breach of the peace a Member was free from arrest. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had advanced the same view of the law, and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) strongly invited the attention of the Government to the point. At present the question involved the liberty of an Irish Member only; but to-morrow it might be that of an English Member; and, therefore, the matter was one of great importance to the whole House. A more dangerous doctrine could not be laid before the Irish people than that the treatment of the rights and Privileges of Members of that House depended on their nationality. It seemed, however, that that would probably occur, It was also now laid down that a Member of that House might be taken up and lodged in custody as a rogue and a vagabond. There could, he thought, be no doubt that the Government were curtailing the Privileges of Members by the course they adopted; and, at the same time, they desired to limit discussion of political questions by Members on the ground that such discussion might cause discontent among certain classes of Her Majesty's subjects. But, he need hardly say, not a Member of Parliament, of whatever Party, could make a speech without creating discontent among some of Her Majesty's subjects, and he urged that the House should not be led away by the Government in this matter. The House should take that course which their own independent judgment recommended. It ought not to refuse to extend its Privileges to a Member with whom the Government had dealt so arbitrarily, and in a manner for which there was no precedent.

MR. MARUM said, he wished to point out that this case was one of sureties for good behaviour brought under a Statute of Edward III., and that it was entirely different from cases in which persons are bound to give sureties of the peace for specified offences. They were essentially distinct proceedings, and grounded upon different jurisdictions. There had been no precedent cited where the Privilege of Parliament was held to be barred by arrest in default of giving sureties for good behaviour. Not only were the proceedings different, but the principles upon which they rested were totally diverse—in one case it was the vague, undefined discretion of the Judge to conclude Parliament, whilst in the other a sworn statement of offence and threat should be exhibited in the articles of "swearing the peace," as it was vulgarly styled.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 353; Noes 47: Majority 306.—(Div. List, No. 1.)

Main Question put.

Ordered, That the Letter of the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland do lie upon the Table.

NEW WRIT ISSUED.

For County of Dublin, *v.* the Right honble. Thomas Edward Taylor, deceased.

PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

OUTLAWRIES BILL.

Bill "for the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

MR. SPEAKER *reported* Her Majesty's Speech, made by Her Chancellor, and read it to the House.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

MR. ACLAND: Sir, in rising to move that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Her most gracious Speech, I have first to ask the House to exercise towards me that generous indulgence which has uniformly been most kindly shown towards those who, under similar circumstances, have risen, Sir, to address you nearly for the first time. I also beg to be allowed to express, on the part of the constituency which I have the honour to represent, their thorough appreciation of the distinction conferred upon them. And in order to secure to myself, as far as I can, the indulgence I have asked for, I will do my best to avoid needlessly raising any such points as would be likely to arouse any great differences of opinion, on an occasion upon which the desire of all is that an unanimous expression should be given to the respectful gratitude to Her Majesty, which there is no one in this House who would be willing to disavow.

But before entering upon any of the various and important topics brought before us in the Speech from the Throne, there are two different feelings which I am convinced are prevalent in this House, to which I think, Sir, I shall not be deemed to be trespassing on the forbearance of the House, if I venture to endeavour to give expression. The first is that of regret that we do not see in his accustomed place one who, after half-a-century of strenuous activity in the service of his Queen and country, has gained an ascendancy in this House, and a hold on the affections of the people, which I shall hardly be criticized if I say it has not been equalled by any of his Predecessors. And we have the more cause to regret his absence now that those Rules of Procedure, in the elaboration of which he took so earnest a part, are, for the first time, to come generally into operation. The other feeling is a pleasanter one to express; it is that of congratulation to my right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) on his return to his post. His absence during the closing days of last Session was regretted on this side of the House as much as on the other, and he is now welcomed by all sections of the House with the hope that the labours of this Session, which are likely to be as arduous as that of the last, though not, we may hope, so protracted, and yet not less important in their legislative results, may not injuriously affect him.

Sir, the leading paragraphs of Her Majesty's most gracious Speech have reference to the occurrences in Egypt of last autumn, on the successful termination of which, so far as their immediate object was concerned, this House has already been congratulated. That object was the suppression of a revolt caused by military ambition, faction, and fanaticism. There are those who have estimated that movement as a patriotic effort, led by a national deliverer. But, although a natural jealousy of prosperous Europeans on the part of Natives may have contributed to the popularity of Arabi, there is no act of his which can be brought forward as conducive to the welfare of his country. There are those who believe, or who at any rate say, that prompter action on the part of Her Majesty's Government might have prevented disaster. To them it may be pleaded in reply that, at any rate, the results of the more deliberate course adopted have been to avoid giving offence to other European Powers, and to secure their appreciation of the rectitude and single-minded character of the purposes entertained by this country. Whatever may now be said of the past, it will, at any rate, be admitted by all that after the complete destruction of the Egyptian military organization, and the result on that country generally, England could not then, with any self-respect, leave the Egyptians to find their own way out of their confusion. She was bound to provide for the re-organization of a small, but adequate and efficient defensive force. She was bound to endeavour to secure the stability of the Throne of the recognized Ruler of the country, in whose support she had, in conformity with her engagements, originally interfered; and in accordance with her own traditions, not to say in the furtherance of her own interests, she was bound to endeavour to create and to foster the growth of institutions of a popular kind, designed to secure representation of the wants and wishes of the people, and to show like the Pyramids, by their permanence and stability, the industry and ingenuity, as well as the patient power of that race. It must also be a source of satisfaction to the House to learn that Her Majesty's troops will not be detained in Egypt for any lengthened period, but will be withdrawn as soon as possible, consistently with the objects which Her Majesty's Government are bound to provide for. It will also be felt that the provision of effectual safeguards for the security of the Suez Canal will entitle Her Majesty to the gratitude of all those countries to which that waterway is of the greatest value; and that for the purpose of maintaining that security with the least possible risk to the peace of Europe, a settlement likely to give peace, prosperity, and contentment to the people of Egypt, is an indispensable requisite.

I think, Sir, that this country may be congratulated on the fact that of all that Greater Britain — the rapidity of the growth of which I think there are but few who completely realize—there is but one spot on which events have lately happened which call for remark in Her Majesty's Speech. I allude to the restoration of Cetewayo. That eminent but despotic Ruler, whose name will be inscribed on the history of this country, has returned to be restored to his Throne among his people, with a slight diminution, it is true, of his territory; but only such as is necessary to secure, as far as it lay in the power of England to secure, without annexation, peace in his dominions. It will be remembered that, by the arrangement made by the present Lord Wolseley, 13 co-ordinate Chiefs were appointed to rule without a supreme head over Zulu territory; and it is hoped, and there is indeed good reason to believe, that the modifications of the previous arrangement, the conditions imposed on Cetewayo, and the present re-settlement will prove in the end thoroughly satisfactory, not only to the Zulus, but to their neighbours in Natal and in the Transvaal.

But, Sir, if the rate of the development, and if the surrounding circumstances of the more distant of Her Majesty's Dominions from time to time give us cause for anxiety or congratulation, there is a part of her Dominions which we call our Sister Island, of which recently it has been more rarely true that she has not occupied our thoughts, not to say filled us with deep sorrow, sympathy and anxiety. Sir, the affairs of Ireland have occupied the time of this House too long of late to make it necessary for me to say much on that subject; but I am happy to have some matters of congratulation to bring before the notice of the House. There is no need to remind the House of the tales of woe, of the cowardly assassinations, not only of men eminent and beloved, holding high position, but of innocent men who were the bread-winners of poor families, and even of women and children. Nor can we leave unnoticed the efforts made by Her Majesty's Government and by this House to prove to Ireland that the English people wish to do justice to the Irish people, wish to convince them that as England is their nearest, strongest, and most natural protector, so she will be, if only she may, her best and truest friend, and that we wish to help Ireland to make efforts in her own behalf. Nor have we forgotten the strenuous and persistent efforts made to prevent the Irish people from perceiving that this is the truth, and that their truest wisdom is to act upon it. Sir, I do not dare to ask the House to say now whether it is on account of, or notwithstanding the efforts made by Her Majesty's Government or by Parliament, or, more than all, the splendid vigour, decision, judgment, firmness, tact, and courtesy of Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that I am able to make the request I do make; but I do dare to ask every section of the House to join with me in congratulating Her Majesty that in that part of her Dominions the honest man can now pay his just debts without fear—witnesses of crime dare now to speak the truth—the cowardly murderer is no longer now regarded as a hero or a patriot, and the recent general sympathy with crime has notably diminished, and has given way to a desire for law and order. For these things, at least, Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen alike may be grateful. If there be one inference more than any other which it would gratify the people of this country to be able to draw from the apparent improvement in the social condition of Ireland it would be this—that the time was drawing near when we might, with due regard to the safety of life—to say nothing of property—in Ireland, with the same regard for full personal liberty, the same desire to develop local energy and local independence which has been the mainspring of our English legislation, intrust to Irishmen the same measures of local self-government in local matters as we hope soon may be extended to rural districts in England. But, alas! it sometimes seems as though Irish loyalty and English liberty were moving on those lines we hear of in higher mathematics, which are ever approaching each other, but which never meet.

I come now, Sir, to the paragraphs of Her Majesty's Speech which present to us the Bills which the Government propose to lay before the House, and I feel confident the House will forgive me if, in order to avoid loss of time and waste of words, I confine myself to those measures which either are chiefly of interest to rural constituencies, or are of such general interest as to call for remark from myself, as well as from the hon. Member who will follow me. In the first group of Bills it will be observed that there is one which is, I fear, of very wide interest—that one, namely, which will deal with the Law of Bankruptcy. No words are needed from me, Sir, to convince Members of each Party in this House that the present unsatisfactory state of the law on this subject should divest this Bill of any Party character, and render it easy, without serious delay, to pass a measure to provide for public inquiry into all failures, publicity in the manner of disposing of the bankrupt's estates, the employment of responsible persons as public officers for those purposes, and the protection of those whose failure is due not to culpable recklessness, but to inevitable misfortune. In the same group there is another Bill mentioned, which will, I believe, have, when it becomes law, a very wide scope, which will, I may almost say, affect every Member of this

House, and every constituency. Not that I would be taken to imply that all or any of the Members of this House have been guilty of corrupt practices; but all Members are more or less at the mercy of their more ardent and reckless supporters in this respect, and I can only hope that the universal feeling of condemnation and disgust for the disgraceful disclosures which have recently been made may steel the hearts and brace the nerves of the most tender-hearted Members of the House, so that, without Party acrimony, this much-needed measure may speedily become law.

With regard to the subjects which are next alluded to in Her Majesty's Speech—those affecting local government—I have already expressed a hope that when England and Scotland come to be dealt with in this matter, it may be possible also to deal with Ireland on similar principles and without delay. It will be observed that this year the proposal to deal with Metropolitan local government precedes those which will touch other districts; and if this should cause any temporary disappointment among those who are mainly affected by the administration of rates, and who have to wait one year more for representation, I trust that when it is remembered that for 35 years this great subject has been from time to time before the House, and at no long intervals, there may be some satisfaction in the reflection that now that its solution appears to be approaching, the discussion of the measures as affecting the Metropolis may bring to the surface suggestions and ideas which may throw additional light on the best method of solving the vast and important questions involved, when the whole of the unreformed districts come before us. I will only ask those who may be inclined to think with regret that the ancient glory of the City of London will have departed to remember that it is not until the real vigour and life of a tree have begun to abate that the ivy clinging round it is regarded as adorning it, and that when this is the case the best way of saving the tree is to attack the ivy.

I may, perhaps, be permitted to express the regret which will be felt by some, that there is but a poor prospect of reaching the great subject of County Government this Session; not even of advancing far enough to touch what lies at the fringe of the question—the simplification of areas. But, considering the enormous complexity of the subject, considering its indissoluble connection with the assimilation of the county and borough franchise, I think the House will agree that the Government do wisely in deferring it until it can be treated as a whole, and each division can be considered in the relation it bears to the others and to the whole.

Sir, in approaching the next subject, I know that I can speak with certainty when I say that in the sight of a very important class of Her Majesty's English subjects, this Bill will, in its importance, outshine all others, and throw everything else in Her Majesty's Speech into the shade. The subject of agricultural compensation has been before Parliament for one whole generation; but there is no doubt whatever that the long and rapid and unbroken succession of bad seasons have inflicted on the agricultural community very severe losses, and to this only too efficient cause we may attribute the fact that the points at which the shoe pinches the tenant farmer are much more keenly painful than heretofore. And undoubtedly, also, it is true that the insecurity of capital invested in the cultivation of the land has been hitherto, even in spite of recent legislation, much greater than it need be. Absolutely secure, it can no more be made than any capital invested in any other profitable way; but, at least, this much may be achieved. If the landlord and tenant fail to come to terms more suited to their special circumstances than any general legislation can lay down for them, a minimum may be laid down which may at once encourage tenants to invest their capital in the highest cultivation of which their farms will profitably admit, and also induce the landlord to afford them further encouragement, by investing his capital in permanent improvements, or arranging with the tenants that they shall do so, by giving to them the utmost freedom of cultivation consistent with the good of the soil, and the interests of the succeeding occupier. There are other details which I will not refer to; but I will merely express an earnest hope that every section of each Party in this House will remember that there are small as well as large owners and occupiers in this country, and that legislation is more necessary for protecting the smaller ones than for the sake of the larger; further, that any measure that presses hardly on the larger class will press ruinously on the smaller, whether the interest be permanent or transitory.

Another very important Bill which should have wide effect throughout the Kingdom is that of Rivers Conservancy and Prevention of Floods. The interests which will be affected will be numerous and important, and I fear that the much vexed question as to whether and in what proportion those whose uplands benefit by drainage should assist those whose lowlands are injured by floods may give rise to animated discussions; but, this being in no sense a Party measure, I trust that the necessity for it, which must have been evident to hon. Members as they assembled from their distant homes, will enable them to come to a speedy and beneficial conclusion.

Those hon. Members in this House who are specially interested in the Principality of Wales will, I believe, see with pleasure a proposal to complete, as far as possible, the much needed provision for higher education which has, to some extent, been promised to that country. The circumstances of that country, where endowments are scarce, and where the religious requirements of the people have been chiefly supplied by themselves, have rendered it necessary to devise some means by which, out of public funds, some provision shall be made to enable the poorer classes to obtain for themselves an education higher than elementary. In a Committee presided over by Lord Aberdare in 1881, various recommendations were made with this object, and I will not detain the House further than to say that I gather that the Bill to be submitted to us embodies, to some extent, their recommendations.

It will be observed that the concluding paragraph of Her Majesty's most gracious Speech contains a reference to the claims of general legislation as compared with the claims of further legislation for the Sister Island. May I venture to appeal to the generosity of those who represent the smallest of the Three Kingdoms, but who have had generous measure of our time given to them for some years, and to ask them not to think this House inconsiderate of the claims of Ireland, or selfishly confining itself to its own interests, if precedence, at least, be given to subjects affecting the whole of Great Britain? May I venture, with all humility, to suggest to them that if Ireland were left free for a few months from agitation there might at length be no crime to prevent? May I ask them to take as an earnest of the intentions of this people the very large and far-reaching measures already passed? If they are waiting for local self-government, so are we; and not only for local self-government, but for an extension of the county franchise, and for many other things to which to-day I have not had occasion to refer.

In conclusion, Sir, I venture to ask the House to join with me in saying that whatever be the form which may be ultimately given to the Address when presented to Her Majesty, we trust that she will accept it as that which it will be intended to be — the expression, through this House, to a beloved Sovereign of the heartfelt gratitude of a faithful, united, and devoted people. I have the honour, Sir, to move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to thank Her Majesty for the Most Gracious Speech which Her Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that Her Majesty has the satisfaction of maintaining with all Foreign Powers relations of friendship and good-will:

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that, since the close of the last Session, tranquillity has been restored to Egypt, clemency has been shown by its Ruler to the leaders of the Rebellion, and that the withdrawal of the British Troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will admit:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that the reconstitution of the Government of Egypt and the reorganisation of its affairs under the authority of the Khedive have in part been accomplished, and will continue to receive Her Majesty's earnest attention; and that it will be Her Majesty's endeavour to secure that full provision shall be made for the exigencies of order, for a just representation of the wants and wishes of the population, and for the observance of international obligations:

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that Her Majesty has already been able to fulfil the promise made to the Sultan and to the Great Powers of Europe to submit to their friendly consideration the arrangements which appeared to Her Majesty to be the best fitted to insure the stability of the Khedive's Government, the prosperity and happiness of the Egyptian people, the security of the Suez Canal, and the peace of Europe in the East; that to those objects Her Majesty's policy has been directed in the past and will be addressed in the future; and that Her Majesty continues to rely with confidence on its just appreciation by other Countries:

"To assure Her Majesty that we learn with satisfaction that a Conference of the Great Powers has assembled in London to consider measures for better securing the freedom of Navigation on the Danube:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that with a view to the preservation of peace and order in Zululand, Her Majesty has caused the former Ruler of that Country to be replaced in possession of the greater part of the Territories held by him before the War; and that we join with Her Majesty in earnestly hoping that this step may lead to the establishment of a more stable Government, and to the maintenance of good Relations between the Zulu Nation and the adjoining Colony of Natal:

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that Papers on these subjects will be presented to us:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that the Estimates for the Services of the coming year are in a forward state of preparation, and that they will be speedily laid before us:

"To assure Her Majesty that we rejoice to learn that the improvement in the social condition of Ireland, to which Her Majesty referred in December, continues; that agrarian crime has sensibly diminished; and that the Law has been everywhere upheld, although the existence of dangerous Secret Societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country calls for unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive:

"Humbly to assure Her Majesty that our careful consideration shall be given to the Measures which may be submitted to us; and that we earnestly trust that the blessing of Almighty God may attend our labours."

MR. BUCHANAN, in rising to second the Motion, said: Mr. Speaker, I would join my hon. Friend (Mr. Acland) in his felicitations on the return to this House, in renewed health and vigour, of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, whom we all esteem; and I would join him, too, in his regrets of the absence, the conspicuous absence, of the Leader of the House, the Prime Minister. I would look upon it as a recognition by Mr. Gladstone of the necessity of his sparing himself for the sake of the future service of the State, in which we hope he has many years yet before him. And we shall welcome him back all the more cordially because we have been made conscious of the blank that his absence causes.

I heartily endorse the words of satisfaction already used at the restoration of peace. We are all proud of the brilliant success of Her Majesty's Forces by sea and land in the Egyptian Campaign. And I may be permitted, as a Scotch Member, to allude with particular interest to the distinguished part played by the Highland Brigade. But, convinced though we were of the necessity of warlike operations, we are glad that they are over, and that they have been got quickly over. The generous but unfounded dread which was felt in some quarters, lest, when repressing military violence, we might be extinguishing the germs of national life, will best be shown to have been unfounded by a political reconstruction of that country, such as is indicated in Her Majesty's Speech, which will secure to its inhabitants a Government that will be strong and stable, that will protect life and property, that will fearlessly administer justice, and withal will be a national and independent Government, affording scope for the development of free institutions emancipated from the Suzerainty, the Protectorate, or the annexation of any Foreign Power. We are all anxious that the efforts we have made, the lives we have lost, should not be in vain. But I feel confident that, with the highway to India secured, not for ourselves only, but for all the world, and with, as its best security, an independent and prosperous Egypt, we shall all unfeignedly rejoice when we are enabled to withdraw our troops from the Valley of the Nile, and so escape at once from all temptation to annexation, as well as from the danger of disagreement with the other Powers of Europe. That danger cannot but be an ever-present probability, so long as our military occupation continues. We rejoice at the harmony that has been maintained with the Great Powers all through these difficult negotiations; we cheerfully acknowledge the diplomatic skill of our Ministers and Representatives, and we feel that it has been due to the directness and the straightforward nature of our action that our policy has been, and will continue to be, appreciated by the European Powers.

The conspicuous diminution of agrarian crime in Ireland affords gratifying evidence of the beneficial effects of the agrarian legislation of last Session. Crime—not agrarian—has also diminished with the better enforcement of the law, at which we all rejoice. But we are still face to face with a fell conspiracy, which aims equally at all who help in the enforcement of law and order; at the highest official in the capital, and at the lowliest peasant in his squalid cabin. I feel sure that the House will cordially testify its regard for the devotion of those who, in whatever sphere of life, from the Lord Lieutenant and my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) to the juryman and the policeman, in spite of the ever-present terror of the assassin, fearlessly perform their often thankless duty. There is no mention of exceptional legislation for Ireland of any magnitude during the ensuing Session, and we must be glad of it. At the same time, she will enjoy the benefits of such measures as embrace the whole country in their scope, and she will herself be able to further, by her own Representatives, many useful reforms.

Turning to home affairs, we must all rejoice that Her Majesty's Government affords us the prospect of much useful legislation during the coming Session. Speaking as the Representative, not only of a large urban constituency, but of the ancient and historic capital of the Sister Kingdom, I gladly welcome the proposal of the Government to give free municipal institutions to united London. London now is little more than a geographical expression. The London of the future will be not only a marvel for its vast extent, its wealth, and its population, but united under Mayor and Council, freely elected by its million inhabitants, it will be the most signal monument of the age of the triumph of the representative principle. London municipal reform has been a question before Parliament for half-a-century. Commissions many have inquired into it, and Bills many have been introduced upon the subject. There is a general consensus of opinion that it is of such vast dimensions that Government alone can adequately deal with it. Government attempted it under Sir George Grey 25 years ago, and again under Sir Cornewall Lewis. Opinion has ripened, and the demand has strengthened since then. Without pretending to forecast the nature of the Bill, I sincerely trust that it will be one that will really be for the unity of London, and not for disintegration; that, taking advantage of the ancient Corporation, with its venerable dignity and its great traditions, it will expand that Corporation to be conterminous with the Metropolitan area, and the Council of London will be directly elected by, and directly representative of, the people of London. A federation of municipalities, a carving out of new areas that have no unity except on the map, and that can only be galvanized into a corporate life, would be a retrograde step. If hon. Gentlemen wish to realize the difficulty that would be entailed by such a course, they have only to consult my hon. Friends the Members for Glasgow, as to the consequences of one city being made up of half-a-dozen municipalities. Primarily, London government interests London, and it may be described as in a sense a local Bill. But we have been legislating for the past two years for the locality of Ireland, with its 5,000,000 inhabitants. London with its 4,000,000, Scotland with an equal amount, also deserve some legislative attention. Local it is, however, in another sense; but we shall hope it will be the last of the local London Bills that occupy the public time of the Imperial Parliament; and as a measure for economizing public time, and so facilitating Public Business, the whole community have an immediate interest in it. The other cities and boroughs throughout the country will fitly celebrate the jubilee of the Municipal Corporations Act, from which they have derived such unmixed benefits, by rejoicing that its 50th anniversary will have seen the conferring of a like boon of liberty upon our fellow-countrymen the citizens of the capital.

As regards the Corrupt Practices and Ballot Bills I would only add to what has been said by my hon. Friend the expression of a hope that the whole system of Parliamentary Election procedure will be dealt with; and, above all, that the present cumbersome system of registration will be made as simple as electoral registration is for purposes other than Parliamentary.

I would cordially join with him in his regrets that franchise reform does not occupy a place in Her Majesty's Speech, but would fain trust that, as London municipal reform is but an instalment of the general re-organization of local government throughout the country, so these proposals for a thorough overhauling of our modes of election are but a prelude to that extension of the franchise and that amendment in the representation which this Parliament is bound in honour to carry out.

The Bankruptcy Bill, the codification of the Criminal Law, and the reform of the Patent Laws are Bills of great practical value, and they are of a non-contentious character, and of great interest, especially to the commercial and artizan classes. These subjects have been often discussed in this House, and the lines upon which new legislation will proceed are sufficiently well known to excuse my referring in detail to them. They will have a special interest, as they are to be referred to those Grand Committees, the institution of which was one of the most important results of the reform of Parliamentary Procedure on which we were engaged during the Autumn Session.

The only other measures which I should care to speak upon are those which affect my own country of Scotland; and the first measure noticed in Her Majesty's Speech is for giving compensation for improvements effected by agricultural tenants. That measure, I am sure, will be most warmly welcomed by the enterprizing agricultural tenants of Scotland. Security is to be given them—absolute security, I hope—for the capital they invest in the soil. With this security granted, and with the unfortunate ambiguity removed from the Ground Game Act of 1880, I feel sure most of their grievances will be removed as far as they are removable by legislation. Though this boon has been long deferred, I am sure it will be none the less welcome, and it will be none the less welcome as coming from Her Majesty's Ministers, who have shown themselves to be in reality, and not merely in profession, farmers' friends. The Police Bill for Scotland will be a valuable reform. Edinburgh and Glasgow, and other Scottish municipalities, have ever been in the van with regard to police and sanitary organization, and I hope advantage will be taken of the lessons which have been derived from those experimental local Acts to make them available in a general Statute for the whole country. I hope it will also confer the further advantage of introducing greater uniformity into the police and sanitary organization of the burghs of Scotland. The other Scottish measure—the issuing of an Executive University Commission for the Scottish Universities—is a measure which has been annually expected, and more than once promised, ever since the Inquiry Commission reported a few years ago. We are all satisfied, I think, that many of the recommendations of that Inquiry Commission would tend to increase the usefulness of our Universities in Scotland; and I am sure that, with a good and carefully-chosen Commission, that measure would be of great importance to Scotland. I hope it may be taken up at an early date, and the Commission shortly appointed; and I would venture, if I might do so, to express the hope that not only that, but other measures relating to Scotland, will be taken up at a somewhat earlier date than Scottish Governmental measures are in the habit of being taken up, and not deferred until the Saturdays in July, which are perilously near the Greek Kalends. There is another matter referring to Scotland in regard to which I would express the hope that, before the Session closes, the Government may be able to give us some intimation of their intention to put Scottish Parliamentary Business and Scottish Departmental administration on a permanent and satisfactory footing, with a responsible Minister at its head—a reform that has been demanded with considerable unanimity throughout the country.

In conclusion, Sir, I wish to express my deep sense of the honour conferred upon me by Her Majesty's Government in asking me to discharge to-day, however imperfectly, this honourable duty. The compliment, I am well aware, is meant, not for myself, but for the renowned constituency which I represent —the City of Edinburgh—and, I would fain think, for the electors, too, of the county of Edinburgh, and for the Prime Minister's most faithful followers, the Liberals of Scotland. I beg, Sir, to second the Motion of my hon. Friend.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, &c."—[See page 98.]

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, with reference to the measure dealing with the Corporation of London, that though the Government would, no doubt, succeed in forcing it through the House, yet they would do so in opposition, as he believed, to the feelings of the vast mass of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. He believed the agitation was promoted by a single hon. Member and two or three outside people connected with him. He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) wished, however, to refer more particularly to the paragraph in Her Majesty's gracious Speech which had reference to South Africa. He had been in favour of the policy of restoring Cetewayo to his Kingdom, believing that it was in accord with the feelings of the Zulu people, and that the settlement brought about by Lord Wolseley was a mistake; but the policy of restoration which he had favoured had not been carried out to its full extent, the King getting back only a portion, and that the poorest portion, of his dominions. He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) would be glad of any information which his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies could give as to the affairs of Zululand, though he apprehended the time had not yet arrived when the subject would be ripe for discussion. At any rate, the House was not in possession of full enough information on the subject. He regretted that nothing was said in the Queen's Speech about the Transvaal State, which, he believed, was violating the Treaty entered into with Her Majesty's Government in regard to its dealings with the Border Chiefs. As regarded the state of affairs in the Transvaal, he hoped the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies would afford the House some explanation. Reports had reached this country of horrible cruelties practised by the Boers upon those Natives who had assisted the British in the late War. He wished to point out that the Imperial Government were the authors of the Convention of Pretoria; and that the policy of the Government in treating with the Boers imposed on this country the heavy responsibility of enforcing the rights and safety of the Natives. It was a disgrace that those who had stood by us in our trouble should be subjected to the atrocities to which he had referred. The Government should use their utmost endeavours to put a stop to these atrocities, and to persuade the Boers to govern the country properly. Government had trusted these people implicitly, and he would urge upon Ministers the propriety and necessity of protecting the Natives who were placed at their mercy. He had always maintained that no dependence could be placed upon either the good faith, justice, or humanity of the Boers.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he deprecated the House's entering at this moment into a discussion of the two topics introduced by the last speaker. With regard to the settlement of Zululand, it was entirely impossible for the House intelligently to discuss that question until they were in possession of the Papers which he had laid on the Table that evening, and which contained everything that was necessary for the proper understanding of the subject. A discussion on imperfect information might have a very bad effect in Zululand. He wished, however, to say that John Dunn had not been left in the position of an appointed Chief. Like the other 12 persons, he was removed from that position; he was simply an inhabitant of the Native reserve; he was not left in the possession of any official position or of any of the official property that was conferred on him as an appointed Chief.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he was certainly left in possession of considerable property.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, no doubt that was so; he had a great deal of private property, but he was not in the position of an independent Chief. He might also say that the settlement of Zululand, including the reservation of the territory, was deliberately come to by Her Majesty's Government, and it was communicated to Cetewayo before he left this country, that certain territory would be reserved, and he acquiesced in that reservation. He would also warn hon. Gentlemen not to be taken in by the telegrams they saw constantly coming from that part of the world, but to wait until they had the Papers before them, which would enable them to judge of the action of the Government. With regard to the Transvaal, it was even more important that they should not have a partial discussion on that subject. The right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had given Notice of his intention to bring before the House the whole question of the Convention entered into with the Boers by Her Majesty's Government. The question was one that might well be discussed, but it would be a great evil to have a half discussion upon it before the House was in possession of the Papers. He regretted, however, that it was not in his power to contradict the general statement of his hon. Friend opposite as to the violation by the Boers of parts of the Convention. As to the atrocities alleged, he could not even say that the hon. Member's statements were exaggerated. The general effect produced on anybody's mind by the information received in this country was that atrocities which were a scandal to humanity were going on; but in the absence of the necessary Papers he hoped there might be no discussion on a subject of so much importance.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, there is always something interesting, and occasionally there is a good deal of profit, in the discussions which take place on the first night of the Session and on the reading of the Queen's Speech and the Address which is moved in answer to it. We always have the advantage of a kind of overture to the Business of the Session in such terms as the Government may think it wise and prudent to communicate their intentions to us; and we are almost always sure of having the Address moved by Gentlemen who interest the House, and who frequently give us great promise of the part they may hereafter take in our proceedings. I am quite sure I take with me the sense of the House when I say we have every reason to speak highly of the manner in which the Mover and Seconder of the Address discharged their functions. Nothing could, I venture to say, have been in better taste or could have been more able than the manner in which the Address was moved by the hon. Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Acland), and seconded by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan); and I should certainly be wanting in the expression of my own feelings if I did not take this opportunity of returning to them and to other Members of this House my thanks for their kind words of courtesy towards myself. And I wish also to take this opportunity of echoing the words of extreme regret at the enforced absence of the Prime Minister on this occasion. All of us who know the enormous amount of labour cast upon him during the last two years, and especially in the Autumn Session, must feel that there is nothing to be surprised at that he should be obliged to take a holiday. We all hope that he may be able to return before long, re-invigorated and able to resume the place which he so signally fills in the councils of this House. I said there was always something interesting in the discussion of the Queen's Speech, because you first have what the Ministry choose to give as the programme of the Session and also the views of the Mover and Seconder of the Address, who are not entirely in the secrets of the Government, and who generally approach the question from a peculiar point of view. There is a certain freshness and simplicity about the speeches of the Mover and Seconder which must have struck the House. They appear to think that all the evils of the time are to be met by legislation, and that all the legislation that is necessary to meet them is sure to be contained in embryo in the Speech from the Throne. And although the Speech may to others be deficient in some respects, and vague where we should much like to have precision, to them it appears differently, and they are able to give us a reading of it which is truly delightful. But what is practical comes afterwards, when we have to ask the responsible Ministers of the Crown to give their reading of the points to which they have thought it right to call attention, and I am sure we shall listen with great interest and profit to the noble Lord, who, I hope, will soon give us a full and clear explanation on those matters on which our curiosity is raised by the Speech, and some of which have not been alluded to by the Mover and Seconder of the Address. There are several things in the Speech which call for notice; and there are also some other matters not in the Speech as to which we should like to know what the Government have to say. And I must say there is one remark which almost forces itself on anybody on the present occasion, and that is the very peculiar way in which the House was brought together this evening, with great preparations, constabulary lining the approaches, great crowds in the streets, great excitement, great agitation, many Members coming up who would hardly have thought it necessary otherwise to do so, from the belief that a great struggle was intended. Then, at the last moment, an apparently pre-arranged Question passed between the Bench below the Gangway and the Front Bench opposite; and, lo and behold, everything goes off in the smoothest possible way. I want to know what all this means—whether there was really an intention that the House should be left in the dark as to what was to be done, and whether there was to be a Question put by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and answered by the noble Marquess, which was to smooth all the anticipated struggle? I must say I do not think that such methods of proceeding conduce to the dignity of this House. I cannot but think that this great question—for it is a great question—of the Oath or Affirmation which Members are to take —I cannot but think that it is neither consistent with the dignity of this House, nor with the feelings of the great body of the people of this country, that such a question should be treated in so loose and uncertain a manner. We have had enough in the last three or four years, since this Parliament met —we have had scene after scene—none of which reflected any great credit on those to whom the conduct and management of this House was intrusted, and who ought to be responsible for the conduct of affairs. And now they have culminated this evening in a transaction which, to my mind, does not enhance, in any degree, our confidence in Her Majesty's Government. If such a measure as this, which is to change the principle on which Gentlemen are to be admitted to this House, was really contemplated by the Government, they ought to have let us know beforehand; for it was a matter which might have been very well embodied either in the Gracious Speech from the Throne, or announced in some other way short of that adopted by the actual rising of the hon. Member for Northampton after the letter addressed to you, Sir, by his hon. Colleague was read. I will pass from that subject by saying that when the Bill comes forward it will demand the most careful consideration; but its principles are such as I and many sitting on this side shall feel it our duty strongly and strictly to criticize and probably oppose. And now, coming to the Speech itself, I will first allude to the usual sentences with regard to our relations with all Foreign Powers, in which there is a special reference to the condition and circumstances of Egypt. Really with regard to these paragraphs I think the House ought now to ask for some distinct statement and full explanation on the part of the Government as to what their policy with regard to Egypt is. We were stopped, and necessarily stopped, no doubt, in taking this course last Session by first of all being told that it was better not to interpose in a matter in which the English and French Governments were in perfect accord. We were lulled with the hope that the relations between those Governments in regard to that matter were of the most satisfactory character. And it seems that it even swayed some Members of the Cabinet itself—for instance, the great and intelligent mind of the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He believed, no doubt, that everything was going smoothly and peacefully, and that there would be no warlike proceedings, until we were suddenly aroused by the firing of cannon and other warlike actions. Under those circumstances we felt it difficult to criticize or interpose, because we did not wish to weaken or embarrass any action which the Government might be taking. But now really we have come to a time when a settlement is in progress, in regard to which foreign nations have apparently been communicated with and received a great deal of information. That being so, I think we have a right to claim, nay, we are bound to claim, on behalf of the British Parliament, as full an explanation and understanding as have been vouchsafed to foreign nations. In the gracious Speech delivered from the Throne there are also other expressions on which we should like some further information; for instance, in the third paragraph where Her Majesty says that at the close of last Session—

> "She had to express her gratitude to her forces for suppressing with rapidity and completeness a formidable rebellion in Egypt."

We never clearly understood what those forces were employed for. But we now understand that it was to suppress this formidable rebellion. We should like to know whether, whenever there is a formidable rebellion there, Her Majesty's Forces are to be used to suppress it? According to the newspapers at the present moment there seems to be something like one now in Egypt, and it may easily assume proportions which would endanger and shake the governing body of that country and the Throne of the Khedive. I do not know whether we should regard that as a case in which our land and sea forces ought to be employed. We should like some information as to the nature and extent of the obligations which we consider we have assumed towards the people and Government of Egypt. We have to consider the matter as affecting the Government of Egypt, our relations with foreign Powers, and also this country, for if we have assumed such relations as involve us in dealing with her rebellious subjects whenever they become formidable, I am bound to say that the prospect is one not likely to be of a very satisfactory character to the people of this country. I should therefore like to know what is the exact anticipation in which these paragraphs are written. As to that one in which the House is informed that—

> "The withdrawal of the British Troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will admit,"

we were told that as soon as we had shown our face and fired a few cannon shots the military adventurer who was causing all the difficulty and trouble in Egypt would collapse, that the military revolt would be at an end, and that we should have nothing then to do but to make our bow, and leave the country as rapidly as possible in the hands of a friendly Sovereign, who would then, no doubt, administer the affairs in a proper spirit, and with due reference to international relations. But when we hear such words as these, we should like to know what kind of circumstances, what amount of prudence, is involved in those expressions. Do they hold forth the prospect of withdrawing the forces in six months or in half-a-century?—for really the words would cover one quite as well as the other. I hope when the noble Lord addresses us that he will give us some information on that and also with regard to the reconstruction and reconstitution of the Government of Egypt and the re-organization of its affairs under the authority of the Khedive. We hope that the affairs of Egypt may take such a course as may be both beneficial to the people of that country and consistent with the great interests we have there. We know quite well that the interests which we have in the peace, prosperity, and independence of Egypt from the control of any Foreign Power are of great importance, and that we attach great value to them—and we are glad to see that Her Majesty's Government attach value to them—but in all these matters we want to know what the view of the Government really is, and how far we may consider ourselves to be committed, and we do not desire to be put off with vague sentences such as we had in the course of last year. As to the paragraph which follows those relating to Egypt, the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler) made some observations which have been noticed by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for the Colonies; but we had better wait until the discussion takes place which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) proposes to raise. The matter is one of the highest importance, and affects not only the conditions of the particular Colony of Natal, but I venture to say that it affects largely the whole of our Colonial system. The questions which are raised by the proceedings in South Africa and with reference to our relations with the Natives are questions which must be solved upon some principle which will affect very largely the interests of a great class of British Colonists. I observed with some amusement that the old ground which was taken by many of the supporters of the Government, and I think by the Government themselves, with regard to the relations of King Cetewayo with his former dominions has been in a great measure abandoned, and that their view appears to be changed. What we formerly heard was that it was an act of justice; that he had been unjustly turned out of his dominions, and that we had nothing to do but to restore him. But now it appears that it is not upon this high ground of justice and right that he is restored, but upon the ground that this is the best way to promote peace and order, and that it is a matter of policy and expediency. We shall be glad to know the grounds upon which the Government proceeded, and the relations which they hope to establish between the Native Powers and the British Colonies in that part of the world. We shall be also extremely glad to have some information as to the condition of the Transvaal, which is omitted altogether from the Speech. My hon. Friend the Mover of the Address seemed to think that one might take it for granted that everything was satisfactory that was not mentioned. I hope we may be able to do so; but I am afraid that my hon. Friend is a little sanguine. There is also no reference to India. I am sure that every man in this House and country hopes that the condition of India is prosperous; but it would have been satisfactory had we had some reference to the great changes which we are told are in progress or in contemplation in that country. I hope the noble Lord, when he addresses us, will refer to that subject, for it is one which will largely affect the condition of that great Dependency. There was also no reference to revenue, trade, or agriculture. I hope that is so because the condition of things is satisfactory. But, at the same time, we should like to know whether the Government think that that is the case, because some of us, speaking from our limited experience, are inclined to think that there is a good deal of distress at present, and that trade and agriculture are not quite in a satisfactory condition. We feel that, under the circumstances, something at least might have been said on these subjects. There is a great deal which many of the industrial classes of this country are now going through on which a word of sympathy might properly have been said, and with regard to which I am not at all sure some satisfactory promise of measures might not have been appreciated. As regards the question of Irish distress, I do not intend to enter upon it. I have no doubt that Gentlemen sitting below the Gangway on this side will, before the debate closes, have something to say on that subject. For my own part, I am very unwilling to urge any exaggerated view or adopt any exceptional measure with regard to questions of temporary distress; but, at the same time, the Government should show us they have not overlooked the matter, that whatever is necessary is being done; and they should give us to understand on what ground it is they do not think it requisite to make any further proposal. I am quite sure that whatever they might have told us would have been received both with interest and attention. Now, I think that the paragraph which the Government have put into the mouth of Her Majesty is rather beyond what the actual facts justify. Her Majesty states that—

> "The improvement in the social condition of Ireland, to which I referred in December, continues. Agrarian crime has sensibly diminished, and the Law has been everywhere upheld. At the same time, the existence of dangerous Secret Societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country calls for unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive."

I scarcely think that such a state of things ought to be described as an improvement. We are very glad that a certain class of agrarian crime and certain particular acts of violence have diminished, and we are quite ready to give every credit for this to the Irish Government for their firmness and energy. But, at the same time, so long as organized conspiracy and organized assassination exist in a large part of the country, and in the very Metropolis of the country, I cannot but think we should rather avoid any expressions of congratulation. But, while we thoroughly appreciate the conduct of Lord Spencer and the Irish Government for the energy with which they have dealt with crime of late, and while we rejoice to think that Parliament has given them the means of breaking down so much of these secret societies as to enable them to get access to information which discloses the persons principally concerned in these atrocious crimes, we cannot but feel that the root of the matter has not been reached, that there is much yet behind which we are anxious should be thoroughly probed. We shall not be satisfied with merely striking at active perpetrators in crime; we shall not be satisfied until the Government have directed their attention to the organization which supports them and the power which is behind them; and I trust the Government will not rest until they have got to the bottom of the evil, and it will be the duty of the House to do all in their power to strengthen the hands of the Government. I do not now enter into the question of how far this might have been avoided or remedied by more energetic measures some time ago, although I wish it to be understood that I retain the opinions which I have always expressed—that there was a great want of energy and foresight, and great error in principle in the early dealings of the Government. I now merely urge them to act with vigour and wisdom, and endeavour to seek out and crush the formidable conspiracy with which they have to deal. I would wish to point out that it is not only necessary that there should be a firm and vigorous administration of justice; but it is also desirable that the Government should not, at the same moment, be exciting false hopes in the Irish people of something more to come. There is one paragraph in this Speech which I have read with the very greatest regret, and it is that in which reference is made to some probable dealing with the further legislative wants of Ireland. If there is anything else, for Heaven's sake let the Government tell us what it is. Do not let them be using language which is so vague and misleading as that which stands in this paragraph, and which is all the more misleading because of the comments that are made outside, either by Members of the Government, or supporters of the Government, inducing a belief that the Government has some further measures of a subversive or revolutionary character in store which are to be the panacea for the ills of Ireland. If the Government are of opinion that the condition of Ireland is such that they may safely leave it now for a year or more without any further legislation, by all means let them arrange their business accordingly, and let them quietly proceed to the consideration of measures affecting the interests of other parts of the Kingdom. Why should they consider it necessary, in the first place, to taunt Ireland with having taken up a considerable portion of time, and to tell Ireland that the claims of the rest of the Kingdom are paramount, and then later on to put in these words, which are calculated to scatter the whole of their schemes to the winds? I earnestly hope that the language which the noble Marquess will use will be of a character to avert the danger to which I have alluded. It is not my wish to detain the House at the present time; but there is one other subject on which I must say a few words. I must say a few words on the paragraphs that relate to the reform of local government in the different parts of the United Kingdom. My hon. Friend told us that the discussion on the proposals with regard to the Metropolis might bring to light some ideas and suggestions with regard to the rest of the country. I dare say it may; but if a Bill dealing with the Metropolis is to be made a kind of fishing Bill for the rest of the country, I am afraid we are yet a good way from the solution of this question of the reform of local government. If the Government are going to make any proposals on this subject, it would be well that they should bring them forward upon some well-considered basis, applicable to the parts of the Kingdom to which they are to be applied, and not that they should take up the question of the administration of the Metropolis, and then to adapt a few ideas from that to the Local Government of England Bill. If you are going to change the Government of England, you should make it rest upon two things—First, whether the existing system is deficient; and, secondly, what is necessary to supply those deficiencies. The local government of this country is of ancient growth. It contains, no doubt, somewhat anomalous elements—many things which are hard to justify in logic, but which work admirably in practice; and before you alter those things you ought to be prepared to say what the defects are, and to assure yourselves that your measures of reform will make things better. I doubt very much whether any scheme will entirely fulfil those conditions; but I am quite sure that a Bill founded upon a sort of refuse of a Government of London Bill will be one of the greatest failures ever proposed to Parliament. It is important that the question should be faced by the Government. There is much that is against British agriculture, and many difficulties against which it has to struggle; and there is, no doubt, a disposition in one direction or another to seek for remedies which are rather plausible than likely to be effective; and, certainly, one of the questions which we should have to deal with, for endeavouring to afford relief to those engaged in the cultivation of the land, is that of local burdens and local taxation. That is a question which has been repeatedly brought forward and pressed upon the notice of successive Governments and successive Parliaments. Hon. Gentlemen opposite have said that it is of no use to attempt to deal with local burdens until you have a good system of local government. If that is the doctrine which we are going to act upon, I am bound to say that the prospect which is held out to those who are interested in the cultivation of the land is by no means a cheerful one; because these reforms are to arise out of suggestions and ideas which are to be brought forward in the course of discussion upon a Bill relating to the Government of the Metropolis, which Bill has not yet had a day fixed for bringing it forward. That is cold comfort to give to the unfortunate persons who have been suffering from the inclemency of the seasons to which our agriculture has been exposed. I hope that upon this and other matters the performances of the Government will be better than their promises. We are not altogether in the happy position in which we despise the help which legislation might give. If the legislation is wrongly directed, it is likely to increase our troubles, and not diminish them. We are anxious that legislation should not be of an ill-considered character. The present Government have always appeared to me to be too anxious to put forward fine and well-sounding phrases, and to endeavour to maintain a character for consistency in their professions, even when their acts are inconsistent. We have seen a great many changes, both in their *personnel* and in their policy since their advent to Office. Notwithstanding this, we are told by their supporters that they are stronger than they ever were—that is to say, that, after getting rid of something like a fourth of their number, and a good deal more than a fourth of their principles, they are in a better position. If that is so, I will leave hon. Gentlemen to the enjoyment of what satisfaction it may afford them. For my own part, I think it would be better that the Government should not be too anxious to endeavour to show that they have been consistent from first to last. They have attained in some respect to a position which is better than that in which they were; but they have attained to it at a great price. Do not let them jeopardize it. Do not let them ignore altogether the value of the unexhausted improvements which they inherited from their Predecessors, but for which they give us no compensation. If I might, I would venture to conclude by reminding them of a saying which was celebrated for some time in this House, when the late Sir James Graham was taunted with an alteration of his views and the inconsistency of the line which he was taking from that which he had previously adopted. He did not attempt to deny that he had been inconsistent. He simply said—"I changed my mind; and there is an end of it." Let the Government make the same admission with regard to some of the questions which have been in controversy between us.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, before I attempt to make any observations upon the speech which has just been delivered by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, I must be allowed to add the expression of my own satisfaction to that of my hon. Friend the Mover of the Address at seeing the right hon. Gentleman again occupying that position the duties of which he has now for so many years so admirably discharged, in apparently the possession of fully-restored health; and I think, if we may judge from the speech which he has just delivered, also in the possession of excellent spirits. And, Sir, I should like also to take this opportunity of thanking the right hon. Gentleman for the expression which, I am informed, fell from him before I was in my place, as to his feeling of regret and that of the hon. Gentlemen who act with him at the enforced absence from our deliberations of the Prime Minister. I desire to offer to the right hon. Gentleman on behalf of those who sit on this side of the House our most cordial thanks, and I am sure it will give satisfaction to the whole House to know that the absence of my right hon. Friend is, although highly desirable in the interests of his health and strength, one which is not absolutely at the present moment enforced, and that if occasion should arise when his presence here should be absolutely necessary, there is nothing in the state of the health of my right hon. Friend which would prevent his being among us. It is only at the urgent request of his friends and Colleagues that he has consented to prolong for even a short time that rest which the arduous labours of the Autumn Session rendered necessary; and I believe that although his absence on the first night of the Session, when the general policy of the Government is being discussed, is, of course, inconvenient, still, if we can get through the first few days, the Business which the House will have to do up to Easter is not such as to imperatively require the presence of the Prime Minister, and that he may be permitted to enjoy some greater amount of rest abroad. I wish to discharge one more agreeable duty, which is to express my thanks, and I am sure those of my Colleagues, to my hon. Friends the Members for East Cornwall and the City of Edinburgh for the very able manner in which they discharged the duties intrusted to them. I listened to both those speeches with great interest and great satisfaction; and I think that the only regret that any of us could have felt with regard to either of them, and especially with regard to the Seconder, was that he condensed his remarks somewhat more than the House would have been disposed to desire. I come now to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. The complaint which he has made was upon the omission of one topic from the Speech from the Throne. He said that he and his Friends had some reason to complain of the course which had been taken with regard to the seat of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), and with regard to the Bill which was going to be introduced by the Government. I cannot say that I entirely gathered from the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the exact ground of his complaint. I recollect that during the extremely painful discussion upon this subject, some two or three years ago, the right hon. Gentleman recommended the Government to proceed by way of legislation, and said that this matter could only be settled by legislation. We are going to legislate; yet the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends are not satisfied. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) rose and said that on the second reading of the Bill he would give it his most strenuous opposition; and the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) has informed us that he, on his part, will meet it with criticism, and he thinks opposition. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Oh, no; I said "and opposition."] But the right hon. Gentleman does not object to the decision at which we have arrived to legislate. He says that we ought to have let him and his Friends know our intention beforehand, or that the announcement ought to have been placed in the Queen's Speech; but it is always a matter of discretion with the Government what measures ought to be named in the Speech from the Throne. It is not usual to include measures which are not considered to be of general or great importance; and this Bill is certainly one which we do not consider to be of great importance, or worthy to find a place among the measures usually enumerated in the Queen's Speech. As to letting the House know beforehand our intentions, I do not exactly understand what course the right hon. Gentleman expected us to take. Letting the public know our intentions beforehand would have exposed us to the criticism of the right hon. Gentleman. If some means had been taken to announce beforehand that we contemplated proposing legislation, I can imagine the imputation being made that we had taken unusual means to make that announcement in order to prevent the steps being taken which Mr. Bradlaugh and his friends had announced their intention of taking. What we did was to announce on the first opportunity what way we intended to proceed upon a question which has given the House so much trouble during the last few Sessions. The Cabinet came to the conclusion that the best way would be to legislate, and they did not consider it necessary to take in this case any means of making those intentions known which are not usually adopted with regard to other measures. The right hon. Gentleman also made some observations regarding the condition of Egypt. I have listened to the observations of the right hon. Gentleman upon that subject with a great deal of interest, not only on account of their intrinsic importance, but also because I endeavoured during his speech to obtain an answer to a question of great interest to the Government, and likewise, I think, to the House, in relation to the progress of its Business. I was extremely anxious to gather from the right hon. Gentleman's observations some idea as to whether it is now intended to reduce to any definite form the continued criticism which was initiated in the early part of the late Session, and which has been continued without intermission during the Recess. I am extremely anxious to know whether the policy of the Government, which it has been sometimes said led to unnecessary war, is now to be formally challenged or not, or whether these "necessary criticisms" are to be renewed without any definite Resolutions being presented to us? I have not the slightest complaint to make of the course hitherto taken by the Opposition. I am not prepared to say that the constant fire of Questions and of desultory criticisms which continued during almost the whole of the critical negotiations with regard to Egypt was not sometimes productive of embarrassment to the Government, and sometimes prejudicial to the Public Service. I can perfectly well understand that an Opposition does not like to take the responsibility of what might appear to be an unpatriotic line of conduct by moving a Vote of Censure upon, or Want of Confidence in, a Government which may be either at war or on the brink of war; but, nevertheless, it does not choose to divest itself of the functions of inquiry and criticism, and I have no doubt that in any debate raised by the Opposition during the most critical period of the transactions of last year they were not actuated consciously by a desire to embarrass the Government, certainly not to the prejudice of the Public Service, but with a desire to discharge what they considered to be their duty. If also on public platforms they thought they could damage their political opponents, or weaken the confidence of the country in the Government, by references to our Egyptian policy, by assertions that the war was unnecessary and might have been avoided; and if they think they can obtain any political advantage from discussion, however desultory, of the whole of that policy, I have not the slightest objection to their taking that course, and I should not complain of any advantage they might reap from it. But what I desire to point out now is, that when the House has re-assembled for the transaction of Public Business, when the information which is available on the subject is fully before them, and when all the proceedings and all the Correspondence, describing every phase of the events and circumstances that led to the war, are before it, then I say that the time has come when the Opposition at large ought to be able to make up its mind, and either bring this criticism into the form of some definite Motion, challenging the opinion of the House and the country, or else make use of all the influence they possess to prevent the time of the House from being wasted in a continuation of desultory discussion, which can prove and settle nothing, because there is no definite issue placed before us. Well, I put that question; but the right hon. Gentleman evaded almost any criticism of the policy of the Government so far as regarded Egypt; and I may, therefore, assume that he and his Friends have now come to the conclusion that it is not desirable to make good the assertions he made in a speech in the country, to the effect that the war was unnecessary, and therefore unjustifiable; and I must condole with my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) that he has not been able to get his allies on this subject to come up to the mark. The right hon. Gentleman has asked for full information respecting what is going on in regard to the re-organization of the Forces of Egypt. He also states that he thinks the House is entitled to have as much information given to it as to Foreign Powers. Certainly, I fully agree in that proposition, and I go beyond it, and may say that the desire of the right hon. Gentleman has been anticipated by the Government. Every word of the information which has been communicated to Foreign Powers, and a great deal more, has been to-night laid upon the Table of the House in the form of Papers, and everything which can possibly up to the present time be produced has been given. That will place the House in the full possession of all the steps which have been taken, and are being taken, and in which considerable progress has been made, as to the re-organization of the Government, of the Army, and of the Police Force of

Egypt. I do not think, Sir, it would be convenient for me to give a verbal description of the measures being taken by the Government. The right hon. Gentleman knows the lines on which we are proceeding; and I do not think that I should anticipate now the information which will be shortly given fully to the House in the Papers to be presented. The right hon. Gentleman asks what is the meaning of the phrase in the Queen's Speech that the withdrawal of British troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will permit, and whether that time pointed to a period of half-a-year or half-a-century? I would say, without venturing to speak with absolute assurance, that the right hon. Gentleman in the first period of time he suggested has stated with probable accuracy the length of time that it may be necessary to keep our troops in Egypt. I do not think it very extraordinary that, after the whole of the Egyptian Forces have been disbanded and scattered to the wind, it should be considered necessary that a British force should be maintained there for a time during the re-organization of a military force, new gendarmerie, and a police force. That organization is proceeding with great expedition under the guidance of Sir Evelyn Wood, Baker Pasha, and other British officers. The Army is, to a certain extent, already organized, and in a short time there will be a force in Egypt which will be amply sufficient for the protection of the country and for the preservation of order. It will then be possible for us to relieve ourselves of a burden, and also the Egyptian Government of considerable expense, caused by the maintenance of our troops in the country. The British occupation is simply for the purpose of assuring the tranquillity of the country during a time, which we trust will not be prolonged, when there is absolutely no organized force in the country itself. The right hon. Gentleman also asks whether there is not rebellion of a serious kind still going on in Egypt? It is true that from time to time information of an alarming character does arrive from the Province of Soudan; and it is not impossible that the troubles there may cause difficulties in Lower Egypt. But we should bear in mind that that Province is almost totally detached from Egypt. It is a recent acquisition by the Government of Egypt, and has almost always been administered as entirely separate. Troubles may arise from time to time in the Soudan, but it is not certain that they will cause disturbances in the Provinces of Lower Egypt; still, circumstances may arise to cause anxiety, and, at all events, to call for the attention of the Government and of the House; and as soon as the Government is put in possession of accurate information on the subject it will be conveyed to the House. But it would be utterly impossible and useless for me to attempt to give to the House any accurate account of what is the condition of affairs in the Soudan. The right hon. Gentleman has prudently delayed criticism on the steps taken by the Government in the re-organization of the affairs of Egypt until the whole of the Papers are before him. I will only now say that, though, no doubt, there may be considerable difficulties attending that policy, there is no ground whatever for the hopeless despair with which some writers regard the prospects of the government of Egypt. The recent history of Egypt certainly does not justify the gloomy anticipations which seem to be popular in some quarters. The Khedïve and his Ministers have shown many of the qualities of Constitutional Rulers and Constitutional statesmen; and the Chamber of Notables, until it fell under the domination of an unscrupulous military tyranny, has shown that it is not incapable of representing the wants, wishes, and needs of the population. As to what has been said in respect to the influence which the Financial Adviser will exercise over the government of Egypt, all the experience we have at present shows that the Rulers of Egypt are ready and willing to receive and to be influenced by European advice; and that the weakness and failure of the Dual Control, so far as it was a failure, was due, not to the unwillingness or to the incapacity of the Egyptian Rulers to accept such advice, but to the unavoidable inconveniences attaching to the dual nature of the Control, and to the fact that an Army was kept on foot which was too large for its purpose and was disorganized, and which was, therefore, a prey to ambition and to fanatical influences. Of course, it is impossible to say that there may not be difficulties in the way of the course which the Government are recommending shall be taken with regard to Egyptian affairs; but we do say that there is no reason to fear for the result, but, on the contrary, we believe—and that belief is fortified by the assent and approval of every Power in Europe—that the experiments we are now trying will be tried with every chance of success. When I refer to the opinion of the Powers, perhaps I used a somewhat too strong term. The right hon. Gentleman has asked what is the position of Great Britain with regard to Foreign Powers with reference to the Circular which was issued at the beginning of last month? I may state, in reply, that with regard to that Circular, we have received favourable assurances from Turkey. The Turkish Government has not yet expressed an opinion upon the whole of the proposals which the Circular contains; but favourable assurances have been given to our Ambassador at Constantinople, to the effect that the Turkish Government approve of the abolition of the Dual Control.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Has a formal intimation yet been received from any Government in reference to that Circular?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No formal intimation has yet been received from any of the Powers; but verbal assurances have been received from the Governments of Germany, Austria, and Italy, to the effect that they are all favourable to our proposals. In fact, the French Government is almost the only one from which we have not received any opinion upon the Circular.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Has any reply been received from Russia?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Russia is also stated not to be unfavourable to the general plan proposed by Her Majesty's Government, although there may be one or two points in it to which it is possible that the Russian Government may take exception. The communications on this subject are not included in the Papers which have as yet been laid upon the Table of the House. The right hon. Gentleman made a few observations upon the Government Bill for the better government of the Metropolis, the introduction of which is announced in Her Majesty's Speech. I think that the right hon. Gentleman must have somewhat misunderstood the remarks, in reference to that measure, which were made by my hon. Friend the Member for East Cornwall (Mr. Acland), who asserted, with great truth, that the principles that must come under discussion in the consideration of the Government of London Bill would probably be of general application, and that those principles would be of considerable importance when we came to consider the question of county and local government in the Provinces generally. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to have drawn the conclusion from that observation that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to determine certain principles which shall be applicable to local government throughout the country in the course of the discussion on the Metropolitan Government Bill, and that, in fact, the latter measure will be of a fishing nature. I, however, have some reason to believe that the scheme which will be presented to the House by my right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department will be of an extremely definite character, and will not partake in any way of a fishing nature.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I said that the Local Government Bill would depend upon the discussion of the Bill for the Government of the Metropolis.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: That does not seem to be altogether a misfortune. If principles of this nature are very fully discussed in the London Bill, and the opinion of Parliament pronounced upon them, I do not know why the right hon. Gentleman should object to the country generally having the benefit of those discussions. It does not follow, of course, that everything that may be inserted in the Government of London Bill can be applied precisely to the local government of all other communities throughout the country, which may be very differently situated in every respect. *Primâ facie*, however, one would suppose that what is good in one case would be good in another. In the course of the discussion on the one measure, however, some progress must necessarily be made towards arriving at a conclusion in reference to the other. There is, at all events, this advantage in the course which the Government propose to take in reference to this subject. We believe that it is possible and desirable to attempt to deal with the whole question of the government of the Metropolis in one measure, while the whole question of county and local government is too large and too complicated a subject to be dealt with in one measure. We shall, however, in this case be able to deal with almost every principle which can arise in the consideration of the question of local government anywhere. We think it is desirable to attempt to deal with the local government of London, as it will raise the whole question of those points before attempting to proceed with the reform of local government and taxation in the country at large. The right hon. Gentleman put in a claim for the relief of local taxation before any attempt was made to deal with the question of the reform of the local government of counties. I think that everyone who has looked into this subject will be inclined to think that while the reform of local government is desirable—as it is admitted by hon. Members on both sides of the House it is—the mere remission of local taxation would be of very little advantage. The right hon. Gentleman has, I regret to say, given a very unfavourable account of the position, hopes, and prospects of those engaged in agriculture, and I should be glad if I were able to say that the view taken by the right hon. Gentleman was too gloomy; but this condition of things has come to pass in the face of the very considerable remission of local taxation which was made by the late Government. I should think, on the whole, that it would be a very difficult thing for the farmer to say how much benefit he had derived from that remission of local taxation. The fact is that it is now generally admitted that until greater simplicity, greater directness, and better organization are introduced into the whole of our local government—I do not refer to the question of county rates only, but also to the expenditure of our minor local bodies—whatever we may give from public sources in relief of local taxation will be absorbed in the vortex of bad administration, and that the ratepayers will not benefit permanently by it. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the paragraph in the Queen's Speech which related to Ireland, and spoke in terms of approbation of the present policy which is being pursued by Lord Spencer and the Irish Government. I am entirely prepared to endorse the observation of the right hon. Gentleman, and also to go beyond everything which he said in praise of Lord Spencer and of the Irish Government. It is not necessary nor desirable for me to enter into a panegyric of the Irish Administration; but, the Irish Government being, to a certain extent, carried on independently and apart from that which is conducted here, I think that I am justified in saying that we are prepared to defend every act of that Administration. We have approved every part of the policy of the Irish Government and of their administration of Ireland under the Prevention of Crimes Act. I understand that the administration of that Act is to form the subject of an Amendment to the Motion for an Address, and that the conduct of the Irish Government in relation to it is to be challenged in this House. I fully admit that some of the measures taken under it are fair subjects for discussion, and I can understand that the measures that have been taken for the prevention and the punishment of crime and for the repression of agitation in the country may very strictly be brought under the notice of Parliament, although, in the absence of our Colleagues in Ireland, we are perfectly prepared to defend their acts. As to the investigations that are now being conducted in Dublin, with the object, if possible, of unveiling and unmasking the perpetrators of a series of most atrocious crimes, I do not wish to say one word that may prejudice the case of those who are now accused in Dublin; but I am satisfied that there is only one hope in the minds of every section in this House and throughout the country, and that is that this investigation may lead to the discovery and the conviction, not only of the actual perpetrators, but of the instigators, of these crimes which have brought such sorrow and such disgrace upon Ireland, and which every Member of the House must feel are well calculated to bring disgrace upon even the noblest of the land. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that there is some inconsistency between the congratulations which we have inserted in the Queen's Speech upon the general condition of Ireland and the reference to the continued existence of a dangerous conspiracy. I maintain, however, that there is no inconsistency between the two paragraphs. The general condition which was referred to in a Speech in December certainly continues, and agrarian outrages, as my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in addressing the House, said, have enormously decreased; and it is also a fact, speaking generally, that throughout the country the process of law is now submitted to and the law is upheld. At the same time, we are perfectly aware that dangerous secret societies in Dublin and elsewhere still exist; but the feature of the case which the right hon. Gentleman seems to have omitted from his consideration, and which we say is a subject of congratulation, is that, although those secret societies do still continue to exist, the law of the land, the power of the Government, is at last able to hold its own to some extent against them, and that there is a hope and prospect of tracing them to their sources and breaking up these nefarious combinations. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the fact that no reference is made in Her Majesty's Speech to the existence of considerable distress in Ireland. But a very short time ago, in the Speech delivered from the Throne at the close of last Session, special reference was made to the distress which was said to prevail, and the opinion of the Irish Government was expressed that by means of the ordinary law, and by the application of the local resources at the disposal of the Guardians, the distress could be adequately coped with. The Irish Government have hitherto continued to act on that principle, and they believe that, however severe distress has been in some districts, the policy they are pursuing is the soundest, and sufficient for the emergency that exists at the present moment. It would therefore have been impossible to insert any paragraph on this subject at the opening of the present Session which would not have been a simple repetition of the paragraph read to the House two months ago. Then the right hon. Gentleman said that he had read with considerable regret and suspicion the concluding paragraph of the Speech, in which reference is made to the possibility of further Irish legislation. He seems to think that that paragraph contains some reference to measures which he describes as revolutionary and subversive. Now, I think I can re-assure the right hon. Gentleman. I do not admit that any of the measures of the Government, even in relation to Ireland, can properly be described as revolutionary; at all events, I suppose he only applied this term to the Land Act, the Arrears Act, or other measures of considerable importance of that character. The legislative intentions of the Government, so far as they can be formed at the present time, and so far as we have been able to make an estimate of the time of the House available, are mentioned in Her Majesty's Speech, and we do not think it at all probable that any measure that we should describe as of considerable importance, of first-rate importance, or, as the right hon. Gentleman says, of a revolutionary or subversive character, will be presented to Parliament at the present stage. But while there are no measures of importance we contemplate with relation to Ireland, there are several measures which are of such a character that they might not occupy a great deal of time, but still are measures of great importance, and which we hope we may be able to find time to consider. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary will probably have to address the House himself before the close of this debate, and I will leave to him the explanation of the measures with regard to which we indulge in that hope. I believe I have now referred to the principal points dwelt upon by the right hon. Gentleman. I have no desire to prolong the observations I have been permitted to make. I have no doubt that the legislation which we desire to further will fail to satisfy many of our friends, and will disappoint some of our most strenuous opponents, who would doubtless have preferred to see "revolutionary and subversive" measures on which they might have expended their patriotic indignation. But, while our measures are not of a very exciting character, they represent a good deal of work left over from past Sessions, work which has been left undone from various causes, some springing within this House, and some outside it. There is a considerable amount that is needful, useful, and necessary. I trust the House will be able—strengthened, as I believe it to have been, by the adoption of those reforms to which we devoted so much time a few months ago, and in no degree hampered and restricted in its freedom by them—to devote itself to the consideration of those measures in a practical, business-like, and patriotic spirit.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he gathered from the speech of the noble Marquess that he was very much annoyed and vexed, and generally put out and upset, because no Vote of Censure had been proposed. To tell the real truth, so was he; for he was of opinion that a healthy and not exaggerated recurrence to Votes of Censure stimulated the circulation of political life. But, while he agreed with the noble Lord that they had not had enough of that kind of discussion lately, he could not join in the taunts with which he had assailed the Leader of the Opposition in connection with this question. On the contrary, he must condole with the noble Lord on the unfortunate shortness of his political memory. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) did not think he should be contradicted when he reminded the noble Marquess that no less than two abortive attempts were made last Session, with the approval of the Leader of the Opposition, to bring forward a Vote of Censure on the Egyptian policy of the Government, and that the Prime Minister resorted to all the arts of Parliamentary strategy in order to prevent the discussion of any such Vote. That was nothing more nor less than historical fact, and he would leave that part of the subject with the expression of a hope that if the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition should think it wise and prudent and desirable in the course of the Session to bring the foreign policy of the Government under a hostile Resolution, the noble Marquess would, instead of resorting to the dilatory arts which signalized the conduct of the Government last Session, advance to the Table and without any loss of time fix a day for its discussion. He did not suppose that this Speech from the Throne would give rise to any protracted debate. He would not say that it was uninteresting, because that would be a disrespectful way of alluding to it; but he would say that it was unemotional. Again, he would not describe it as delusive, because that epithet might also be objected to; but he would say that it was singularly incomplete. He did not wish to refer at any length to the measures of domestic legislation shadowed forth in the Speech. They were nearly all old friends, and were not such as could excite any great Party animosity. The only Bill which appeared to him to call for any criticism was that relating to the reform of the government of London. He had gathered from the observations of the noble Lord that the value of that measure did not lie so much in the benefit which it would confer upon the Metropolis as in the fact that it would elicit the opinions of the House of Commons on the question of local government. Her Majesty's Ministers evidently acted with reference to the Corporation of the great City of London on the principle—*fiat experimentum in corpore vili.* As this Bill, according to the noble Marquess, was to settle for a long time hence, and "everywhere," the principles which were to guide the House in legislating on the subject of local government, he should like to ask whether the police in London were to be governed on the same principle as that which regulated the government of the police in the country, and whether the police in Dublin, Cork, and Belfast were to be governed as the police were governed in London, or as they were governed in the country? He hoped that as some time must elapse before the Bill was introduced public curiosity would be set at rest by some statement on the point. He had alluded to the Queen's Speech as being, though not what might be called delusive, yet incomplete, for this reason—that there was no allusion in it to four questions of the greatest national importance. There was the omission of any reference to the failure of the Revenue, which was now no longer a controversial point; and whilst he congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) upon his reappearance in the House, he must offer his condolences upon the very mournful and melancholy prospect which the right hon. Gentleman had before him. He regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not in the Queen's Speech prepared the House for the revelations he would have to make on the introduction of the Budget. Another subject closely connected with that to which the Queen's Speech did not draw their attention was the marked, continued, and apparently hopeless depression of the trade of the country as manifested, in spite of the President of the Board of Trade, by the recent Board of Trade Returns. There was also another more extraordinary omission—the absolute ignoring by the Advisers of the Crown of the great and widespread ruin now impending over the agricultural interest. Not a word of any sort or kind was said in this unemotional document which could give the House the faintest idea that the agricultural interest was in anything but the most extraordinarily prosperous condition. In addition to the omissions he had mentioned, the failure of the Revenue, the depression of trade, and the ruin of agriculture, there was another most important point upon which the Queen's Speech was silent—namely, the impossibility of effecting any economy in the enormous annual expenditure incurred by reason of the unheard-of liability which we had taken upon ourselves by the annexation of Egypt. He could not understand this subject not having been considered of sufficient importance to be mentioned to the House; he could not suppose that the Government were ignorant of these questions; he could only think that they were so unwise as to think it prudent, or so infatuated as to suppose it possible, to conceal them from public notice. In the Royal Speech he observed another of those allusions to the military glories of the present Government, which he always thought, coming from the present Government, were so unfortunate, not to say indecent. There could be no doubt whatever that fate had been very cruel to Her Majesty's Government. The Ministry had had it all their own way for two or three years. They had had to encounter a more or less apathetic Opposition and a subservient House of Lords. Yet in spite of those two advantages, which no Tory Government he was aware of had ever enjoyed, the Government had contrived somehow to tread under foot all their promises, and to violate their most cherished principles, and in no respect more decidedly than with regard to these military glories. In hearing the Prime Minister, last Session, move the Vote of Thanks to the Army and Navy, the thought occurred to him that the fact illustrated, in a remarkable manner, the vanity of human expectations and the shortsightedness of mortal minds. Who would have thought, two years ago, that the present Prime Minister—whose absence from the House on the present occasion they all regretted—would, in so short a time, have been transformed into the panegyrist of Admirals and Generals, of bloody battles and adventurous campaigns? Who would have thought to have witnessed this peace-loving, almost Apostolic Government, experience, in the short space of three years, all the sorrows and all the joys of every species of military vicissitude? He passed from those general reflections with this one observation—that he gathered from the Royal Speech that the Advisers of the Crown were endeavouring to effect that which no other Government before them had ever yet been able to effect, in Ireland and Egypt, two important portions of the British Empire at the present moment—to sit down upon bayonets. So far as he could make out with regard to Ireland, the only feather in the cap of the Government, and their only title to the confidence of the country, was that they had at last been able, in various parts of the country, to hang up on the gallows six or seven miserable wretches; and they euphoniously expressed the result by congratulating the House that the law had been everywhere "upheld." There were two special remarks which he should like to make. The first referred to Egypt, and he wished to call the attention of the Government to this matter. He had said that the Royal Speech was incomplete, and it was so with regard to Egypt, for it gave no information whatever as to the appointment of Sir Auckland Colvin. The appointment of Sir Auckland Colvin by the Egyptian Government, on the recommendation of the English Government, was the one cardinal feature of the last few months with regard to the affairs of Egypt. He turned with interest to the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, at some place in Lancashire, with which the public were not generally acquainted, on the 22nd or 23rd of January last. Speaking at Over Darwen, the noble Lord said—

> "For political influence in Egypt—the political influence we ought to exercise—we intend to rely upon the position we have acquired there, and upon the policy and authority of our Diplomatic Representative, the Financial

> Adviser whom we intend to recommend the Egyptian Government to appoint."

That was the authoritative statement of the present policy of the Government by the noble Lord. With that statement before him, he turned back to the despatch of Lord Granville on November 4, 1881—the Magna Charta of the Government policy in Egypt. In that despatch Lord Granville said—

> "It cannot be too clearly understood that England desires no partizan Ministry in Egypt. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, a partizan Ministry, founded on the support of a Foreign Power, or upon the personal influence of a foreign Diplomatic Agent, is neither calculated to be of service to the country it administers, nor to that in whose interest it is supposed to be maintained. It can only tend to alienate the population from their true allegiance to their Sovereign, and to give rise to counter intrigues which are detrimental to the welfare of the State."

In the whole history of the foreign policy of this country he did not think that they could find another instance of a Foreign Secretary laying down principles so decided and so defined as those laid down by Lord Granville; and yet within the year they found those principles absolutely denied by the policy of the same Government that enunciated them. He invited the noble Marquess to afford some explanation of those contradictory statements, as he would probably have an opportunity of doing if an Amendment were moved, as he believed it would be, with regard to the affairs of Egypt. The Foreign Secretary, after having stated that he would not rely on a foreign Diplomatic Agent, had announced that the Government had appointed a foreign Diplomatic Agent on whom they could rely. Passing from Egypt, he would now make one more remark on Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, after a most successful time in Ireland, had the imprudence to visit his constituents the other day, and make a speech. Now, had he (Lord Randolph Churchill) been consulted on the subject, he would have told the right hon. Gentleman he could not have done anything more suicidal than to make a speech to his constituents just before the meeting of Parliament. Certainly, that speech had proved the opportunity of the Opposition, because in that speech the right hon. Gentleman was so extremely anxious to glorify himself that he politically assassinated his Colleagues. He would read two remarkable passages from that speech. It was a most excellent speech from beginning to end, and he had nothing to say against it; but he would ask for an explanation of certain passages in it. In one of these passages the right hon. Gentleman said this—

> "My answer to the critics of the Irish Government is that I do not read like them the duties of Liberal Ministers in Ireland. That duty consists, first, in showing that life is safe and order secure under a Liberal Government."

He would then read another passage—

> "When we went to Ireland in May last we found society profoundly disorganized; we found the best elements in it depressed, and the worst elements triumphant: and how should it be otherwise when, instead of the law being a terror to evil-doers, evil-doers were a terror to the law-abiding and the industrious?"

The right hon. Gentleman forgot to add that—"When we went to Ireland in May last" Her Majesty's Liberal Government had been two years in Office, and that Lord Spencer, who was included in the "we," was one of those Ministers who not only advised Parliament not to revive the Peace Preservation Act, but refused to give the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) the powers he so persistently asked for, to enable him to deal with disorder and crime, and who, for all they knew, carried on the intrigue that ejected the right hon. Gentleman from Office. He thought the Chief Secretary had given himself a wide latitude when he thus glorified himself at the expense of his Colleagues. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the duty of the Government "consisted, first, in showing that life was safe, and order secure;" he should prefer to put it into plainer language, and to say that the first duty of a Government was to govern, and that duty the Government had for two years shamefully neglected. Would society have been "profoundly disorganized" if that first duty of a Government had been carried out even in the most elementary manner? He would invite the attention of the Chief Secretary, and of the noble Lord who had resumed his able Leadership of the House, to the serious charge that had been brought by the Chief Secretary against the Government. He had heard accusations against Lord Salisbury, Lord Cranbrook, and other Members of the Conservative Party, of having made violent speeches against the Government; but there was not a Member of the Conservative Party, high or low, that ever approached the violence of the denunciation of the Chief Secretary, which he had just quoted—"When we went to Ireland in May last we found society profoundly disorganized." Let it be recollected that Earl Spencer, in 1880, directly contradicted the statement of the late Lord Lieutenant as to the condition of Ireland, and that the Prime Minister had declared about the same time that Ireland had never been in a state of such tranquillity and contentment. It was quite unnecessary, after that statement of the Chief Secretary, for the Opposition to make the slightest attack on the Government from their own original resources. They had only to rely on his speech for the condemnation of his own Colleagues. What had been going on "when we went to Ireland in May last?" Why, the Prime Minister had let out of prison on this disorganized society, in order that he might further depress the best elements in it and elevate the worst of it, a man whom he thus described in his speech at Leeds—

> "A man who had gone forth upon a mission to demoralize a people by teaching them to make the property of their neighbours the object of their covetous desires."

And in his speech at the Guildhall as—

> "A man who has made himself, beyond all others, prominent in the attempt to destroy the authority of the law, and to substitute anarchical oppression exercised upon the people of Ireland."

And that was what was going on over there "when we went to Ireland in May last." He did not quarrel with the statement as a statement of the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman took to the examination of Irish matters the wisdom of the philosopher and the learning of the historian. He allowed some months to go by before he made his report on what he saw there; and now that he had made his report they might depend upon it his words would sink deep in the minds of those who heard it and those who read it. The judge that went to Ireland to report had pronounced his verdict on his own Colleagues in terms unmistakably severe; and they might rest perfectly convinced that the people of England, as a supreme tribunal, would, at the proper time, award the proper penalty.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he did not propose to follow the discursive example of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), for he should touch only on one point. He had had no intention on coming down to the House to take any part in the debate; but he could not sit quiet under the remarks of the noble Marquess the present Leader of the House on the question of the Egyptian policy of the Government. The House would remember that he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had done his best during the Autumn Session to get a fair, straightforward debate upon the conduct of the Government. He had been unable to do so because the Government, having control of the time of the House, had taken good care such discussion should not take place. The reason he brought it on now at the first opportunity was that otherwise he would not again have a chance during the Session. The more he thought of that policy, and the more he read about it, the more convinced he was that we had made a great and fatal mistake in invading that country; and what the noble Marquess had stated that night made the prospect still more alarming. It was bad enough to invade Egypt to put down a rebellion, but there was justification for the question of the Leader of the Opposition when he asked whether we were not bound now to put down the rebellion in the Soudan. Of course, if the principle was right to put down the first rebellion, the Government was bound to employ the men and treasure of this country to put down the other, and we should yet hear of battles with the False Prophet, of victories over him, and of officers being made Lords in consequence. He objected to this interference *in toto*. The policy of the Government had been summed up by Lord Derby, who said their policy in Egypt was to keep the Khedive on his legs. Imagine the policy of this country being to keep an Oriental despot on his legs against the wishes of the people! The noble Lord said the Government went to war to put down an unscrupulous military tyranny, but he did not advance a single particle of proof that this tyranny had not the support of the great body of the people. What was to be done with regard to this war policy? When anyone asked a Question on the subject in the House he was told he must not do that because he would be interfering with negotiations that were going on. When the battles were fought, Lords were made, and their pensions voted—["No!"]—well, the pensions would very soon be voted. It was then said—"It is too late to bring the matter before the House; it is all over; you are only pouring water on a drowned rat." They were all very glad to see the Leader of the Opposition back again; but he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would now do better than he did before he went away. Last summer the right hon. Gentleman and his leading friends attended a grand meeting held at Willis's Rooms, and presided over by the Chairman of the Council of Bondholders, and there, from all he knew, Jingo songs were sung. Certainly a warlike policy was urged upon the Government at that meeting. The Government then went into that war. Lord Beaconsfield once said that a Government should never take the advice of its enemies; but the present Government had done that, otherwise they would not have got into that misfortune. The right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) had told the people of Glasgow that that war was unnecessary and, therefore, unjustifiable. He had, therefore, hoped that the matter would be brought to a fair issue in the House of Commons, and that the Tory Leader would be true to his principles, and attack the Government for going into that unjustifiable war. Nothing, however, was done; and it only remained for an unfortunate wretch like himself to impeach that evil policy. The noble Marquess had told them that the House had all the Papers and all the information on the subject which the Government could give; and that made it absolutely necessary for him to move an Amendment in reference to that war. The Amendment he wished to move was to this effect—

"But this House humbly expresses its opinion that no sufficient reason has been shown for the employment of British Forces in reconstituting the Government of Egypt and reorganizing its affairs under the authority of the Khedive."

That embodied sound principles—or, at any rate, sound Liberal principles—for it could not be a Liberal policy to force any sort of government on a nation which objected to have that government. He should be told that the people of Egypt were in favour of the Khedive; but *The Standard's* correspondent—who ought to have weight, at least, with hon. Gentlemen opposite—said that Arabi's supporters were thousands and the supporters of the Khedive were merely units. The Khedive's party consisted of the six footmen at the Palace. They had accounts showing that the Government of Egypt was now more cruel and oppressive than it was before. True, they had got a Financial Adviser; but did that make any difference? The President of the Local Government Board, in 1877, said that the unfortunate Fellaheen were beaten by the Khedive's officers to enforce illegal exactions, and that afterwards they were beaten for the same purpose by the same officers in the name of Mr. Goschen. They were now beaten in the name of that great Financial Adviser, who, as the noble Lord had explained, was entirely under the Khedive's Government. Why were we to be the supporters of that vile system of oppression in Egypt which had gone on from generation to generation? For no other reason, apparently, except because they had begun to do so. They had done wrong last year, and now they must go on with it to the bitter end. He was quite sure that there were many Gentlemen sitting behind him who did not like that war at all in their hearts. He had studied the speeches they had made in the Recess, and what was the gist of them? Why, first, that the Government knew about it much better than they did, which was, perhaps, true in some cases; and their second and greater argument was that they had had a glorious success, having killed more people in a shorter time, and done it cheaper than the Tories would have done. Indeed, the Vice President of the Council had told the Liberals of Sheffield he was sorry it had been done so cheaply; and he rather agreed with him, because when people went in for such things it was only right that they should pay well for them. Therefore, he now protested against that atrocious policy, and must divide against it. He supposed they had all read the recent speech of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney). [An hon. MEMBER: No.] Then they ought to have read it; for he could not have made a better speech himself. That speech was the best condemnation of the Government policy he had read. The hon. Gentleman said that he hoped there were a few left who were still in favour of the old Liberal policy of non-intervention. He hoped that there were, and that they would vote for his Amendment that night. He felt sure that unless some check were put on that meddling, muddling, and interfering with peoples with whom we had no concern a great injury would be done in the future both to the peace and prosperity of this country. That being so, he begged to move the Amendment he had read.

MR. LABOUCHERE, in seconding the Amendment, said, he was glad that those who did not entirely agree with the Government as to what was going on in Egypt would have an opportunity of registering their opinion by their votes. Although the noble Marquess now leading the House said we went to Egypt to put down an unscrupulous military tyranny, it was certain that Arabi Pasha was supported by the entire Egyptian nation. The noble Marquess seemed to be under the impression that the Government policy must be a good one if the official Opposition did not ask the House to vote against it; but that seemed to him one of the main reasons why the policy of the Liberal Leaders was erroneous. He could quite understand why the Opposition did not challenge the policy of the Government. The Government were practically dragged into the war by the acts of the Opposition when they were in power. ["Oh!"] Anyone who read the Blue Books must see that. A great many Liberals and all the Radicals in the country regretted the Government plunging into the war. There could be no doubt that it was entered into for the sake of the bondholders and for that reason only. But the war had been entered upon and carried through, and the question now was, What was to be done in the present position? He was sorry to hear the speech of the Secretary of State for War, because he did not think that the scheme proposed to be adopted by the Government was likely to mend matters. We were going to place the Egyptian Army under an English General, and a financier by the side of the Khedive, and then tell Europe that the Khedive was an independent Ruler, and that we had nothing to do with the government of Egypt. Why were we there? For the single object of collecting the debts of the bondholders. In the Speech from the Throne reference was made to international obligations, but he absolutely denied that there were any international obligations involved in the matter. The debt was in reality the debt of Ismail, and not that of the people at all; indeed, their own loan of £17,000,000 had not even been treated in the same manner as the rest of the debt. The noble Marquess had stated that the object in view was the establishment of good government in Egypt; but if we really wished to establish any sound government in that country, we must recognize the two great principles which, in the opinion of most Englishmen, were at the bottom of all sound government—namely, Ministerial responsibility and control of the people over the purse. The plan of Lord Dufferin, so far as it had yet been explained, was a perfect sham. It did not give the Egyptians any species of Constitutional or representative Government. The only plan was to advocate a policy of non-intervention, and the best way to do that was not by precept but by example; and, therefore, he supported the suggestion that we should withdraw from Egypt as speedily as possible. The House had been told that Russia, Germany, and Austria were satisfied with the Egyptian policy of Her Majesty's Government; but the majority of the English people were not satisfied, and they at least ought to have a voice in the matter. They could not suppose that they had gained many Conservative votes, they had spent £4,500,000, and unless a Government on really Constitutional principles was established in the country, leaving to the Egyptians themselves to decide whether they would pay their debts to the bondholders—and he would certainly advise them not to pay—they would find they had lost the confidence of many of their own supporters.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the third paragraph, to insert the words "but this House humbly expresses its opinion that no sufficient reason has been shown for the employment of British Forces in reconstituting the Government of Egypt and reorganising its affairs under the authority of the Khedive."—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There will, no doubt, be many further opportunities, if it is desired by any hon. Member, in the course of the next few days, or at any time during the Session, to discuss Egyptian affairs; but, nevertheless, I feel that Her Majesty's Government—and especially those Members of Her Majesty's Government who more particularly represent the Department connected with Foreign Affairs—have no right to complain if, on the very first day of the Session, some notice is taken of this most important subject. Indeed, Sir, if the House had insisted upon a long and a large discussion, it would have been, no doubt, the duty of Her Majesty's Government to have accepted such a discussion at once and without demur. Nor, if it is necessary, will Her Majesty's Government shrink from a discussion as full as the House may desire. But I am bound to say this—that, after listening to the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) and the noble Lord the Leader of what is called "the Fourth Party" (Lord Randolph Churchill), and also of my two hon. Friends who have just sat down (Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Labouchere), it did not appear to me as if there is any great or burning desire on the part of the House to have a very long or full discussion; and, that being so, I have ventured to trespass thus early in the debate upon the attention of the House, in order that I may, as briefly as I can, respond to some of those more or less modified challenges which have been addressed to us from one part of the House or the other. I will not attempt to take up time by considering what might happen if, at some future date, my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) became the Representative of an Egyptian constituency, a subject to which he has himself alluded. No doubt, the Members for Northampton have strange political fortunes at times; but, nevertheless, I hope it may be our good fortune to maintain the sitting Member as Representative for Northampton rather than as Member for an Egyptian constituency on the banks of the Nile. My hon. Friend showed his usual appreciation of the facts of the case when he said that a great deal of this Egyptian matter, as far as the events of last year are concerned, is already becoming almost ancient history; and I had rather hoped, if that were his opinion, that he might have spared the House the retrospect into which he immediately plunged. My hon. Friend asserted, what we have heard before, that this has been a bondholders' war, and that the view which has been so often put forward by the Prime Minister and others in regard to the character and position of Arábi Pasha is a mistaken view. But I am bound to say that he confined himself to assertions. He said—"All these things are in the Papers." Now, what Papers does he allude to? There are a certain number of Papers already in the hands of hon. Members, and I say most distinctly that the proof of that assertion is not in those Papers, nor did my hon. Friend attempt to produce his proof to the House. I will go further, and say that when hon. Members have read the Papers which I have had the honour to lay upon the Table this evening, they will also find in them no proof of these assertions. At the same time, I think it would be better, speaking with full respect for the opinions of my hon. Friend, if he had in any case waited until he had read the Papers before anticipating the discussion upon the question, because it is almost impossible to form an opinion upon many of the points on which he has touched until these Papers were in his hands, and in the hands of the House, and of the public. Nevertheless, there are certain points which it is not and cannot be premature to touch upon; and that is, what is the general view and policy of Her Majesty's Government? Now, the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), and some one or two of his immediate Friends who cheer his observations, and who cheered the observations of the hon. Member for Northampton, declared that this was a bondholders' war, and that it was solely for that reason that we went to war. [LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The Prime Minister said so.] Well, I do not quite agree with the noble Lord; but he will have full opportunity of proving his assertion that the Prime Minister said this was a bondholders' war. He will, no doubt, take some opportunity of proving that. I find a particularly fair description of what were the reasons which led Her Majesty's Government most unwillingly, and wholly under the stress of dire necessity, to depart from that which was the just and cherished tradition and principle of the Liberal Party—namely, the great principle of non-intervention. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members opposite laugh; but I think they will find we have been unanimous in asserting that the great principle of non-intervention is the principle of the Liberal Party. What was it that on the 4th of November, 1881, Lord Granville said, in a despatch to Sir Edward Malet? He described, in that despatch, the general policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt, and he said—

> "The Government of England would run counter to the most cherished traditions of national history were it to entertain a desire to diminish that liberty, or to tamper with the institutions to which it has given birth."

And then he goes on to use these words —and these words are the charter of the policy of the Liberal Government throughout all these events—

> "The only circumstance which could force us to depart from the course of conduct which I have above indicated would be the occurrence in Egypt of a state of anarchy. We look to the Khedive, and to Cherif Pasha, and to the good sense of the Egyptian people, to prevent such a catastrophe; and they on their part may rest assured that, so long as Egypt continues in the path of tranquil and legitimate progress, it will be the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to contribute to so happy a result."

Now, Sir, I venture to assert that neither the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), nor any other hon. Member of this House, has shown that Her Majesty's Government have deviated from these principles. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Oh!] That may not be the opinion of the noble Lord; but, without any necessity for these somewhat frequent interruptions, the noble Lord will have full opportunity of proving by-and-bye the accuracy of his views. If it is the opinion of the noble Lord, or of anybody else, that Her Majesty's Government have departed from the position they have laid down, let him or them prove it. It was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, at a date subsequent to this despatch, that the condition of things which the despatch contemplated as possible, but hoped would not arise, did actually arise—that a condition of anarchy did exist in Egypt; that that condition of anarchy was dangerous to important and cherished English interests; and that it became their duty to intervene, acting, if possible, in concert with the other Powers of Europe, and more especially with those who, like themselves, were principally interested in the matter; but on the failure or refusal of those Powers to co-operate with them, they felt it was their duty not to shrink from acting alone. And act alone Her Majesty's Government did, and with results which it is notorious were universally recognized throughout the country—[Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No!] —as reflecting the highest honour on the skill of those to whom the operations were referred. But, Sir, what strikes me as a matter of importance is this—on what line are we really to be attacked? I notice that there is one line of attack opposite, and another on this side of the House; and the only agreement is this —that although the two lines of attack are almost entirely opposite, nevertheless, hon. Members opposite, and those who act with the hon. Member for Northampton, at least agree in cheering one another, and in criticizing Her Majesty's Government. I might almost be satisfied with leaving the case there, because nearly every argument adduced against Her Majesty's Government from Conservative sources is perfectly inconsistent with those adduced by the hon. Member for Northampton and his immediate Friends. I have no wish, on this occasion, to enter into any long discussion upon these various points. As I have indicated to the House, the case of Her Majesty's Government from the beginning has been that a condition of anarchy existed that was dangerous to Egyptian interests, and more especially to the great commercial interests of England, bound up with the maintenance of the Suez Canal. We may be told that Arabi and the Military Party did not actually interfere with the Suez Canal. My answer to that is a plain and simple one. When a house is on fire next door, it would not be wise for you to wait until the fire got hold of your house. When, therefore, at the end of May and beginning of June we saw the whole of Egypt getting into a condition of anarchy, it became the duty of Her Majesty's Government to recognize the fact that that condition of anarchy was not one under which we could feel sure that both the great military and commercial and political interests of England, bound up with the interests of our Indian Empire, could be safely left at the mercy of a military dictator. From that point of view we have never shrunk; and I shall be obliged, in any debate on the Egyptian War that may take place this Session, to decline to follow the hon. Member for Northampton or any other hon. Member into a discussion upon the various and complicated interests of the bondholders. I would thereby be pleading guilty to every charge which the hon. Member wishes to bring against Her Majesty's Government, and would consent to acknowledge that this was a bondholders' war. I am not here to defend the interests of the Egyptian bondholders; I am in no way charged on behalf of Her Majesty's Government to enter into every complicated question of finance that may be raised. On the contrary, I wish to point out that the Financial Advisers of Egypt are not appointed by Her Majesty's Government. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock complains that the appointment of these Financial Advisers is not mentioned in the Queen's Speech. Why should Her Majesty's Speech mention the appointment of Financial Advisers? It is not at all a matter which calls for mention in the Queen's Speech. If it had been mentioned in the Speech, we know perfectly well what would have happened. The noble Lord would have sprung to his feet at once and have said—"Here you are, establishing a financial Protectorship and Control." If we had allowed ourselves thus to be tempted upon the rocks at the moment the ship was going down, we should have been greeted with immoderate laughter by the noble Lord and his Friends. The noble Lord says that my noble Friend who is at present leading this House, in the absence of the Prime Minister, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs have already contradicted their former declarations, because they had said, at one time, that Her Majesty's Government would, under no circumstances, be parties to appointing in Egypt a partizan Minister or a foreign political Agent to guide and direct the country, and yet that they have now done these very things. Here, again, my answer is the same, and it is a plain and simple one. Sir Auckland Colvin is not appointed by Her Majesty's Government, and it is not upon the appointment of Sir Auckland Colvin that I desire to dwell as being the main safeguard for that English influence which I, for one, am quite willing to grant is the natural result of recent events—not merely the events of last year, but the action of many preceding Governments—and an influence which I, for one, am wholly prepared to defend and support. I wish to ask hon. Members opposite, who cheered the sentiments of the hon. Member for Northampton, when he said we ought to leave the country at once, and that we ought to have no influence there at all, whether the House is to accept that as their opinion? [*Cries of* "No!"] Then on which leg are they standing? What are really their opinions? Is it their desire simply to criticize and simply to attack? If only to criticize, let them come forward boldly and make their criticisms. Let them not indulge, as on other occasions, in small and petty attacks, but let them follow the example of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), who has the courage of his convictions, and challenges us to a distinct issue. It is my misfortune occasionally to differ from my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle, but I am bound at least to recognize that he never shrinks from giving full expression to his opinions. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, with that accuracy which always distinguishes him, during the short Session of Parliament which took place in the autumn, in answer to my noble Friend, said that the Opposition—he was claiming to speak for the Opposition—had repeatedly asked for a day on which to challenge the whole conduct and policy of the Government — [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!]—and that Her Majesty's Government had done everything in their power to avoid and shirk that discussion. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!] I can only regret that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock has not brought back from the shores of the Mediterranean, from which I, for one, am glad to seek him back in full health and vigour, a greater amount and store of accuracy, for he is quite wrong and inaccurate in the view he has put forward. There were two attempts made, in the short Session of

Parliament to which the noble Lord alluded, to challenge the policy and conduct of the Government by what may be called criticism, but not at all in the manner to which the noble Lord has alluded. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What was asked for was a clear issue.] On the 6th of November, 1882, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) rose in his place, and said—

> "I beg to give Notice that, on as early a day as I can obtain, I shall call attention to the present employment of a portion of Her Majesty's Forces in Egypt, and move 'That this House is entitled to a fuller explanation of the nature and duration of the employment of Her Majesty's Forces in Egypt, and of the estimated cost thereof, than it has yet received.' I shall also take an early opportunity of asking the Prime Minister whether he can afford a day for the discussion of that Motion."—[3 *Hansard*, [274] 842.]

I do not think that anybody conversant with the forms of Votes of Censure in this House will call that very mild and innocuous Notice a Vote of Censure. I find that a few days afterwards the hon. Gentleman the Member for Carlisle, who does deal with Amendments and Votes of Censure, and who has the courage of his convictions, was evidently under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman opposite was not going to lay bare the sore, and he therefore asked the Leader of the Opposition—

> "Whether he proposes to bring forward any Motion condemning the military position in Egypt, which in the country he declared to be unjustifiable and unnecessary?"—[*Ibid.* 866.]

The right hon. Gentleman opposite replied as follows:—

> "I do not know whether I may be allowed to ask, as a matter of courtesy, whether the hon. Member received a note from me last week, in which I stated that I presumed I would not be allowed to answer the Question, but telling him what my answer would be, and that I would do nothing to compromise my freedom in the matter. I have already to-night given a Notice in reference to this question."

And then the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) said—

> "I should not have asked the Question if the right hon. Gentleman had given any Notice concerning the war; but the Motion of which he has given Notice concerns the future policy of the Government."—[*Ibid.* 867.]

It is, therefore, quite clear that the hon. Member for Carlisle perfectly understood the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and that the Motion of which he had given Notice was not a condemnation of the Government for what they had done in the past, but rather a Motion intended to elicit from them a declaration as to their policy in the future. So much for the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. I come now to the only other Motion I can find, and it is one given by the former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Government of Lord Beaconsfield (Mr. Bourke). I find that my right hon. Friend the Member for King's Lynn wished to bring forward a Motion in regard to certain points connected with the trial of Arabi Pasha. [Mr. BOURKE: No!] I should be sorry if I were to misunderstand my right hon. Friend; but he asked if the Government would give a day for a Motion condemning the Government for the surrender of Arabi. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!] That is exactly what I said. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No!] And the right hon. Gentleman further asked—"Whether the First Lord of the Treasury had any statement to make with respect to the trial of Arabi?" What I wish to point out is this—it is not my desire to dwell on any distinction between the surrender and trial of Arabi Pasha, but to show that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock was perfectly inaccurate when he said that the right hon. Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke), who was Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Government of Lord Beaconsfield, had wished to bring forward any Motion censuring the Government in regard to their Egyptian policy, but that, on the contrary, my right hon. Friend simply desired to bring forward a certain point in regard to the surrender and trial of Arabi Pasha, and the Prime Minister refused, on account of the state of Public Business, to give him a day merely for the discussion of a small fragment of the question. There was no question of bringing forward anything which could be described as a Vote of Censure; and it was perfectly clear, as I pointed out just now, from the observations which fell from the hon. Member for Carlisle, that he felt that the right hon. Gentleman opposite, having used strong language in the country on the subject of the war, when it came to a question of justifying it in the House, shrank from justifying it. That is the

Parliamentary history of what happened during the short Session of last year. There are, no doubt, other points on which I might dwell; but, at this late hour of the night, it is my wish only to answer those points which have been raised by those who immediately preceded me in the debate. When the House is in possession of all the Papers I have placed on the Table to-night, and when hon. Members will have read also some further Papers which I hope it will soon be in my power to produce—among them a despatch of great importance from Lord Dufferin—I believe the House will then be able to appreciate the policy of Her Majesty's Government in a fuller manner than is possible from the Papers already published. They will be able to recognize the great pains, the skill, and the indomitable industry of Lord Dufferin, and to agree with Her Majesty's Government that in that land, where English interests are most undoubtedly, in the opinion, I believe, of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the country, bound up in a manner far beyond the mere interests of commercial or financial matters—that in that land Her Majesty's Government have succeeded, through Lord Dufferin, in showing the same administrative and diplomatic skill which, through their Admirals and Generals, they have succeeded in showing in their naval and military operations. The House will also find that the institutions which we have succeeded in giving to the Egyptian people will be institutions of a strong and durable character, which may not merely secure them from anarchy, which, as I have pointed out, is the great object of Her Majesty's Government, but may also give to them no small share, not only of commercial and industrial prosperity, but also of freedom, practical liberty, and political advancement.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, that as a rather important debate had been initiated by the hon. Member opposite (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), and as that was the first night of the Session, he presumed the Government would have no objection to the adjournment of the debate. He therefore begged to make that Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that the Motion for the adjournment of the debate had been moved at a somewhat earlier hour than usual. If, however, the debate on the Amendment to the Address was likely to be protracted, and if hon. Gentlemen opposite desired to take part in it, he did not think it would be worth while to offer any opposition to the Motion. At the same time, he thought, before the House agreed to it, they should have some information as to the number of hon. Gentlemen who desired to take part in that debate. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) had not challenged the policy of the Government so far as it had succeeded—the military operations — and he (the Marquess of Hartington) did not know yet whether the right hon. Gentleman wished to take part in the debate upon a Motion which had been made in another part of the House. Of course, if hon. Gentlemen opposite intended to avail themselves of the opportunity of entering into a discussion upon the events of the war, it would take a longer time than they had at their disposal that evening, and he would offer no objection to the Motion for the adjournment of the debate. But if it was only the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) who intended to address the House on the subject, he thought they might ask the hon. Member, even at that late hour, to continue his observations.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, the matter was one of very great importance. He should not himself—as, in fact, was obvious from the time he had taken in the observations he had made—have selected this as the occasion for raising any question as to the policy of the Government in regard to Egypt; but, as the question had been raised by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), it was absolutely necessary for himself and others sitting near him that they should express their views upon the matter, which it was impossible to do conveniently at that hour of the night. He therefore hoped that the debate might be adjourned. He confessed he should have preferred that the discussion should not have come on at a time when they had not the whole of the Papers before them; but, inconvenient as it might be, he thought the inconvenience would be less than that of coming to a hurried vote upon so important a question.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he was sorry he could not afford information as to the number of persons likely to take part in the debate. Perhaps, under the New Rules, it would be competent to ask them to stand up in their places. Personally, he had made no arrangement with anyone for carrying on the debate, and he only desired to make one remark in regard to what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) in reference to waiting for further Papers. The reason he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had risen to move the Amendment was because the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had stated distinctly that the House had all the information and Papers in the possession of the Government before them, and that they would enable them to judge of the action of the Government. Therefore, it was unfair to charge him with having acted prematurely or precipitately.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought that sufficient attention had not been given to an observation which had fallen from the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington). The noble Marquess began by asking if a number of hon. Members proposed to take part in the debate, and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) understood that the noble Marquess's agreement to the adjournment of the debate was to depend upon the number of persons who desired to take part in it. He gathered from that remark that the noble Marquess, in a certain state of circumstances, seriously proposed to put into effect the New Rules for closing a debate. He thought the proper answer to the noble Marquess would be that as many Members would take part in the debate as had such a course commended to them by their own judgment.

MR. CHAPLIN said, it was important to know when the despatch recently received from Lord Dufferin would be in the hands of hon. Members. Could the noble Marquess, or the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, give the House any information as to when the despatch would be laid on the Table?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, in reply, said, that all the Papers would be produced as soon as possible. He could not state exactly the day; but the Papers already produced gave very full information, and the rest might be issued to-morrow.

MR. O'DONNELL said, it was to be regretted that the noble Marquess the provisional Leader of the House (the Marquess of Hartington) was not in possession of the information which had just been communicated to the House by his Colleague the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, because he (Mr. O'Donnell) was sure that if the noble Marquess had had the slightest idea that complete information was so near at hand as to-morrow morning, he would not have proposed to have a vote taken just now. He could not possibly suppose that the noble Marquess was anxious to take a vote before the Papers were communicated.

MR. BOURKE asked whether, among the Papers to be communicated to-morrow, there would be any in regard to the trial of Arabi Pasha? because he believed that the whole point of the case was that it was perfectly impossible for the House to come to a decision with regard to the causes of the war without being put in possession of information as to what had taken place at the trial of Arabi. He wished, therefore, to know if they were to have any record of that trial, or any information from Sir Charles Rivers Wilson or Lord Dufferin as to finance?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, in reply, said, that among the Papers which would be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow, or the day after, there were documents which would give very full information in regard to the trial.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 16*th February*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Public Bill—*First Reading*—Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition * (1).

THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: My Lords, seeing the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place, I wish to make a personal explanation, or rather reference to two charges which the noble Earl made against me last night. I heard them with considerable surprise; but I had spoken, and had not the right to speak again; and hearing such charges from a person of the noble Earl's authority, I wished to have an opportunity of looking at the documents again before I said anything to your Lordships on the subject. I have looked at the documents carefully, and I confess I am still surprised at the view the noble Earl takes of the matter, and at his having found himself in a condition to make these charges. His assertion was that at Edinburgh I had been guilty of a gross inaccuracy, and also of a gross inconsistency. Now, it appears to me that my statement was perfectly accurate, and was in perfect consistency with the sentiments I had previously expressed. The complaint of the noble Earl in respect of inaccuracy was that I held up the Government to reprobation because they had asked the permission of Europe to invade Egypt, and, having received a refusal, they proceeded to take Egypt. That is the language in which the noble Earl stated it. There was a slight inaccuracy in his quotation from my Edinburgh speech. He says I used the word "Egypt." I did not do so. I said "to invade a country." I was using a general phrase, and the distinction is important, because I was not referring to Egypt as a whole, but to that limited part of Egypt which is in the vicinity of the Suez Canal. So that, if I had spoken of Egypt generally, as the noble Earl fancies I did, I might have misled my audience. Now, the question is, Did the noble Earl ask permission to invade the Suez Canal territory, and did he receive a refusal, and proceed to take it? These are the three assertions, and they seem to be supported by the Papers on the Table of your Lordships' House. I have here a despatch of Lord Dufferin's of the 19th of July, as follows:—

> "I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of the proposal which I, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's telegram of the 17th instant, in common with my French colleague, made to-day at the ninth meeting of the Egyptian Conference for the protection of the Suez Canal."—[No. 325.]

The extract from the telegram is as follows:—

> "England and France propose in consequence to the Conference to designate the Powers who should be charged in case of need to take the measures specially necessary for the protection of the Canal. In order to save time, the Powers so designated, and who should have accepted the mandate, shall be authorized to decide on the mode and the moment of action. This action would be exercised in every case on the principle of the Self-denying Protocol."

There is no doubt about the nature of the action; it would be the occupation of places on the Suez Canal. But, if there were any doubt, the Correspondence of the noble Earl with the French Government, in which the positions to be occupied are discussed and marked out, would sufficiently settle the question. This, then, is the application for the mandate—authority to enter upon, to invade, the territory of Egypt in the neighbourhood of the Suez Canal. How was that proposal received by the Powers to whom it was made? This is what Lord Dufferin says—

> "Both Baron de Calice and the German *Chargé d'Affaires* exhibited a marked unwillingness to discuss our propositions. The Austrian Ambassador observed that, inasmuch as the risk to the Canal constituted an obvious case of *force majeure*, it would be preferable that England alone, or France and England, should, in case of necessity, deal with the matter on their own initiative, without involving the Conference in any responsibility in the question of issuing a *mandat* to one or more specially designated Powers. M. de Hirschfeldt, the German *Chargé d'Affaires*, followed in the same sense, and declared that he had no instructions authorizing him even to consider the question."—[No. 432.]

You have, then, this state of things—England applying for a mandate to occupy the territory of the Suez Canal, and the Austrian and the German Minister refusing even to discuss the proposition, much less to grant it, and refusing even to refer to their own Government for authority to discuss it. Surely when I described that as a refusal I was expressing the fact in the language which every diplomatist would use. Indeed, it was impossible to convey a refusal without an absolute breach in a manner more peremptory or definite. The application for a mandate was thus made and declined. Then the noble Earl complains that I said he "took" the territory in question. His objection, as I understand it, is that he does not admit the statement because he did not keep the territory. But I never said that he took it, as lawyers say, *animo furandi;* it is possible that he means to give it up—I dare say he does; but will the noble Earl tell me that the Russians did not take Sofia because they gave it up? In 1855 the Allies entered into the same Protocol of self-denial with respect to all Russian territory, and they gave up the territory they occupied. But will the noble Earl tell me that they did not take Sebastopol? They took Sebastopol, and the noble Earl has undoubtedly taken Port Said and Ismailia. I am far from implying that the noble Earl has consciously misrepresented my statement; but I maintain that my statement made at Edinburgh was literally and absolutely true, and that I could not have made it in so short a space in more exact words. Then comes the second charge of the noble Earl, that I was guilty of gross inconsistency in saying that the sending of the Fleet as it was sent into the Harbour of Alexandria was contrary to International Law. Now, I venture respectfully to say that I never used language approving the sending of the Fleet as it was sent into the Harbour of Alexandria. The noble Earl, with an air of great indignation, said that such language would be perfectly consistent on the part of Mr. Bright or Sir Wilfrid Lawson, because they always objected to the despatch of the Fleet to Alexandria. That, by the way, is a curious admission, because Mr. Bright was in Office for five weeks after the Fleet was sent. But the noble Earl goes on to say that it is not possible to conceive how I could lay down the principle that I approve of the action, and then hold up the Government to execration at Edinburgh for taking a course I entirely approved of at the time. I entirely deny that I approved of it at the time. The noble Earl, on the occasion referred to, in answer to a Question from my noble Friend (Earl De La Warr), stated at some length the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and informed the House in the course of that statement that ships had been sent to Alexandria. I then said that there was nothing in the statement of the noble Earl to which I could take exception. I must altogether demur to the principle, which I think the noble Earl is laying down, that because at a critical moment a Member of the Opposition declines to take exception to a particular act of the Government, therefore he is estopped from criticizing it later. I said, in fact, over and over again, in the course of these discussions, that I abstained from criticism solely for the sake of the public interest; and I think it will be an evil precedent if the Opposition is held to acquiesce in the policy of the Government because they do not at a critical moment object to it. Besides, movements of a warlike nature are always by prescription exempt from Parliamentary criticism at the moment, it being obvious that those movements and their effect on Foreign Powers might be injured by criticism. Though I think it right to enter this general protest, there is another very strong reason for objecting to the noble Earl's interpretation of my words, by which he makes me admit that the sending of the Fleet to the Harbour of Alexandria was in accordance with International Law. What was it that the noble Earl stated at the time? I do not think he could have looked back to the precise statement he made to the House. He said—

> "In these circumstances England and France have agreed to send orders to the three British men-of-war at Corfu, and to the French men-of-war at the Piræus, to rendezvous at Suda Bay, and to go to Alexandria, where they would find that order had preceded them, we having informed Turkey and all the Powers of these measures in support of the policy already agreed upon."

I do not know what the noble Earl meant by those words; but at that time it obviously appeared that the Fleet was sent in agreement with Turkey and the rest of the Powers, and if that had been so, undoubtedly there would have been no breach of International Law in its presence in the port. The reason why the proceedings could be condemned as contrary to International Law was that it was not sent with the will, but against the will, of the Power to which Alexandria belonged. I must repeat, in the most emphatic language I can use, my protest against the supposition that we take no exception to acts of the Government which, at a particular time, we may not think it right to criticize. For many reasons, in view of the attitude of the Sovereign in Turkey, in view of the absence of any military force, in view of the long delay to which the Fleet was condemned, in view of the very dangerous position of the British subjects on land which its presence created, I should, if I had spoken freely at the time, undoubtedly not have approved of sending the Fleet as it was sent. But because I allowed it to pass without criticism, especially when the noble Earl's statement was accompanied by words which clearly indicated that it was sent with the consent of the Powers and Turkey, the noble Earl accuses me of inconsistency because I subsequently criticized that proceeding. I must enter another protest. Last night I said that I highly admired the conduct and energy of Lord Spencer in dealing with Ireland; but the noble Earl twisted that into an assertion that I could find nothing to object to in the conduct of the Irish Government since the Recess. I decidedly demur to that interpretation. There are many acts of the Irish Government to which I take the strongest objection, though I do not think it expedient to discuss them at the present time. As the noble Earl has laid down this doctrine, I must reserve to myself the right of criticizing these acts as well as the action of the Government in regard to foreign affairs at a future period, in spite of that reserve which we have observed during the actual crisis of affairs.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, with regard to Ireland I think my observations last night were correct. I think I had a right to feel gratified that the noble Marquess could not find anything to complain of. Although he, as Leader of the Opposition, and criticizing the Queen's Speech, had gone over all the topics mentioned in it, and found fault with the Government generally, he did not find fault with a single act of the Government with regard to Ireland during the last six months. I really could not find out from what was said what charges were likely to be made, and I was confirmed in my conclusion by the entire abstention from any accusation on the part of the noble Marquess, who is not generally very reticent when any fault is to be found. It is the fact that he did not find fault with a single action of the Irish Government since August. Then the noble Marquess complains of my having misrepresented what he said at Edinburgh. He asserts he was justified in saying that we had asked leave to take Egypt.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: A country.

Earl GRANVILLE: Well, the distinction is one of so subtle a character that I cannot reproach myself with inaccuracy in failing to make it.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: But all you asked the mandate for was to take a portion of territory in the vicinity of the Suez Canal.

Earl GRANVILLE: At a particular moment France and ourselves made an application to the Powers to specify some particular Power, not naming ourselves, to exercise authority as the mandatory of Europe on a particular occasion. The Powers were not willing to take upon themselves to specify any particular Power; they were not willing to give the mandate. I am bound to say—and the distinction is important—that while we received great encouragement to go on, the Powers gave reasons why they did not wish themselves to give a mandate, such as the noble Lord says was asked for and refused. I utterly deny, as I denied yesterday, that we have ever asked permission to do that which we did. I further state that permission was never in the slightest way refused to us. The noble Marquess says that we took the country in the same way that we took Sebastopol; but there is this enormous difference—that in the Crimea we were fighting against the Russians, while in this case we were fighting on behalf of the Khedive and his authority, and to put down the rebellion and the anarchy that existed in the country. If we had taken advantage of that to seize and hold the country, then we should have invaded in the sense in which the language used at Edinburgh was understood. The inaccuracies of the noble Marquess at Edinburgh were all taken as texts upon which an elaborate accusation was brought against us in the leading Conservative review, in order, by sustaining a theory entirely false, to prove how wrong we were in going into the war. The writer of the article makes the most extraordinary use of official Papers, and he takes one by one the observations made by the noble Marquess at Edinburgh. With regard to the noble Marquess having apparently approved of what was done, he says that he merely abstained from criticism because he did not wish to interfere with warlike operations; but still, to the common mind, what he said appeared to have more meaning than that. When a statement was made that the Fleet was on its way to Alexandria he went out of his way to say that he had no objection to make to the statement. To the common understanding it must appear that he gave his approval to the course we were going to pursue. The noble Marquess now says that we committed a breach of International Law in making certain demands. But last year he said that if the instructions to our Admiral prevented his taking any action consistent with International Law while the forts were being armed against us, we committed an act of the greatest imprudence and risk, and it was still more humiliating that the Fleet should have to remain inactive without exacting compensation for the insults offered.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: It will be better if the noble Earl will quote my words. My recollection is that what I deprecated on the part of the Fleet was its watching the massacre of British sailors without interfering.

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble Marquess began his speech by saying—

> "I think there is nothing in the statement of the noble Earl to which I can take exception." —(3 *Hansard,* [269] 650.)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: The statement referred to the agreement of the Powers.

EARL GRANVILLE: My statement included a declaration of policy in favour of maintaining the authority of the Khedive, improving the government and institutions of the country, and the putting down of anarchy; and yet the noble Marquess said—

> "There is nothing in the statement of the noble Earl to which I can take exception."

The noble Marquess afterwards said—

> "With regard to Egypt itself, it appears to me that Her Majesty's Government, both by the engagements which they themselves have entered into, and by the engagements which they have necessarily inherited from their Predecessors, are bound to give their support to the present Viceroy of Egypt, so long as his government is in accordance with principles which they approve. They are bound to give him that support, not only as a matter of sentiment, not merely in words or in notes, but in something stronger if the need should arise."—(*Ibid.* 651.)

The noble Marquess further said that—

> "Whatever measures Her Majesty's Government may be inclined to adopt, whatever policy they may pursue, whatever language they may hold, these things will have no effect whatever upon the population of Egypt, or upon the intriguing men who have laid hold of supreme power in that country, unless it is well known that, behind all these words, there is the possibility, nay the certainty, of deeds."—(*Ibid.*)

The noble Marquess further expressed the hope that the sending of the Fleet would be no mere idle demonstration. When the noble Marquess impressed upon us the duty of using force in the eloquent and strong language I have just read, I cannot conceive how we and the country should have been deceived in believing that the noble Marquess approved of the statement. The noble Lord also said that no decision the European Concert might come to would relieve the Government of the necessity of acting up to the demands they had made, and sustaining the honour of the country by maintaining the safety of the Khedive, so long as he acted upon their counsel. I can quite understand the Leader of the Opposition being so discreet as to reserve his opinions; but when he uses language of this kind it is impossible to doubt that at that time he was most anxious we should continue to do what we were doing. If all this was language to deter us from entering into war on behalf of the Khedive, and from using the Fleet at Alexandria, then I shall be ready to apologize in the most complete manner to the noble Marquess for having misrepresented him. To my humble understanding I hardly know of any more eloquent appeal being made since the days of Demosthenes than the appeal made to the Government by the noble Marquess, not only in this House, but at the celebrated meeting at Willis's Rooms. That being so, I am afraid I cannot make the apology which I otherwise should gladly offer.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I must explain again what I do not seem to have conveyed to the mind of the noble Earl. I was of opinion, and I am of opinion still, that having pledged the honour of the Government, as they had done, and having certain British interests to succour, Her Majesty's Government was bound to redeem that honour, and to succour those interests, if need be, as it ultimately was, at the cost of war. But at Edinburgh what I censured was the policy, in the first place, which brought us into that condition, and in the second place the particular act of taking the Fleet into the position which led to the calamitous bombardment of Alexandria. Those two points did seem to me to be points in the conduct of the Government calling forth criticism. The censure that I passed on them in no way affects my opinion that where the British word had been pledged, as it had been, we were bound to redeem our pledge.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: The noble Marquess has just now repeated an expression used by him at Edinburgh, and not defended by him in the early part of this debate, and which was justly observed upon by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. That expression—"the bombardment of Alexandria" — is of a very offensive kind, not merely to Her Majesty's Government and the British nation, but to those gallant officers upon whose reports, and upon whose word the statement of Her Majesty's Government on the subject depends. They have over and over again assured Her Majesty's Government that all that was said by the enemies of the Khedive, and of this country, as to the bombardment of the commercial City of Alexandria was entirely false, the bombardment being carefully directed against those forts only, the existence and menacing character of which was observed upon by the noble Marquess last Session, as calling for vigilance on the part of the Fleet. While I am addressing your Lordships, I will venture to say that in his reply to the first part of the noble Marquess's explanation, my noble Friend was somewhat more mild than he was called upon to be. The noble Marquess himself, in justifying and explaining his language at Edinburgh, was compelled to read from your Lordships' Table passages from despatches which appear to me more completely to refute and condemn the statements made by the noble Marquess than anything else could do. For it appeared, by these passages, that although the German and Austrian Ambassadors did not think it expedient that any mandate should be given by Europe to every Power to take action in Egypt, they distinctly encouraged the Governments of this country and of France, or either of them, to do so without any such mandate, on their own responsibility. On the whole, I cannot but think that the noble Marquess would have done well to leave the matter as it stood last night.

EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION — VOTE OF THANKS TO HER MAJESTY'S NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES.

SIR BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR'S LETTER.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Before the House adjourns, I have to communicate to your Lordships a letter which I have received from Sir Beauchamp Seymour, now Lord Alcester, since your Lordships last sat, in reply to the Vote of Thanks, which, by your Lordships' commands, I had the honour of conveying to him. It is as follows:—

"H.M.S. Alexandria, at Malta, 16th of November.

"My Lord,—I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter communicating to me the Resolutions passed by the House of Lords on the 26th of October, and conveying to me and to the Admirals, captains, officers, petty and non-commissioned officers, seamen and marines, lately serving under my orders in Egypt, the expression of your Lordships' approbation of them and thanks for our conduct during the campaign recently terminated. I have duly given full publicity to the same, and I beg to assure your Lordships that the honour done us by your Lordships is most highly appreciated by myself and all those under my command, and that it was with feelings of great pride that we received your Lordship's communication.

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord Chancellor,
"Your Lordship's obedient servant,
"BEAUCHAMP SEYMOUR."

The said letter was ordered to lie on the Table, and to be entered on the Journals.

PAYMENT OF WAGES IN PUBLIC-HOUSES PROHIBITION BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to prohibit the payment of wages to workmen in public-houses and certain other places—Was *presented* by The Earl STANHOPE; read 1ª. (No. 1.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 16th February, 1883.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRITS ISSUED—*For* Newcastle upon Tyne, *v.* Ashton Wentworth Dilke, esquire, Manor of Northstead; *for* Westmeath County, *v.* Hugh Joseph Gill, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolutions in Committee—Ordered—First Reading*—Limited Partnerships * [18]; Intoxicating Liquors (Off Licences) * [25]; Spirits in Bond * [38]; Partnerships* [40]; Cemeteries * [45]; Banking Laws (Scotland) * [78].

Motion for Leave—Parliamentary Oaths Act (1866) Amendment, *debate adjourned.*

Ordered—First Reading—General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Provisional Order (Broughty Ferry Paving) * [1]; Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Fraserburgh Waterworks) * [2]; Bankruptcy * [4]; Patents for Inventions * [3]; Ballot Act Continuance and Amendment * [5]; Municipal Corporations (Unreformed) * [6]; Indictable Offences (Procedure) * [8]; Court of Criminal Appeal [9]; Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) * [7]; Royal Dublin Society (Museum of Science and Art) * [10]; Churchwardens' Admission * [11]; Parochial Boards (Scotland) * [12]; Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment * [13]; Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) Amendment * [14]; Universities Committee of Privy Council * [15]; Elective Councils (Ireland) * [16]; Trees Planting (Ireland) * [17]; London Brokers' Relief Act (1870) Repeal * [19]; Poor Removal and Settlement (Ireland) * [20]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) [21]; Borough Franchise (Ireland) * [22]; Parochial Charities (London) * [23]; Registration of Voters (Ireland) * [24]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Monmouth) * [26]; Municipal Franchise (Ireland) * [27]; Breach of Promise of Marriage * [28]; Labourers (Ireland) * [29]; Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) * [30]; Sea Fisheries (Ireland) * [31]; University Education (Ireland) * [32]; Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment * [33]; Industrial Resources (Ireland) * [34]; Stage Plays (Oxford and Cambridge) * [35]; Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister * [36]; Vice-Royalty (Ireland) * [37]; Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment * [39]; Church of England Patronage * [41]; Agricultural Holdings * [42]; Bankruptcy Law Amendment * [43]; Distress Law Amendment * [44]; Vivisection Abolition * [46]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday * [47]; Corporations Lands (Ireland) * [48]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) * [49]; Copyhold Enfranchisement * [50]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 2) * [51]; Tithe Rent Charge Extraordinary * [52]; Railways (Ireland) * [53]; Contempt of Court * [54]; Burial Fees * [55]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Yorkshire) * [56]; Steam Boilers (Persons in Charge) * [57]; Beer Adulteration * [58]; Trees Planting (Ireland) (No. 2) * [59]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) * [60]; Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act (1882) (Audience of Solicitors) * [61]; Sea Fisheries (Ireland) (No. 2) * [62]; Commons and Inclosure Acts Amendment * [63]; Parish Churches * [64]; Surrey (Trial of Causes) * [65]; Relief of Distress (Ireland) * [66]; Cathedral Statutes * [67]; Land Law (Ireland) Amendment * [68]; Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment * [69]; Trade Marks * [70]; Agricultural Tenants' Compensation * [71]; Firearms * [72]; Agricultural Holdings * [73]; Notices of Removal (Scotland) * [74]; Church Discipline, &c. Acts Amendment * [75]; Seed Advances (Scotland) * [76]; Incumbrances on Land Registration * [77]; Imprisonment for Debt * [79]; Church Boards * [80]; Theatres Regulation * [81]; Bankruptcy (No. 2) * [82]; Patents for Inventions (No. 2) * [83]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Isle of Wight) * [84]; Free Libraries * [85]; Registration of Voters (Ireland) (No. 2) * [86].

QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE—CONTRACTS—THE MAILS BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Postmaster General, If he will lay upon the Table Copies of the respective tenders received from the City of Dublin Mail Packet Company and the London and North Western Railway Company for the Contract for the conveyance of the Royal Mails between London and Dublin; also of all Correspondence between the Post Office and those Companies, and the Treasury and those Companies; also between the Post Office and the Treasury, in regard to the said Contract; and, a copy of the Contract finally concluded with the London and North Western Railway Company?

MR. COURTNEY: The Standing Orders of the House require that the final Contract should be laid upon the

Table, together with an explanatory Treasury Minute. This will be done as soon as the Contract is completed; and I will add to these Papers others, which will, I think, put the House in possession of all the facts of the case. Should anything then appear to be wanting, the noble Lord will, perhaps, raise the question again, and I will see what can be added.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON: Will the House have ample time to consider the question before the Contract is signed?

Mr. COURTNEY: The House will, no doubt, have time.

METROPOLIS—THE WELLINGTON STATUE.

Mr. COOPE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the destination of the statue of the Duke of Wellington, recently removed from the arch at Constitution Hill, is arranged; and, whether he can assure the House that there is no intention of replacing it on the arch on its reconstruction?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: It has been definitively settled by Her Majesty's Government that the statue of the Duke of Wellington will not be replaced on the Arch at Constitution Hill when the Arch is reconstructed. No decision has been arrived at as to its ultimate destination; but I have nominated a Committee to advise the Government upon the subject. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Hardinge, Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Boehm, Mr. Fergusson, and Mr. Mitford have kindly consented to serve on this Committee.

GENERAL POST OFFICE—EXTENSION OF BUILDINGS.

Sir HENRY PEEK asked the First Commissioner of Works, For what purpose the small yard adjoining the southern side of the General Post Office is being hoarded in; and, whether it is true that that yard, which contains only a few feet of superficial area, is to be made use of as the Parcels Post Office for the City of London?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The operation to which the hon. Baronet calls attention consists of an extension of the basement floor of the General Post Office to the adjoining yard. It will add 4,500 superficial feet to the building. This extension is rendered necessary by the Parcels Post. I may add that it is not intended to centralize the Parcels Post at the General Post Office in the same manner as in the case of the Letter Post; but premises are being prepared for the purpose of the Parcels Post in many other parts of London.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Transvaal Government has yet paid the sum of £50,000 which it was arranged should be paid by the end of 1882, on account of £100,000 due, according to the Convention in August last; whether the Native Location Commissioner has made any progress in settling the boundaries of Native locations within the Transvaal; whether Her Majesty's Government have done anything, since Lord Kimberley's Despatch of September 4th, 1882, in discharge of the responsibilities which they undertook by the Convention towards the Native tribes outside the Transvaal border; and, whether any further Papers relating to the Transvaal will be presented; and, if so, up to what date the information contained in them will extend, and when they and the Zululand Papers will be in the hands of honourable Members? The right hon. Baronet wished to add a further Question, as to whether in October last a letter was addressed by the Secretary of the Transvaal Government to a certain Chief, definitely accepting on the part of the Transvaal Government the cession of the territory of that Chief in spite of the continued refusal of the British Government to sanction that cession?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: In regard, Sir, to the first part of the Question, I have to answer "No." The sum of £50,000 has not been paid. A communication has been sent out to Sir Hercules Robinson, directing him again to urge upon the Transvaal Government the fulfilment of the obligations they have incurred in reference to the payment of this money. The Native Location Commission has not made much progress in settling Native locations, because in the districts in which the work was going on hostilities have broken out, and that had caused delay. With reference to the third and fourth

Questions, I would refer the right hon. Gentleman to the Papers which I will lay on the Table of the House on Monday. These Papers bring all the affairs up to the present time, and they will be in the hands of Members, I hope, within a week or ten days. The reason they will take that time is there will be a long Report from Mr. Rutherford respecting the Bechuna country, which is very voluminous, and will take some time to prepare. The Zululand Papers will be in the hands of Members on Tuesday. With reference to the Question not on the Paper, I may state that, although I will not say we have received the actual letter to which the right hon. Gentleman alludes, we have received information as to the facts—namely, that the Transvaal Government had been in communication with the Chief in question, and had concluded a Treaty with him for the cession of certain territory, and the way in which the Government have dealt with that matter will be seen from the Papers that are to be laid upon the Table.

SCOTLAND—THE SKYE CROFTERS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Her Majesty's Government are now prepared to issue a Commission of Inquiry into the position of the crofters in the Scotch Highlands?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have been requested by the Home Secretary to say, in answer to this Question, that the law must first be vindicated in Skye.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether, in the case of the submission of these poor people, a Commission of Inquiry will then be instituted?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have no further answer to make at present.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I am sorry to trouble the right hon. and learned Gentleman; but it would relieve great anxiety if he could tell us whether any orders have been issued for the use of military force for the purpose of coercing these people?

[No reply was given.]

MR. O'DONNELL: May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, if the Government have resolved to use military force for the coercion of the Scottish Highland crofters, whether it is intended to send a detachment of the Highland Brigade for the purpose?

[No reply was given.]

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to give Notice that I shall call attention to this question on going into Committee of Supply on Friday next.

MR. MACFARLANE: May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether it is not the fact that the four men who were accused of defying the authorities have surrendered themselves to the law in Edinburgh?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I believe it is the fact that three of them have done so.

PARLIAMENT—THE STANDING COMMITTEES—THE OLD LAW COURTS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether, before demolishing the old Law Courts, he has considered the means of supplying the additional accommodation likely to be required by this House for Standing or other Committees in the event of the success of the present partial experiment; and, with what object the demolition is now being hastily carried out the very moment the Courts are vacated?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I considered the subject referred to by my hon. Friend before giving orders for the demolition of the old Law Courts, and I came to the conclusion that these buildings would not be necessary or convenient for the purpose of Grand Committees of this House. I have provided two rooms for Grand Committees under the roof of this building, and as it is most improbable that the Grand Committees will sit more than two days a week, these two rooms will accommodate four Committees; that seemed to me a power of extension quite equal to any future demands which are likely to be made. I may add that in the discussion on the Estimates last year it appeared to be the general wish of the House that the old Law Courts should be removed, and I thought I was acting in accordance with this wish in commencing the work of demolition as soon as possible.

INDIA (ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT)—CIRCULAR OF THE BISHOP OF COLOMBO — TRANSMISSION THROUGH THE POST.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will lay upon the Table the Correspondence with the Governor of Ceylon, relative to the transmission through the Colonial post, as official documents on Her Majesty's Service, of letters of the Bishop of Colombo, reflecting on the religious opinions of Native Christians in Ceylon?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: I have laid the Correspondence on the Table to-day.

THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE—CLAIM OF ROUMANIA TO VOTE.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the British Representative at the Danubian Conference was instructed to support the claim of Roumania to vote upon all questions relating to the navigation and police of the Danube, submitted to the Conference?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In accordance with the usual custom, it was agreed by the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers present at the second Conference on the Danube Question that strict secrecy should be preserved with regard to their proceedings. I am, therefore, unable at present to answer the hon. Member's Question; but all information on the subject will in due course be laid before Parliament.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, the right hon. Gentleman had answered a Question he did not ask. He did not ask anything about the proceedings at the Danubian Conference, but about the instructions given outside to the British Representative.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am sorry that I cannot answer that Question consistently with the secrecy of the proceedings of the Conference.

Mr. O'DONNELL: On Monday I shall ask, Whether Her Majesty's Government have consented to abandon the claims of the liberated Provinces of Turkey to the policy of Austria and Russia, in consideration of the toleration extended by those two Powers to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt?

EGYPT—MURDER OF PROFESSOR PALMER AND PARTY.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is true that offers to ransom Professor Palmer and his companions were made to the Arabs charged with the killing of these gentlemen; whether the ransom was refused by the Arabs on the ground that superior orders forbade the sparing of the lives of the captives; whether the Government have any information as to the source of the orders under which the Arabs acted; whether the mission entrusted to Professor Palmer and his companions exposed them to more than the ordinary risks of being attacked by Arabs for the sake of plunder; and, what steps have been taken by the Government to secure that, at the trial of the accused Arabs at Tantah, no evidence will be suppressed which could reveal the source of the authority under which Professor Palmer and his companions were captured and slain?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the Papers relating to the death of Professor Palmer and his party are ready for publication, with the exception of one final despatch from Colonel Warren, which is now on its way. We have thought it best to wait until the Papers were complete before presenting them; but they will now be immediately laid on the Table. From them the hon. Member will derive the fullest information we possess on the several points of his Question. I may, however, say that so far as we know there is no evidence that the Arabs acted under superior orders. We are told that a ransom was offered by the Sheikh who acted as guide; but he had previously hidden away the greater part of the money carried by the party, and his offer was rejected as inadequate. As to the risk incurred in the expedition, it was undoubtedly greater than the ordinary risk of being attacked for the sake of plunder in consequence of the excited and disturbed state of the people generally. The accused Arabs are being tried before Egyptian tribunals, and Her Majesty's Government have perfect confidence in the ability, discretion, and fairness of Colonel Warren, who is representing them at the trial.

Mr. O'DONNELL gave Notice that on Monday he should ask, Whether it was the fact that Professor Palmer and his companions, when attacked, were engaged, under the guidance of an Arab Sheikh, in purchasing the neutrality of the Arab tribes on the east of the Suez Canal, to whom the National Egyptian Government trusted for the defence of the Canal against the invasion of the British forces?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I will at once answer the hon. Member's Question. I have repeatedly stated in this House what were the objects for which Professor Palmer and his party were sent, and the Papers which will be immediately laid upon the Table will give full information as to the circumstances of their mission.

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS (INDIA)—GOVERNMENT ADVERTISING.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If it is true that Mr. Grant Duff, the Governor of Madras Presidency, punished the proprietor of a local newspaper by withdrawing the Government advertising from him; and, whether the grant or withdrawal of Government advertising is systematically used to influence newspapers in India?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: It is true that the advertisements were withdrawn by the Madras Government from a local newspaper which had published a confidential Memorandum by the Governor. This action was taken by the Government of Madras in accordance with the terms of a Resolution published in 1865, defining the conditions on which official Papers should be communicated to the Press. In reply to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, I have no reason to believe that the grant or withdrawal of Government advertising is systematically used to influence newspapers in India.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Did the Resolution of 1865, to which the hon. Gentleman refers, convey any instructions as to the withdrawal of Government advertising?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will give Notice of that Question.

Mr. ONSLOW: Is the hon. Gentleman quite certain that the Memorandum in question was confidential? Upon what authority does he say that it is?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: On the authority of the India Office.

STATUTE 34 EDWARD III. CAP. 1—IMPRISONMENT OF MESSRS. HEALY DAVITT, AND QUINN.

Mr. LEAMY asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he will lay upon the Table of the House Copies of the Orders made by the Justices of the Queen's Bench in Ireland in the cases of Messrs. Healy, Davitt, and Quinn, and Copies of the Warrants of committal to prison in those cases?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): The Papers will be laid on the Table, if the hon. Member chooses to move for them, as an unopposed Return.

Mr. SEXTON: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman include copies of the notices served on Messrs. Davitt, Healy, and Quinn, and a copy of the official shorthand writer's notes of the proceedings in the Court of Queen's Bench?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): I am not aware of the existence of any official shorthand writer's notes.

Mr. SEXTON: If they do exist, will there be any objection to produce them?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter): I cannot undertake that.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the warrants or orders under which the hon. Member for the borough of Wexford, Mr. Michael Davitt, and Mr. J. P. Quinn were, on Thursday, the 8th inst. arrested and placed in Kilmainham Prison, specified any offence; what offence, if any, is alleged against Messrs. Healy, Davitt, and Quinn; and whether a failure to give bail on the part of a person not committed or ordered to stand his trial for any offence falls within the category of crime; whether the warrants or orders in question directed that Messrs. Healy, Davitt, and Quinn should be confined in Kilmainham Prison; whether they were actually confined in that prison for several hours on Thursday, the 8th inst. but, on the evening of that day, without notice or cause or authority assigned, were removed to Richmond Prison, and why this change was made; whether Messrs. Healy, Davitt, and Quinn, in Kilmainham, were placed in good sized and healthy rooms, communicating with each other and with an open yard; whether they objected to their removal; and whether, in Richmond Prison, they occupy ordinary cells, were locked up for several days twenty-two hours out of the twenty-four, are now locked up twenty-one hours out of the twenty-four; are locked up continuously from about four in the afternoon till ten or eleven in the forenoon, and are kept locked in at all times while in cells; whether the exercise allowed has to be taken not when the prisoners wish it, but when the gaolers choose; and, whether the Government will agree to remove Messrs. Healy, Davitt, and Quinn, back to their original quarters at Kilmainham?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I will give the hon. Member as much information as I have got by telegraph. I did not receive all the information I should wish on this subject. The warrants did not specify any offence other than not giving bail when required to do so; nor am I advised it is requisite that they should. The affidavits on which the application to the Court was grounded did, however, disclose a charge legally amounting to misdemeanour. I do not quite understand the next part of the Question; but I am advised that, as far as regards the Privilege of the House, the offence falls within the category of crime. The warrants directed that the prisoners should be confined in Kilmainham, and they were at first lodged there; but they were removed the same evening to Richmond Prison, on the ground of public convenience, by order of the Lord Lieutenant. In Kilmainham they were placed in such rooms as are described in the Question. In Richmond they objected at first to the apartments in which they were placed, but they were put into rooms as soon as possible. At first they were allowed three hours each day for exercise, and one for receiving visitors. They are now allowed to associate throughout the entire day, except during the officers' meals. The prisoners are allowed to select their own time for exercise. It is not intended to send them back to Kilmainham. If the hon. Member will kindly wait until Monday I will give him a fuller answer. I sent a second telegram, in answer to which I am informed from Dublin that the arrangements leave no room for complaint, and that the three gentlemen concerned have expressed themselves satisfied.

Mr. SEXTON: I shall ask on Monday whether the right hon. Gentleman will extend the right of visiting, as these gentlemen only receive one visit each day at present?

MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

Colonel WALROND asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the Resolution of the 13th of May, 1881, and appoint a Minister to preside over the official business relating to Agriculture and Commerce?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am aware that this subject has very recently been under the consideration of the Prime Minister, but the Cabinet have not yet arrived at any definite decision upon it; and I must ask the hon. and gallant Member to postpone his Question until the return of my right hon. Friend.

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).

Mr. NEWDEGATE: Mr. Speaker, I wish, with all respect to you, to put a Question to you as to the position in which this House is placed by the recent Prorogation—with respect to the contingency which may again come before the House in a manner which the House on a former ocasion condemned. I beg to ask you, Sir, whether there remains any Rule or Order of this House whereby Mr. Bradlaugh is precluded from presenting himself at the Table of the House and claiming to have the Oath of Allegiance, or equivalent Affirmation, administered to him by the officers of the House, on any day on which the House may sit?

Mr. SPEAKER: In answer to the hon. Member, I may say that I have repeatedly stated that the Resolutions which have from time to time been passed by this House on the claim of Mr. Bradlaugh to take his seat have been valid only during the currency of the Session in which they were passed. They have no validity now.

MR. NEWDEGATE: I thank you, Sir, for the answer you have given, and I beg now to put the following Question, which arises out of the information you have given to the House, to the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, as the Representative of Her Majesty's Government:—Whether, on the part of Her Majesty's Ministers, the noble Lord can and will undertake to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh presenting himself at the Table of this House, and having the Oath of Allegiance, or equivalent Affirmation, administered to him while his case is still pending before the Courts of Law, and pending the decision of Parliament on the Affirmation Bill of which Notice has been given?

THE MARQUESS of HARTINGTON: A copy of the Question which the hon. Gentleman has just put to me was placed in my hands only when I came to the House this evening, and, therefore, I might decline to answer it without Notice. It appears to me, however, that I can have no difficulty whatever in stating that any steps which may be necessary to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from presenting himself at the Table, and having the Oath of Allegiance, or the equivalent Affirmation, administered to him, do not seem to fall within the province of Her Majesty's Government. The question of the manner in which Mr. Bradlaugh should be dealt with appears to me to be a matter for the consideration of the House, and not for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

SEA FISHERIES COMMITTEE—THE REPORT.

MR. HENEAGE asked the President of the Board of Trade, in consequence of the great interest in the subject, Whether the Government had had under their consideration the Report and recommendations of the Sea Fishing Trade Committee appointed by the Board of Trade; and, whether it was their intention to deal with this important question during the present Session?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he had had under his consideration the very valuable Report of the Committee of which his hon. Friend was a Member, and over which the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) presided, and without pledging himself as to details he agreed generally with the recommendations of the Committee, and had given instructions for the preparation of a Bill to carry them into effect. Arrangements would, he believed, be made for introducing the Bill on an early day in the other House.

THE POLICE FORCE—SUPERANNUATION.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, Whether he proposed to take any steps with respect to the Bill introduced last Session for the Superannuation of the Police Forces of the country; and, whether he could hold out any hope that the measure would be brought in again and dealt with during the present Session?

MR. HIBBERT: In reply to the Question, I have to state that it is my intention, on behalf of the Secretary of State, to ask leave on an early day to introduce a Bill on the subject.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

ADJOURNED DEBATE. [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [15th February]—[See page 98.]

And which Amendment was,

To insert at the end of the third paragraph, the words "but this House humbly expresses its opinion that no sufficent reason has been shown for the employment of British Forces in reconstituting the Government of Egypt and reorganising its affairs under the authority of the Khedive."—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not regret the sudden turn which the debate had taken on the previous night, when his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) moved an Amendment in regard to Egypt, because the noble Marquess who now led the Government (the Marquess of Hartington) had, at an earlier hour, taunted the Opposition with never taking the opportunity of putting their criticism on the policy of the Government in a tangible and definite shape before the House. Before sitting down, he would himself, therefore, move an Amendment on the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlisle, which he thought would meet with general approval on that (the Opposition) side of the House. During the late Autumn Session the time of the House had been occupied by the Government, and Members sat there, not to control its action, but simply to register its decrees. But were Votes of Censure the only method in which the House was to be allowed to criticize the action of the Government? Was the Government aware that a more inconvenient method of bringing before the House a question had never been devised than a Vote of Censure, for the reason that the majority who supported the Government would not have before them the issue of whether the Government action had been right or wrong in a particular case, but whether they wished to turn out the Government of which they were supporters? Under such circumstances, a division of the House was no fair criterion of its opinion. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs appeared to complain that attacks were made upon the Government policy in Egypt from two entirely different points of view—from that of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and from that of the Conservative Party; but what did he expect? The Conservatives had their special complaints; but did the Government really expect the hon. Baronet who moved the Amendment either to acquiesce in their policy, or to agree in the particular criticisms of the Opposition upon that policy? They all knew that the hon. Member for Carlisle was one of the very few remaining persons who professed the Liberal creed as first proclaimed in Mid Lothian in all its purity—

> "Among the faithless, faithful only he."

His hon. Friend did not use the arguments put forward at the General Election, merely as engines for turning out the Party in power, to be thrown aside immediately they had served their purpose. His hon. Friend had been accustomed to attack the late Government for ignoring the European Concert; and was it to be expected that he would now approve of the action which had been taken by their successors in spite of the European Concert? Having accused the late Government of sacrificing everything and British interests, was it likely that he would now listen serenely when "British interests" were put forward from the Treasury Bench as the principal ground on which the action of the Government was to be supported? Having used all the commonplaces once dear to Liberal statesmen with regard to rising nationalities, was he now to sit quiet when the Government caught and handed over to Egyptian vengeance the dealer who, whatever he might have represented when he began his course, at the end of it undoubtedly had behind him a vast majority of the Egyptian people? To this opinion about Arabi the Government seemed to be coming round. Formerly they described Arabi's conduct as a "military revolt, the action of an unscrupulous military usurper." Now, in the Speech from the Throne, they took credit to themselves for having put down a "formidable rebellion in Egypt." The difference between those two expressions represented, he should have thought, in the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite, the whole difference between a man who deserved to be shot as a mutineer and a man who deserved to be canonized as a liberator. Arabi, whom the Government so recently lost no opportunity of denouncing, and whose defence he (Mr. Balfour) was certainly not going to undertake, would, if they had been in Opposition, have been lauded from one end of the country to another as a second Garibaldi by the very people who had sent him into exile. He wondered, not that the hon. Member for Carlisle had moved an Amendment, but that he seemed to find so few supporters among those who, at one time, professed the sentiments which he alone seemed to have the courage to utter. He had never yet found a Liberal who had the hardihood to assert that if the Conservative Government had done in the year 1879 what the Liberal Government had done in 1882, the whole flood of Liberal eloquence would not have been let out against them; and he did not believe that, in the course of the debate, one hon. Member would be found to get up and contradict that statement. If this was merely a question of the morality of the Government, it might be left to them and their consciences. But, unfortunately, their inconsistency had practical consequences, since their former professions, though they did not regulate their policy, occasionally modified both their policy and their speeches. For instance, in the speeches made by Members of the Liberal Party, they had lost no opportunity of insinuating that the late Conservative Government were not only responsible for the establishment of the Dual Control—which was true—but that their action was not defensible in that matter. ["Hear, hear!"] That, however, in spite of the cheers of hon. Gentlemen opposite, was not the official opinion of the Government. They might, it was true, be not unwilling to allow that conclusion to be drawn from what they said; but, at the same time, they were forced to admit—first, that the Dual Control was the only species of Control which could then be established; second, that it had had a most admirable effect upon Egypt —["No, no!"]—he did not say that all the independent Liberal Members thought so, but the Government did; and third, that if it were radically wrong in principle the whole action of the Government subsequent to their taking Office must also have been wrong. That being so, it verged on disingenuousness for the Government to insinuate, and for their followers in the country to assert, that anything wrong done now was simply the result of the previous wrong done by the Conservatives. Again, the recollection of their former professions had produced many ludicrous results, among others that extraordinary terminology by which a war was asserted not to be a war, but to be a "warlike operation." The recollections had, no doubt, been the chief motive that induced the Government to summon a Conference, though they lost no time in ignoring its decision. And, no doubt, these same recollections were inducing the Government to attempt to frame in Egypt something like what, in the eyes of their supporters, might appear to be free institutions—and this though the noble Marquess had himself admitted that at present Egypt was wholly unfit for representative institutions. Another method that the Government had for recommending their course of action to the Party of non-intervention was by saying that they only intended to set up these institutions, and then as soon as possible to bundle out of the country. But the Government had gone to Egypt, and there they must undoubtedly stay. Whatever they might wish now, unquestionably the result of this war would be that Egypt would be more under the control of Europe than it had ever been before, and that the nation in Europe to whom the control would fall must be England. Far more than before the late war, Egypt would be a dependency of this Empire. The noble Marquess the Leader of the House, in one of his Lancashire speeches, had given them a very full account of the reasons which induced the Government to intervene. The noble Marquess said that intervention in some form or another was necessary; because, acting in reliance on the engagements made by the Egyptian Government, European and British capital had been largely invested in that country. That being so, the Government must have gone to Egypt to protect the British bondholders and capitalists. The consequence of this must be that so long as British subjects held shares and invested capital in that country we should have to continue our protectorate. The noble Marquess had also said that since, in any case, Europe would be represented in Egypt in the person of the financier and capitalist, it was impossible for that country to escape from the influence of European civilization in some form or another; and that, therefore, it was better that this interference should take place in a regular manner by means of an officially-appointed Financial Adviser. If that was to be a ground for our intervention, he should like to know in what Foreign State where our money had been advanced and squandered we should not have to intervene on the same principle. For a Government that came into Office largely on non-intervention principles it was the most astounding, most far-reaching, and most dangerous doctrine of intervention that could well be imagined. Right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench, who were accused of throwing principle to the wind in their reckless interference in the affairs of Foreign States, he was certain would never, under any conceivable circumstances, have supported a doctrine so wide of application as that of the noble Marquess. As to the Amendment of his hon. Friend, there was a great deal in it in which he was inclined to agree with him; but, at the same time, he had one objection to it which was conclusive. If it were carried, the Government would be obliged to take it as an instruction that they were as quickly as possible to take the troops out of Egypt and leave the country to itself. ["Hear, hear!"] That apparently met the views of some hon. Gentlemen opposite; but it did not meet the views of the Conservative Party, because they believed that the effect would be to leave the people of that country—to use a phrase employed by a distinguished Member of the Government (Mr. Courtney)—"stewing in their own juice." Anarchy would again reign supreme. Some hon. Gentlemen opposite said—"Why not anarchy?" He was not unaware of the fact that some hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to be rather in favour of anarchy. They had done little to prevent anarchy in Ireland, and he had not the least doubt they would view with satisfaction the prevalence of anarchy in Egypt. That was the reason why he found it impossible to agree with his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle as to the future; but he entirely agreed with him in his chief criticism of the occurrences of the past. He would propose to amend the hon. Member's Amendment by leaving out all the words after the word "but," and inserting these words—

> "Whilst assuring Her Majesty of our support in such Measures as may be necessary for a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of Egypt, humbly to express our regret that steps were not taken at an earlier period which might have secured such objects as are of importance to this Country, without involving the necessity for military operations."

That, he believed, was the view entertained by hon. Gentlemen around him—a view which had been openly stated in the country by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. He did not intend, nor was it necessary, to enter into a long review of the circumstances which preceded the war. It would be sufficient to remind the House that the Government did nothing whatever, month after month, to check the growing power of Arabi—nothing was done to prevent what was at first merely a military revolt, spreading and expanding until it became a great national movement. Had the Egyptians understood from the first that England would not bear with disorder, they would never have braved the forces of this country. They were misled partly by the Mid Lothian speeches, partly by the prolonged negotiations which seemed to lead to nothing, partly by the impotent exhibition of a Fleet riding at Alexandria which did nothing, recalling only too faithfully the recollection of another Naval Demonstration, which had been ordered to do nothing. It was sufficient to remind the House that the Government had had fair warning from their own advisers that the great cause of the Egyptian difficulty was that the Egyptians did not believe in the possibility of war, and that the best way of restoring order was to convince them of their error. Sir Edward Malet, in his despatch of the 23rd of May, declared that the present situation had been brought about by the fact that the people believed that the two Powers would not despatch troops to Egypt. It was the opinion, therefore, of Her Majesty's Diplomatic Agent on the spot that had the Egyptians been convinced that force would be used, if necessary, the military operations would not have taken place, and £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 and many valuable lives would have been saved to the country. The Government congratulated themselves at having got rid of the Dual Control. Doubtless a single Control had advantages; but these advantages were more than counterbalanced by the change which the war had produced in the position of the Khedive. Before the war the Khedive did not depend upon our bayonets for his Throne; he had behind him a party in the State. He was not merely the nominee of Europe; he was a hereditary Ruler, who commanded the loyal support of the people. Now all that was changed. The Government waited until the movement had become a national one, and then intervened; and the result of their delay was that they were now compelled to impose the Khedive upon a reluctant people, and that nothing would now restore the Khedive to the position he held before the War. They had put down one formidable rebellion; they were already threatened with another; and it was evident that directly they removed their troops from the country they would have to use force, or to threaten force, to maintain their present position. The position of the English in Egypt had been made ten times more difficult than it was when the Conservatives handed over to the Government the control of foreign affairs. He did not wish to say one word to embarrass the Government in their future dealings with Egypt.

His criticisms applied to their past policy, and in judging the past they were told by the noble Marquess that they had all the materials necessary for coming to a conclusion; and the conclusion to which they were driven was that the Government were profoundly to blame for the way in which they had managed Egyptian affairs, and he rejoiced at the opportunity which had been afforded the House of expressing its opinion on the subject. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE said, that the Government were now in a hurry to take a vote upon Egypt; but last Session they were always put off with the plea of pending negotiations, and even now they laboured under the difficulty of only just having got Papers. As, however, the hon. Baronet (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had raised the question, it was well to explain why they could not vote with him, and why they were ready to take up the challenge of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) to make good their assertion that the war was unnecessary. They could not vote with the hon. Baronet, because his Amendment implied that at no time during the whole Egyptian crisis was the employment of British troops justifiable; while, on the contrary, they held that, after the June massacres, the use of force became inevitable. They called the war unnecessary, because a wiser policy would have prevented the occurrence of the massacres. The boast of supporters of Her Majesty's Government who went about the country was that the war had been caused by the Dual Control established by the late Government, and he asked whether the Government adopted that statement of the case? The establishment of the Dual Control, he held, was inevitable, and its results were, on the whole, beneficial to Egypt. ["No, no!"] If not, then, was there anything so *sacrosanct* in the arrangements made for the settlement of Egypt by the late Government that their Successors could not have modified them on their accession to Office if they wished to do so? They must deal with the Egyptian Question as a whole, and begin with the completion of the Canal in 1869. Their position was then revolutionized towards Egypt, and the maintenance of direct communication by the Canal with India became necessary. But they could not hope for the sole control of a Canal made by French money and ability. They were left *vis-a-vis* to France in this position. They had great geographical interests in the Canal, in consequence of the position of India; whilst the French claimed political interests and the influence fairly due to those who had carried out this great work. At first they could not get on. There were the tonnage disputes, leading to the Constantinople Conference of 1873, which was nearly broken up by the action of France and Russia in interfering in the interests of M. de Lesseps. Then force had to be applied by Egypt at the orders of the Porte to make M. de Lesseps give way. The Porte and Egypt backed them loyally, and the Khedive then invited Mr. Cave to help him to regulate the finances of a country, not a South American Republic, but one whose position as regarded India affected them deeply. The Dual Control was the logical result of the steps commencing with the Missions of Mr. Cave and Mr. Goschen, and its establishment was due to their preference to co-operate with France rather than to rival her—not an unpardonable thing in the eyes of a Government which sacrificed so much during the late negotiations to maintain the French alliance. Had the Dual Control been a failure? He maintained that it had not. Lord Granville had admitted that it had been productive of beneficial results. The decree of September 4, 1879, establishing that Control, laid down a Charter of seven points—the first giving full powers to the French and English Controllers to investigate the accounts; the second, the division of the powers between the Controllers; the third, the limitation of those powers to reporting the result of their investigations to the Egyptian Ministers; the fourth conferring a consultative position on the Controllers in the Ministry; the fifth providing for the periodical publication of their Reports; the sixth providing for their immovability and right to appoint subordinates; and the seventh giving them power, with the approval of the Council of Ministers, to determine the Budget. The trouble arose on the last point, in consequence of the desire of the Chamber of Notables to discuss the Budget. Now, could not that have been settled without a war? He contended that it could, and that it was unfair to condemn an arrangement as bad, six-sevenths of which had given satisfaction, and which was admitted to have worked excellently so far as regarded education, the diminution of taxation, and the relief from forced labour. If the Government said they had no business with anything in Egypt except the preservation of the Canal, how could they have insured that except by an arrangement with France and Egypt? They could not build a Gibraltar at each end of the Canal. They had either to stand aside altogether and risk its passage being impeded or take a general interest in Egyptian affairs. He did not join in the attacks sometimes made upon the Government that the war had been undertaken for the bondholders, because he thought no Government, whether Liberal or Conservative, would plunge the country into a war for the sake of the bondholders. He was very glad to hear in the speech of the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a revival of the phrase, "British interests." It was gratifying to find that Her Majesty's present Advisers had come round to the opinion that, after all, British interests must be regarded. He could only agree with his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford that their criticism differed from that of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite, for they had not sought at a critical time last Session to embarrass the Government. They could not, however, suppress free criticism or give up the right to call the war unnecessary. He had great pleasure in seconding the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment,

To leave out from the word "but," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "whilst assuring Her Majesty of our support in such Measures as may be necessary for a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of Egypt, humbly to express our regret that steps were not taken at an earlier period which might have secured such objects as are of importance to this Country, without involving the necessity for military operations," —(*Mr. Arthur Balfour,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

Mr. RICHARD: If those who have opposed this war from the first needed any justification, it is amply supplied by the settlement, or at least one part of the settlement, now proposed by Her Majesty's Government for Egyptian affairs. But I must point out that among those who opposed the war cannot be counted hon. Gentlemen opposite. On the contrary, if I understood their tactics aright, their object was to stimulate and propel Her Majesty's Government into extreme measures. The whole tendency of the speeches delivered at the memorable meeting at Willis's Rooms was, by bitter taunts about Candahar and the Transvaal, to make it impossible for the Government to retreat without the use of violent means in Egypt, and I greatly fear that those taunts were not without their influence upon the policy of the Government. But those of us who have consistently resisted the war have the satisfaction, if satisfaction could be derived from anything connected with so painful a subject, of finding the Government now proposing to do away utterly with the very institution which they went to war to support and enforce. No one who carefully studies the Papers that have been placed in our hands, in relation to this unhappy business, can fail to be convinced of two things—First, that the Control was wholly established in the interest of the bondholders; and, secondly, that the discontent which arose among the Egyptian people, and found its culminating expression in the protests and acts of Arabi Pasha, was occasioned by the existence and operations of the Control. The Control had practically usurped the government of Egypt. It was at the advent and under the influence of the Control that the land became deluged with that flood of foreign officials which drove nearly all the Natives from every position of authority and distinction in their own country. It was the Control that set itself resolutely to resist the natural desire of the Chamber of Notables to have some share in administering the financial affairs of their country. It was the obstinate persistency of the Control in refusing all concessions, or in accepting any compromise—for several compromises were offered to them by the Chamber, on the matter of the Budget—that rendered war inevitable. Such, at any rate, was the opinion of

Sir Edward Malet, who said, in writing home on January 20, 1882—

> "Armed intervention will become a necessity if we adhere to the refusal to allow the Budget to be voted by the Chamber."

And they did adhere to their refusal, and war did become inevitable. At that time there was no pretence for saying that the Chamber was acting under military coercion. Nothing could be more emphatic than the declaration on this point of Sultan Pasha, who was the President of the Chamber, and who, speaking to Sir Edward Malet, said that—

> "He denied that the Chamber was acting under any pressure from the military, and affirmed that it was merely expressing the unanimous wish of the country."

There cannot be a doubt, in my opinion, that if the Government had then surrendered, or even partially modified, the action of the Control, so as to give to the Egyptian people some semblance of self-government, all the mischief and misery and bloodshed that ensued might have been avoided. These are the words of Sir Edward Malet, writing at that crisis—

> "I think that the Chamber would listen to reason if the Great Powers were to refuse to consent to the transfer of power to the Chamber, but to state that, while otherwise maintaining the *status quo*, they will guarantee a Constitution compatible with international engagements, and will take steps to come to an agreement on the subject. I think that this is the only way out of a situation which is rapidly leading both us and the Egyptians to extremities."

But, unhappily, no heed was paid, so far as I know, to this suggestion of Sir Edward Malet, and matters were suffered to drift into extremities as he had predicted. Let it be remembered that the Control was really imposed upon Egypt by the Conservative Government. This is brought out very clearly in one of Lord Granville's recent despatches to Lord Lyons, containing a recital of the facts relating to the establishment of the last form of the Control. Of course we know that the Khedive was only a puppet—Lord Salisbury's puppet—who had deposed Ismail Pasha and enthroned Tewfik in his place, who had, therefore, to do whatever he was ordered to do. But, puppet as he was, he tried to obtain a milder form of the Control than the one dictated to him. These are the words of Lord Granville—

> "The present Khedive, on his accession, decided to have a purely Native Ministry. The President of the Council, Cherif Pasha, informed the English and French Agents that, if the Governments of England and France would nominate Controllers General under the Decree of November, 1876, the Khedive would also agree to appoint them, but that their powers would be limited to investigation and verification, and that they would not exercise any administrative or executive functions."

This looks very much as if the appointment of any Control was not very acceptable to the Khedive and his Government, and that they only "agreed to appoint" at the dictation of others. But Lord Granville continues—

> "The English and French Governments agreed to nominate Controllers-General on these terms, but stipulated that in place of the admistrative authority which was to be withdrawn from them, a great extension should be given to their functions of inspection and supervision; and, further, an undertaking was required that neither Controller should be removed without the consent of his respective Government."

Well, this severe form of Control imposed upon Egypt was not less severely administered. I have no wish to say anything disrespectful of the Controllers personally. But undoubtedly they magnified their office to the utmost. They did not do their spiriting gently. They would not abate one ounce of their pound of flesh. To the last they pressed their pretensions with inexorable rigour, and our Government unhappily supported those pretensions, until, as Sir Edward Malet foresaw, war became inevitable. But mark the sequel. When the war is over, after Alexandria had been bombarded, and burnt down, and its inhabitants scattered in destitution and misery to the four winds of Heaven, after some thousands of the Egyptians had been slaughtered, and the whole country thrown into temporary anarchy—when you have succeeded in restoring something like order, what is the first thing you do? Why, you abolish utterly the Control, and that on grounds which go to condemn the whole institution, for the sake of which you went to war. For these are the words of Cherif Pasha, the present Prime Minister of Egypt, which Lord Granville seems to adopt and to endorse—

> "The Egyptian Government submit to the consideration of the Government of Her Majesty the advisability of abandoning an institution, the maintenance of which it is impossible to justify, and which has, as has been

shown, no longer any grounds of existence as far as the creditors are concerned. The Government of His Highness have no intention of entering at this moment upon all the inconveniences which result from the existence of the Control; but they feel bound to call attention to the fact, which is, moreover, well known, that this institution, in consequence of its dual nature, and semi-political character, has produced undeniable abuses of administration, has excited the legitimate susceptibilities of the Egyptians, and has, in consequence, dangerously impaired the authority of the Government in the eyes of the country."

Yet this was the very institution which we championed with our blood and money. My opinion is that the Government stumbled into this war without clearly knowing their own minds. They adopted a policy of menace, which is always a dangerous policy. The explanation given by Lord Derby, their new recruit, is that they did not mean to go to war, but only meant to threaten, and that if France had joined in the threat, there would have been no necessity for war. The very number and variety and conflicting character of the reasons assigned by the Government for the war are a sufficient proof that they really had no clear conception themselves of what they intended. Now, however, they seem to have settled down, as the hon. Gentleman opposite has said, on the phrase that it was to suppress "a formidable rebellion." For myself, I am not frightened by opprobrious epithets applied to those who are struggling for national rights, because I find, in looking back into history, that not a few men who have been stigmatized as rebels have come afterwards to be regarded by many, especially by Liberals, as patriots and heroes. Hampden and Cromwell were rebels, Washington was a rebel, Garibaldi was a rebel. But what kind of rebellion was there in Egypt? Against whom did Arabi Pasha rebel? Not against us, for he owed us no allegiance. Not against the Sultan, whom, when it suits our purpose, we proclaim as the supreme Sovereign of Egypt—for nothing is more certain than that Arabi acted throughout with the connivance, if not at the instigation, of the Sultan. Hardly against the Khedive, since the Khedive recognized him as his Minister, and instructed him to look after the defences of the country, and censured him afterwards for not having done so effectually. I am glad to find that the hon. Gentleman who moved this Amendment, as well as hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, who used to represent Arabi as a mere military adventurer who imposed himself upon the country, have now found their way to the conclusion that he did, after all, represent the national sentiment. It is some satisfaction to me to find that there has been no enthusiasm for this war anywhere. Indeed, how could there be, when an Empire of 300,000,000 people was employing all its stupendous power to bully and crush a small nation of 5,000,000? I do not speak of the preposterously extravagant glorification of our small military successes in Egypt. That was enthusiasm not for the war, but for victory, and, unhappily, victory, whether gained in a just or unjust cause, is always popular in this country, and, I am afraid, in all countries. But I believe that a good deal even of that enthusiasm was artificial—worked up for political purposes. But the war itself was not popular, and least of all in the Liberal ranks. There were some 125 Members on this side of the House who abstained from supporting the Vote of money which the Government asked for carrying on the war. Like the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken, I look forward to the future with more of apprehension than of hope. We have undertaken very grave responsibilities in Egypt, and I greatly fear that contingencies and complications may yet arise, of so grave a character, as to make the nation bitterly rue that it had ever meddled in Egyptian finance. With regard to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), it is, no doubt, skilfully framed to catch votes from this side. But I cannot accept an Amendment coming from hon. Gentlemen opposite, for I cannot forget that they did all they could to stimulate and force on the war. [No, no!] I say Yes, yes; for I remember perfectly well that when the announcement was made in this House that the bombardment of Alexandria had begun, a ringing cheer ran through those Benches. ["No, no!] Yes; it made too deep and painful an impression upon my mind to admit of my being under a delusion. It was one of the most painful exhibitions I ever witnessed. I can understand a lot of schoolboys breaking into a shout of delight at an explosion of fireworks, but that a body of intelligent Christian men should burst into a cheer of applause when told that a great city of 200,000 inhabitants was being bombarded with shot and shell betrays a state of feeling which I cannot comprehend. And I maintain, as I have maintained throughout, that the origin of the whole mischief was in the constitution of the Control as established by the Conservative Government.

MR. CHAPLIN denied the statement of the hon. Member who had just sat down, that those who had attended the meeting at Willis's Rooms met there for the purpose of stimulating the Government to strong measures and were all along in favour of strong measures. The hon. Member had given quite a wrong impression of the character of that meeting. It was quite true that the persons assembled at that meeting criticized with a just severity the conduct of an English Administration which permitted subjects of the Queen to be massacred within sight of her flag, and within gunshot of her Fleet, without one finger being raised to help them. They condemned the policy which led to such unhappy results, and contrasted it with the policy of the late Lord Beaconsfield in circumstances of infinitely greater difficulty than any with which the present Administration had had to deal. The policy of the late Government was that of being prepared for war, and of letting the world know that they were prepared for war. That was the best means of preserving peace. He desired to say a few brief words on the criticisms which had been made as to the necessity of the war. Under this Liberal, peace-loving Administration it was exceedingly difficult to know when they were at war. For when Alexandria was bombarded, the House was told, upon the very highest authority, that they were not at war. Supposing the English troops had been landed simultaneously with the bombardment, would that have been an act of war? If it would have been, then he was prepared to admit that, owing to the weak and feeble policy of the Government, and especially of the feeble vapourings of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for many weeks before these events occurred, some warlike measures had been rendered necessary and inevitable at Alexandria. But if the hon. Gentleman and others referred to the future campaign in Egypt which resulted in the victory of Tel-el-Kebir and the occupation of Cairo, then he entirely agreed with him that it was an unnecessary campaign, and that by the display of a little more foresight on the part of Her Majesty's Ministers, it might, and should, have been avoided. There were many people amongst those who were the first to land after the bombardment who were of opinion that a few hundred sailors, if they had been landed, would have been able to capture Arabi and his army, and save Alexandria. He would not go that length himself; but there was no doubt in the minds of military authorities that if an adequate military force had been landed in time, the capture of Arabi and his army would have been certain and immediate. The war, in that case, would have been over almost before it began, and, in all human probability, the city would have been saved from subsequent destruction. Why had that not been done? No Member of the Government had been able to answer that question. It was the merest quibble to pretend that they were prevented by international obligations. International obligations might as well have prevented them from landing an Army at all, or taking possession of the Suez Canal; and there was precisely the same justification for landing troops at the time of the bombardment as there was for all the subsequent operations of the War. But even supposing that argument to be tenable, what was to prevent the despatch of troops to the place with which the foresight and the statesmanship of Lord Beaconsfield had provided them—the Island of Cyprus, which was only some 30 hours' sail from Alexandria? Was it because the Government were bound by the reckless and foolish speech in which they indulged when in Opposition? It was the present Home Secretary who said that if any English Minister dared to send any considerable number of troops to Cyprus—so pestilential was its climate—he would deserve to be impeached. On his own showing, the right hon. and learned Gentleman deserved impeachment with his Colleagues for arrangements made at the beginning of the operations for Cyprus to be turned into a sanitarium for the English Army. If the Government had listened to, and acted upon, the warnings of its Representatives in Egypt, the war might have been avoided. He would like to say a word on the statement made by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), who, in a speech last night, held out the anticipation that the remainder of the troops would be removed from Egypt before six months had elapsed. The noble Marquess did not commit himself to that assertion as a positive statement; but that was the general effect of his speech. He (Mr. Chaplin) ventured to say that a more unhappy and a more ill-timed statement—having regard to all the circumstances of Egypt—was never made by an English Minister in the Imperial Parliament. There were few men of knowledge and experience in Egypt who had the real interest of the people at heart who would not read the statement of the noble Marquess with feelings of utter and blank dismay. He could not, however, but entertain a hope that under the wise and able administration of Lord Dufferin, affairs in Egypt were beginning to assume a more favourable aspect. At the present moment peace and tranquillity existed throughout Egypt, order had been restored, confidence was being gained by all branches of the population, and only two things seemed to be wanting to bring our intervention to a successful issue. The first was, that English authority in the country should be maintained and supported by the presence of English troops for a considerable and even an indefinite period; and the second was, that Members of Her Majesty's Government should abstain from making foolish speeches upon every possible occasion with regard to the necessity of withdrawing every English soldier from the country at the very earliest opportunity. If these two conditions were fulfilled, he foresaw the dawn of a brighter and a happier future for the Egyptian people than they could ever have hoped for in the past. It unfortunately, however, appeared that the noble Marquess had been bitten by the same suicidal mania which possessed hon. Members opposite below the Gangway; and he feared that, after his observations of last night, those bright and happy prospects would disappear, and they would be compelled to retain their troops in Egypt for a much longer period than would otherwise have been necessary. The noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had referred last night to the important despatch which had just been received from Lord Dufferin, and the popular rumour was to the effect that that despatch contained an exhaustive Report by that noble Lord upon every aspect of the Egyptian Question. He should like to know whether that rumour was well founded; and, if so, when it would be placed in the hands of hon. Members? He should also like to ask whether Lord Dufferin shared the views expressed by the noble Marquess, that it was wise and desirable and right that every English soldier should be removed from Egypt within a period of six months from now? If that really were the views and opinions of Lord Dufferin his alarms would to some extent be allayed; and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would see their way to give the House some information on that point with as little delay as possible. For his own part he must confess that he should be afraid that if the noble Marquess, in pursuing the policy which he had announced, succeeded in withdrawing all the English troops from Egypt in so short a period of time he would place the Khedive in a position of great difficulty, and he should have great doubts whether, in the interests of his own safety, the Khedive would not consider it right to remove himself at the same time. He could conceive nothing more disastrous than that the policy announced by the noble Marquess should be carried out. Though on that side of the House they might and should protest, they would be powerless to prevent it; but if they were bent on this suicidal and fatal policy, he would say let them at least be consistent with the promises they had announced, and let the chapter of their blunders and errors be complete. Let them rebuild Alexandria and the forts which they had bombarded, pay an indemnity to the Egyptian people for the sufferings which they had unjustly caused them, and recall Arabi and reinstate him in his position. If the Government were consistent, and took that course, then they might be prepared to withdraw their troops from Egypt, to meet with ignominy and shame at the hands of the people of this country, and to be regarded with scorn and derision by every civilized nation of Europe.

Mr. RYLANDS said, that upon the occasion of the announcement of the bombardment of Alexandria he had ventured to raise his voice in protest against that act of gross national immorality; but he hardly thought that this was a fitting time in which to intrude this Amendment upon the House. The responsibility for the bombardment of Alexandria was no longer a responsibility of the Government alone, because that act had been sanctioned by the House of Commons and by the country. When the question of the propriety of the bombardment of Alexandria was before the House, Her Majesty's Government had been supported by the majority of the Liberal Party and by the great Party opposite. The Tories, of course, supported the Government, because they said this was Jingo policy, and that the Liberal Government was taking a leaf out of the book of Lord Beaconsfield. In fact, the Government had only been opposed by a very few Members of the Liberal Party, including the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright). In these circumstances, he could not see what service would be done by bringing forward this Amendment, relating to a policy of the past. What they had now to deal with was the present policy to be pursued in Egypt. The purport of the Amendment was to declare that, in the judgment of the House, our troops should be immediately withdrawn from Egypt. But the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who seconded the Amendment, was clearly not in favour of withdrawing our troops at the present time, and he himself thought that as we had gone, rightly or wrongly, there, we should not withdraw until we had established a permanent and just Government. He perfectly agreed with the view of the noble Lord the present Leader of the House of Commons, that in what we were doing in that country at the present time we were acting in the interests, not only of this country, but of those of Egypt itself and of Europe generally. By giving the Egyptian people security of life and property, and by enabling the resources of the country to be developed, we should be adding largely to their happiness and prosperity. He was satisfied that, even if we were to withdraw from that country, some other Power would immediately step in and occupy the place we now did. Therefore, although we might have committed a crime in bombarding Alexandria, it would be a very great blunder if we were now to leave the country to influences which might prove disastrous. He could not believe that if the Party opposite had been in power during the last year our position in connection with Egyptian affairs would have been any better now than it was in existing circumstances. The same blunders might not have been committed, but there would have been others equally, if not more, objectionable. He should reserve his opinion about the intentions of the Government until they should have been more clearly explained, hoping that any steps which might be taken would be such as to carry out the views which had already been made known.

MR GORST said, he was surprised that hon. Members should quarrel with the very plain and simple language of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), and thought they only did so in order, somehow, to obtain a pretext for not accompanying the hon. Baronet into the Lobby. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who was wont to pose in the House as an independent Member, but to appear in the Lobby as a staunch supporter of the Government, had discovered in the Amendment a meaning which could only have been ascribed to it in order to excuse his support of the Government. To the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) there was one objection—namely, that it might fail to secure the support of the Leader of the Opposition. In the language of the Amendment it was clearly implied that the war in Egypt did, at a certain period, become necessary; but the Leader of the Opposition had stated at Glasgow that the war was an unnecessary war. He hoped, therefore, that his hon. Friend would so modify his Amendment as to secure the united support of Members on the Opposition side of the House. He did not think that the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) was fair in uttering some of the opinions which they had heard, for there were many Members on the Opposition Benches who had consistently denounced the war in Egypt from the very first, and who had strongly protested against the endeavours of the Government to suppress the National movement in that country. He himself had proposed a distinct Vote of Censure upon the Government after the bombardment of Alexandria; but because it came from a Tory source it did not meet with the support of the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil or any of the Radical patriots on the other side of the House.

Mr. RICHARD: The Motion was not brought forward. Had it been I should most unhesitatingly have supported it.

Mr. GORST said, that if the Prime Minister had been made aware that any considerable section of his own Party desired it, the right hon. Gentleman would have provided the opportunity. From the very first, and down to the present time, the following charges had repeatedly been brought against the Government—namely, that they deliberately set themselves to the work of suppressing the National movement in Egypt, and that they adopted that mode of suppression which their Consular officers had told them would cause a bloody resistance. Those charges had been abundantly proved by the Papers they had before them. In their diplomatic conduct, the Government had acted in the interests of two bodies—the bondholders and the French Government. The President of the Board of Trade, in a speech delivered some time since, had made a misstatement, which was noticed at the time, to the effect that the Government had no information whatever of the birth and growth of the movement in Egypt until it became a military movement, the fact being that it was the action of Her Majesty's Government which made the movement a military one, which drove the Chamber of Notables into the arms of Arabi, and made him the leader of the National Party in Egypt. When the Chamber of Notables first asked for the right to criticize that part of their own Budget which was not subject to international obligations the Government did not receive the demand with absolute hostility, for Lord Granville telegraphed to Sir Edward Malet on Jan. 11, 1882, in the following terms:—

> "The Government do not wish to commit themselves to the total or permanent exclusion of the Chamber of Notables from handling the Budget; but caution will be required in dealing with the matter, regard being had to the pecuniary interests on behalf of which the Government have been acting."

The Government, in fact, acted as if they had been the agents of the bondholders, and because the interests of the latter might have been affected they resolved that they would be cautious about the development of the rights of a free people. But they did not stop there. The bondholders only compelled the Government to use caution; the French Government compelled them to withhold from the Egyptian people the rights which they claimed. A few days after the despatch already referred to Lord Lyons reported to M. Gambetta that the Government concurred with him in thinking that the demand of the Chamber of Notables could not be agreed to. In reply, M. Gambetta said that he had already directed the French Representative to insist upon Sherif Pasha absolutely rejecting the demands of the Notables, on the ground that they were inconsistent with international engagements. This Liberal Government, therefore, which came into Office upon the principle of non-intervention, and claimed to be the representative of the most free Parliament and people in the world, at the bidding of the bondholders and the French Government deliberately crushed the free institutions of Egypt. Anyone reading the Papers must come to the conclusion that the rejection of the demands of the Chamber of Notables threw the National Party of Egypt into the arms of Arabi, and rendered some kind of intervention necessary. Having made up their minds to crush the Chamber, and thus render some kind of intervention necessary, Her Majesty's Government then deliberately chose that kind of intervention which they were warned would end in war and bloodshed. On January 20, Sir Edward Malet, having learnt the determination of the Government, wrote to say that armed intervention would be necessary if the refusal to allow the Chamber of Notables to vote the Budget were adhered to, and he added that England could not do otherwise, as the demand of the Chamber was only part of a complete scheme of revolution. Her Majesty's Government were thus warned by their own diplomatic Officer that armed intervention would become necessary if the demands of the Chamber were refused. On February 1, Sir Edward Malet again sent a despatch to Her Majesty's Government, in which he reported an interview with an Egyptian

Minister, who told him that a commission from the Porte and the despatch of an armed Turkish Force was the only intervention possible, without risk of serious danger to European residents and considerable bloodshed. Intervention by either England or France would, he said, be inevitably followed by disturbance and bloodshed. Yet, in the face of that warning, Her Majesty's Government deliberately rejected Turkish intervention, and deliberately adopted that particular method of intervention which they were warned would be the cause of bloodshed. The case against the Government was clearly made out. In the first place, long before the National movement became a military movement, they had made up their minds to crush it, and, having done so, they adopted that particular method which they were warned would plunge the country in war. He did not grudge Her Majesty's Government the glory and credit they had for the time gained in this country for their action. They had boasted that the war had been a cheap one, and that it had not cost the country the lives of many of its soldiers and sailors. Did the Government take into account the thousands of Egyptians who lost their lives in that war? He did not believe that they cared a straw for the unhappy country whose defender they professed to be. From the time that the subject of Egypt had been first discussed in the House he had not altered his opinions concerning it. Those opinions were very clearly set forth in the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle, and if he went to a division he should certainly support him.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE said, he did not know whether Her Majesty's Government were going to be content to allow the discussion on Egypt to close with the sort of explanation given in the speech of the noble Lord the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs last night; but, like the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), he should certainly support the Amendment of the hon. Baronet if it went to a division. He was glad that the House had obtained an opportunity for discussing the Egyptian War; the only difficulty was that it came in a way somewhat unexpected and inconvenient. The documents which had been published with regard to Egypt proved, what had always been contended by the Leaders of the Conservative Party, as well as by many of those sitting below the Gangway on the Ministerial side, that the war was wholly unnecessary. In a despatch from Lord Granville, dated November 3, 1882, to Lord Dufferin, with regard to the re-organization of Egypt, he recommended the gradual reduction of the foreign element and the increase in the employment of native Egyptians in all branches of administration, and the establishment of all institutions favourable to liberty. On November 3, 1882, Lord Granville again drew Lord Dufferin's attention to the importance of the three matters—less employment of Europeans, equal taxation of Foreigners and Natives, and the development of Native institutions. At that moment, under the pretence of the existence of an independent Government in Egypt, England was trying, at great trouble and cost, to do those very things which Arabi and the National Party in Egypt were trying to do when interfered with by France and England. Those three matters were all very strongly put forward by the supporters of the National Party in Egypt. The Papers published with regard to the former condition of Egypt showed that 1,200 Europeans were employed in the Egyptian State service, and that their salaries amounted to £373,000 a-year. It appeared to the Egyptians, as well as to a great many in this country, that the result of the course taken by England and France was to set up a foreign bureaucracy, which naturally offended the people of Egypt. In the fresh Papers published, which he supposed were intended to remove the impression produced by the former ones, it was stated that there were 54,000 persons in the service of the State in Egypt in other than a military capacity. The salaries of those persons amounted to £1,953,000. The table stated that 53,000 of these people were Natives, and 1,000 were Europeans, as if that were an answer to the grievance. It was of importance to see the relative salaries of the Natives and Europeans. He found that the average salary paid to the 53,000 Natives was £31 a-year, while the average salary of the Europeans was £301 a-year. The grievance which was denounced by Arabi Pasha and the National Party, and now by Lord Dufferin, was that all the best posts were occupied by Europeans, to the exclusion of the Natives. He was very glad to find that Lord Dufferin was going to redress that grievance. In carrying on the late war, this country had wasted £4,500,000; and it was remarkable that the country had been committed to that war by a Party acting in violation of their political creed. From the Papers circulated this morning, it appeared that foreigners in Egypt were exempted from three items of taxation—namely, professional taxes, commercial stamp taxes, and house taxes—to the total amount of nearly £500,000. That was a matter which Lord Dufferin was going to set right, and which the Chamber of Notables said was a serious grievance. As to the position of this country, in January, 1882, the Government was then under the domination of the French Government, and showed a strange official incapacity. On the 11th of January Lord Granville was informed by Sir Edward Malet of the wishes of the Chamber of Notables, and on the same day Lord Granville wrote to Lord Lyons, asking what were M. Gambetta's views. Then, in accordance with those views, Lord Granville wrote to Sir Edward Malet that the demand of the Chamber of Notables would be peremptorily refused. This demand was that the Chamber should be entitled to deal with that part of the revenues of Egypt not required for the payment of the interest on the Debt. That they should be permitted to do this was urged by Sir Edward Malet in his letter which reached the Foreign Office on the 18th of January, 1882. The proposal was, however, utterly rejected by the Foreign Office. Then, on the 24th of January, Sir Edward Malet wrote that every question between the Ministry and the Chamber was settled, except the question with regard to the Budget, and that this was the only question then remaining between them. The Chamber being anxious that there should be no excuse for foreign intervention proposed that the question of the Budget should be submitted to the vote, and, in short, every possible concession was made by the leaders of the National Party to induce Her Majesty's Government to consent to the Chamber of Notables having some authority over the revenue which belonged exclusively to them. In March, 1882, a Report of the Expenditure was published, when it was shown that the revenue assigned to the payment of the interest of the Debt was sufficient for the purpose. There was an income of £9,000,000; £4,500,000 was required for payment of the interest on the Debt, and £4,500,000 were absolutely secure. That was admitted. Why should not the Chamber of Notables be allowed to deal with that other part of their revenue? He could find no answer to that question, except that the English Foreign Officer was under the domination of the French Government at that time and would not move a step without the consent of M. Gambetta. The Egyptian Government issued a declaration of their intentions, and one Minister asked why they were not to be allowed to deal with taxes raised from their own people. However, the proposals for a compromise were disregarded. The instructions from France were that no compromise should be accepted. M. Gambetta then fell, and then came a Ministry in Egypt which was, no doubt, dominated by Arabi. But during February and March, the Egyptian Ministry was trying to discover some mode of arrangement with England and France by which it might be at liberty to deal with the Budget. But then appeared a most painful record of the incompetence of the Foreign Office. Only two suggestions were made by the Foreign Office; one was, that there should be an English, a French, and a Turkish General sent into Egypt to re-organize its military system. But, as M. Tissot asked, supposing Egypt did not yield to their representations, what then? There was to be a full stop; for the three Generals had no means at hand of enforcing their views. So things drifted on from January till the 15th of May, when a despatch was issued from the Foreign Office, confessing its inability to do anything. On the 15th of May Lord Granville wrote to Lord Lyons respecting the proposal to send a Fleet to Alexandria. In that amazing despatch of the 15th of May there were also these words—

> "I have told the French Ambassador that Mr. Gladstone agrees with me in regretting that the other Powers have not been invited to co-operate. Her Majesty's Government think this a mistake."

If they thought it a mistake to send an iron-clad fleet to Alexandria, without inviting the other Powers to co-operate, he wondered why they did it, and also why they should have put it on record that they were taking that step in defiance of their own judgment. The despatch, however, went on to say—

> "But as the French Government held absolutely to it, and as they had gone so far to meet the views of Her Majesty's Government, they had concurred in the course taken."

There was no trace in the Papers of the French Government having gone so far to meet the views of our Government at all. What was the specific reason why on the 15th of May, the Government believing all the time they were committing a mistake, gave way to France and sent an iron-clad fleet to Alexandria? Directly the Fleet went the result was inevitable. Four times our Government had been warned by their own Representatives that the intervention of England and France must lead to bloodshed. He supposed that it was not consistent with their honour that they should have withdrawn their Fleet from Alexandria, but the Egyptians were clearly within their rights in maintaining their armament of the forts of Alexandria. They had heard a good deal about the glamour of military success, and the way it affected the minds of people. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) declared that he believed that the bombardment of Alexandria was a crime; yet he said he would not vote against the Government which had committed that criminal act; but although they had not changed their views he would trust them to do better in time to come. Again and again the Government had been challenged to give the House an opportunity of discussing Egyptian affairs, but they had made various excuses. Then the bombardment occurred, and it was said that the Government had taken the responsibility of the acts they were doing, and that they would be ready to answer to Parliament. They said they were now ready to answer to Parliament, because they had the advantage of that military triumph, and the popularity it had brought them. Yet even now, under the guidance of English statesmen, and at the cost to some extent of English money, Lord Dufferin was trying to carry out the reforms in Egypt which were nearly carried out a year ago, and which would probably have been brought to their completion if England and France had not stepped in to interfere with the development of representative institutions. The Speech from the Throne spoke of the clemency shown by the Khedive to the leaders of the insurrection. There must have been a smile on the face of the Minister who drafted those words. The fact was that since May last the Khedive had been a mere puppet under the authority of this country. For a long time before that date he was a puppet in the hands of England and France, and although those two Powers had parted company, he had at this moment no more individual authority than Lord Spencer in Ireland or Lord Ripon in India. When they had re-established him with a British General to command his army, and with an English Financial Adviser to control his affairs, it was really a joke to talk of him as an independent Sovereign. Arabi's life had been spared by the pressure from this country. The men who surrounded the Khedive would have been only too glad to put out of the way Arabi, who had been their rival and opponent, and might be so again. Having banished the man who had tried to give representative institutions to his country, and having wasted all that money and human life, our Government were now attempting to bring back the very things which Arabi and the National Party in Egypt had fought for. For himself, he believed that that war was absolutely unnecessary from beginning to end. Every shilling spent in it was worse than wasted, for our people had been familiarized in a feeling of military success by those whom they had trusted to save them from any military adventures which were not of an honourable character. Although they had done wrong in going to war with Egypt, and wrought much mischief, they must now of course maintain their interests there, for they could not abruptly retire, leaving all the chaos they had made behind them. But he deeply regretted that that question was not fairly raised and argued out last Session, when every attempt was made, but to no purpose, to induce the Government to come face to face with their opponents upon it.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, that the reason why the proceedings against Arabi were stopped was not because of the clemency of the Khedive, but because otherwise revelations would have been made in the highest degree inconvenient to the occupants of the Treasury Bench. He failed to see that British troops in Egypt were being withdrawn as expeditiously as a full consideration of the circumstances would permit. If Shakespeare were asked to give a summary description of the declarations of Her Majesty's Government with regard to Egypt during the past 12 months, he would emphatically declare that they supplied a first-class instance of the "lie circumstantial;" nor would Pascal have had need to consult musty, fusty tomes and Jesuitic literature for illustrations of crooked morality; but, as he (Mr. O'Donnell) was a moderate-spoken Member of Parliament, he was bound only to regard these assurances and declarations as a practical illustration of Liberal and humanitarian political morality. He believed that there was no intention whatever on the part of the Government to withdraw their troops from Egypt; but if they were withdrawn they would soon be replaced by another contingent of the British Force. The action in this matter taken by the Government would be a source of permanent weakness in the policy of the whole Empire. The position taken up at the Danubian Conference by the Representatives of this country was due to the same cause. Blood and treasure had been wasted in former years, in order to prevent the triumphant march of the Russian legions to the Mediterranean, yet now, owing to the Egyptian policy of the Government, the command of the mouths of the Danube was to be handed over to the Government of St. Petersburg. At the present time Her Majesty's Government was sacrificing in the Danubian Conference the most fundamental rights and privileges of the liberated Provinces of Turkey to the greed of the Russian and Austrian Empires. The Government had gone into the Danubian Conference because they were compelled to buy the consent of Austria and Russia to the policy of sham and dishonesty which had been pursued in Egypt. The bloodshed of Tel-el-Kebir, the crime committed at Alexandria, would be paid by this Empire through many a year of foreign complication, and, perhaps, of national misfortune. In short, the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government had tied the country to the chariot wheels of all the Great Continental Powers. Their oppression of the Egyptian people, their pitiful juggle with their puppet Khedive—a juggle which deceived no man—and their violation of popular and national rights had tied Her Majesty's Government to the policy of the natural enemies of their country; and that policy would, at no distant date, cause England to remember the sacrifice she made when she condoned the political crime committed by the most hypocritical Government that ever sat on the Treasury Bench.

Mr. WARTON said, he deprecated anything like an appearance of divided counsels on a question of foreign policy, and did not intend to say anything that would hamper the Government in their future dealing with Egypt. He regretted that the Liberal Party had not pursued the same course with respect to their opponents. The object for which the present Premier, when out of Office, worked was to undermine the influence of the late Lord Beaconsfield; and so far was that carried that, not content with imputing the basest motives to him, the Liberal Leaders went the length of slandering the General in the field, and of imputing to General Roberts, and the officers serving under him, cruelties which they never committed. Far be it from the present Opposition to imitate such tactics. He was prepared to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), which dealt only with the past, and could not in any way embarrass the Ministry in the measures necessary to be taken for the future government of Egypt. The real reason for the late campaign was nothing else but a desire to regain a little of the popularity which they had lost. It was necessary for that purpose that the Government should go to war; and therefore they selected their opponent on the same principle as Mr. Winkle, who chose the smallest boy in the crowd, and made an onslaught on him. The simplest plan for the Government to adopt was merely to say that they intended to take the Suez Canal, and to let the Egyptians govern themselves as they pleased. The Government sent our vessels to Alexandria only with instructions to shell the forts, and with instructions not to land any troops. It was clear that some very few hundred troops would have saved Alexandria, and he could not see why it was not done. At the present moment there was nothing unpatriotic in saying that if only one-tenth part of the vigour which was shown by the Government when they were in Opposition had been shown in their policy now all these events might have been avoided. They had learnt from Lord Beaconsfield the utility of Cyprus; they had learnt from him the utility of bringing troops from India; but they had not learnt to make use of that decision and vigour of which he had set them so good an example. As for the war itself, it came at a time most propitious for the Government, which was at that time disgraced by the immunity enjoyed by crime in Ireland, and by the compact which Government itself had made with it. Abroad, too, Russian aggression had been met by the retreat from Candahar, and the disgrace of Majuba Hill had not been retrieved. But for the Egyptian War coming at the time it did, the Procedure Resolutions would not have been passed. The Government had been successful in their conduct of the campaign; but they had not settled the principles on which they were going to govern Egypt. It was ridiculous to talk about giving Constitutional government to a people like the Egyptians, who were totally unfit for it. They were a weak people, and required to be ruled by the strong hand of a tyrant—using the term, of course, in its old Greek and historical sense. In his opinion, it would be well to tell the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian people that we meant to hold the Canal for ourselves, as it was necessary for our communications with India. He was not condemning the whole conduct of the Government in relation to the war; but what he did condemn was that during many anxious months last year, when Question after Question was addressed to him on the subject, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was much more hopeful in the answers he gave than the circumstances warranted. In his opinion, the war was got up, to a certain extent, for the purpose of rehabilitating the character of the Government before the country; and the Government owed whatever little good character they had left to the ability shown by Lord Wolseley in Egypt. The war had been a perfect godsend to the Government, and by its means they hoped to struggle through another Session or so.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that hon. Members of the nationality to which he belonged would be wanting in their duty if they did not take a share in the protest that had been made against the policy of the Government in regard to Egypt, outraging, as it did, the principle of nationality. Various arguments had been urged in favour of the action of the Government; but he had not heard or read one which stood the test of examination. The first argument was that Arabi Pasha participated in the assassinations and incendiarism that took place in Alexandria; but Arabi Pasha had been put on his trial, and it was now conceded on all hands, and by the Representatives of the Government in Egypt, that the charges brought against him in regard to those crimes had broken down. The responsibility of those crimes rested, in his opinion, on those who provoked the state of things that led to them, and he could not acquit the Conservative Party of a share of the odium that attached to the Government for their action in this matter. The second argument advanced by the Government in favour of their policy was the necessity of insuring the safety of the Suez Canal as our great highway to India. But, on that point, he challenged the hon. Baronet who introduced the Amendment to show that a particle of evidence had been adduced in favour of the statement that the safety of the Suez Canal had ever been threatened, either on the part of Arabi Pasha or of the Egyptian people. Whatever else had been proved against Arabi Pasha, the charge that he endeavoured to damage the Canal had not been sustained. It was a peculiar fact, too, that when the present Government were in Opposition no argument was put forward more positively by them than that the Suez Canal would practically be of little account if this country were involved in war; and, therefore, the argument that this war was necessary for the protection of the Canal had been falsified by facts and by the statements of Members of the Government themselves. At the present moment, the Government professed to be endeavouring to introduce representative institutions into Egypt, and they said that the people would, by means of those institutions, obtain control over the finances. But it was because they had claimed to have some control over the finances of the country that Arabi Pasha and his friends had been condemned; and yet the Government now put forward, as necessary for the welfare of the Egyptian people, those very demands which Arabi was condemned for making, so that the failures of Arabi Pasha had been more profitable or advantageous to him than had the success of the English Government been to them. With regard to the effect of the policy of the Government on other nations, he might point out, for instance, that up to the time of this war France was a close friend and an intimate ally of this country; but it would be no exaggeration to say that, at the present moment, she hated us as much as she did Germany, and thus the old feeling of friendliness between the two countries had altogether disappeared. In any future complications, therefore, this country would no longer be able to count on the friendship of France. It had been preached as a sound doctrine by Liberal speakers, and especially by Radical speakers when in Opposition, that every addition now made to the Empire would be a great danger. The universal doctrines of the Liberal Party, especially when in Opposition, were non-intervention in foreign affairs—he was going to say justice to Ireland, but he would omit that now—and the non-increase of the national responsibility. These doctrines had been grossly violated by the conduct of the Government in Egypt, and they had now one country the more which, though on the surface it might appear to add to their strength, did, in reality, add to their weakness. They had estranged France, and rendered themselves subject to Russia, Austria, and Germany, for everyone knew that the German or the Russian Chancellery, combined with Turkey, could have defeated every attempt of theirs. Such a combination was a permanent danger to their supremacy in Egypt. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Bafour), in a speech, the more effective from its moderation, said that when they went to Egypt the Khedive might not have been a very popular Sovereign, but

he was at least an established Sovereign; his authority had received no shock, and, if not popular, he was not hated by his subjects. Would the President of the Local Government Board deny the statement that the Khedive was now as unpopular a Ruler as any in the world? At the time the Khedive was about to return to Cairo relying on the British arms, an old Egyptian was heard to sum up the whole situation in very terse language, saying—"The Khedive is coming back, but he brings his nurse along with him." If the Khedive after Tel-el-Kebir had gone into the streets of Cairo he would have been torn in pieces by the populace. But had Arabi done so, without a single soldier, he would have been received with enthusiasm. If there had been a *plébiscite* in Egypt, did anyone doubt who would be chosen Ruler. Arabi, who lived in the hearts of the people, but whom they had driven into exile, or their miserable puppet the Khedive? Was it thus that they carried out the principles of Constitutional Sovereignty? He supposed they would lay down the general rule that Sovereignty was based upon consent—in this case the consent of foreign bayonets. And all that had been done by the Liberal Party, and by the Prime Minister, who, when in Opposition, was the greatest, the most eloquent, he would almost say the most inspired, apostle of popular liberties. And that had been done too by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Charles W. Dilke), a Radical of the Radicals. He would not turn to what the right hon. Gentleman had called "his scatter-brain period," but would remind him of words he had used, which were quoted last night, to the effect that the wretched fellaheen had been once beaten to exact grinding taxes in the name of their Rulers; they were now beaten by the same officers to exact grinding taxes in the name of Mr. Goschen. He was sorry that that Radical patriot, the right hon. Member for Ripon, was not in his place that he might hear the scathing and honest denunciation which his conduct in Egypt had elicited from the right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench. When this country placed its policy under the dictation and control of financiers, it was then that the basis was laid of all the evils that had ensued. He was sorry the Prime Minister was not there, that he might remind him of one of the most impressive scenes he had ever witnessed in that House. He remembered, on a Motion made by the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard), how the right hon. Gentleman, with all that impressiveness of voice and of manner, by which he could electrify the House, said—"What right have we to call upon other nations to disarm when our own hands are red with innocent blood?" He had heard the argument used, that this war in Egypt had improved the position of the Government in the country. There was not a time when the people of this country could not be excited to some foreign enterprize, especially if it was of a buccaneering character. There was not a time when they could not make the people of this country hate Russia, Cetewayo, or Arabi, though they might afterwards applaud them. The hon. Member for Aylesbury (Mr. G. Russell) had said that the Egyptian War had improved the Prime Minister's position with the timid and respectable, who, oddly enough, were usually the most bellicose, and had made him for the moment popular with the London mob. It was, indeed, singular that a Minister whose windows had not long ago been broken by a London mob should now be felicitated by the very men who so recently hated him and his policy. Surely a Nemesis would attend a success which had been gained only by debauching the principles of the Liberal Party. The Opposition to the late Government, whatever its faults might have been, had at any rate endeavoured to moralize the foreign policy of the country; but its Leaders, now that they were in Office, made aggression and bloody wars the backbone of their Party. If anything was certain, it was that with the peace-loving Radicals on one side, and the glory-loving Conservatives on the other, the Government would find it hard to justify its action, and would inevitably give its supporters and the country the impression that it had deserted and abandoned its old principles.

MR. BOURKE said, that not a single speaker had defended the policy of the Government, though the debate had been carried on from all quarters, and by representatives of every section of the House. The conduct of the Government had been arraigned in the most direct manner by the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour); but an Amendment to an Amendment on the Address, especially when important Papers were promised, was not a very convenient way of raising the question. Before the House came to an ultimate decision on the subject, it would be absolutely necessary to be in possession of Papers giving a full account of the trial of Arabi Pasha, with the record of the evidence produced against him. These Papers had, as he had said, been promised by his noble Friend; but the House had not received them, and the Papers presented to it that day gave no clue to the evidence brought forward at the trial, which he believed was unequalled for its extraordinary and farcical character in the annals of judicial proceedings. He should think it his duty to press for that information, because he felt that it was absolutely necessary in order to form a judgment upon not only the present and past, but also upon the future of Egypt. The Opposition had been taunted with not having brought forward a Vote of Censure last Session; but never was a taunt made with so little to justify it. Every Member of the House knew perfectly well that over and over again last year the Opposition had pressed for information and Papers, as well as for a day upon which to discuss the subject of Egypt, and had as often been refused both documents and days for discussion. Negotiations were going on, said the Government, and when the Conference was being held, it was not only necessary to have no discussion, but all information on matters of the utmost importance was denied by the Under Secretary. It was, therefore, hopeless to bring forward a Vote of Censure at that time. Then, when the Vote of Credit was taken the Opposition was appealed to by Her Majesty's Government, the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), and other influential Members not to disturb the unanimity of the Treasury Bench, and not to give foreign nations the idea that the Vote did not receive the undivided support of the House. On that occasion, consequently, the Opposition showed, what he hoped the Conservative Opposition would always show, that it had patriotism enough not to oppose the Vote at a critical moment, although it guarded itself against endorsing the policy that had led to it. He need not repeat his reasons for thinking the war unnecessary. Many arguments had already been advanced on that point; but he might record his conviction that, considering the known facts of the case, the Government, had they taken the most obvious steps, might have avoided the war altogether. If the Blue Books issued prior to the war were examined from end to end, it would be found that they did not contain one single proposal from Her Majesty's Government to the French Government that any inquiry should be made into the alleged grievances of what was called the National Party in Egypt, and they seemed to have committed themselves to the idea of the French Government that those people were mere military adventurers and rebels. His firm conviction was that if an inquiry had been made the prestige of the two Governments would have averted war. He also thought that Her Majesty's Government were to be blamed for exciting the feelings of the Porte against their proceedings in Egypt. He was most anxious about the present and the future, and said, without the slightest hesitation, that in the Papers they had seen since the date of the Vote of Credit fresh evidence was given which afforded good reason to ask for further information, and also to suspect that the country had been entirely and totally misled as to the true causes of the war. The two great proximate causes of the war were the massacre of the 11th of June and the arming of the forts. With regard to the massacre Arabi had been put on his trial, and not only had he not been found guilty, but our own Officer had said that there was no evidence to put him on his trial at all. It was in evidence that the officer who was commander at Alexandria was moving about the streets at the time of the massacre, and took no steps to stop it. This man was now in the Khedive's Ministry. The evidence had proved, not only that Arabi was innocent, but that those were guilty who had been accusing him. We had been told that Arabi was guilty of these massacres, and that that was one of the reasons why we went to war with him. Nothing stirred the mind of the people of this country so much as the fact that we were told by the Government that Arabi was guilty of the massacres. It was this which, for his own part, accounted for nothing being said in opposition to the course taken against Arabi. He believed at the time, upon the evidence produced by the Government, that they were justified in regarding Arabi as one of the causes of the massacres. The other cause of the war was the arming of the forts. We were led to believe that Arabi alone carried out the arming of the forts. But we now found that the Khedive himself presided at the three Councils which decided upon the arming of the forts and refused the *ultimatum* of Admiral Seymour. There was another piece of evidence which was new to us, and that was the proclamation of the Khedive. No doubt, at one time, he was not a free agent; but what did he do when he was a free agent, when Arabi had gone away from Alexandria? He dismissed Arabi, and what was the ground on which he did so? He dismissed him by proclamation which stated that he did not offer sufficient resistance to the British Fleet during the bombardment. We had not the smallest idea of these things at the time of the debate on the Vote of Credit. The Government could not have known them because it could not be assumed that they would mislead the House and the country. These things being so, the whole theory of the war, upon which we were endeavouring to reconstitute the Government of Egypt, was wrong, and the mistake would have to be acknowledged before the Government of Egypt could be placed on a stable foundation. There were two or three Reports he was anxious the Government should produce. He did not want to adopt an attitude of hostility to the Government; he understood the great difficulties involved in the re-settlement of Egypt; but these were difficulties which were not new. Over and over again when the late Government was in Office it was suggested to them by Foreign Powers that it was desirable that we should take Egypt. The late Government investigated all the questions involved, and they saw that anything like the annexation of Egypt by England must entail on this country extraordinary difficulties. These were not new questions, therefore, and he was perfectly prepared to give to the Government any humble support in endeavouring to get them out of the difficulties they were in. [*Ironical cheers.*] He did not suppose anyone would assert that the Government had not great difficulties before them. He agreed with the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) that it was impossible for any Englishman to suppose for a moment that we could leave Egypt at present; and we had it on the highest authority in "another place" that there was no intention to do so. Indeed, it would be most cruel to the Egyptian people that we should do so. We had swept away the Government which had existed, and there was nothing but the British power between Egypt and anarchy on the one hand, and foreign intervention on the other. It was idle to suppose that if we went away foreign Powers would not step in; and if they did they would build up their position on the ruins of our prestige, and on the mistakes we had made. He was most anxious that the Government should state what they thought of the part Arabi played as to the massacre and the arming of the forts. If they found the record of his trial showed that he was not guilty of those crimes, which really led us to war, then they must make a total change and reverse the policy they were pursuing. Some of the despatches from Lord Dufferin dwelt upon the difficulties of the situation; but if pressure were not put unduly upon that noble Lord, he would give wise advice to the Government. It was perfectly certain from the despatches that he had no faith in the possibility of forming a Constitutional Government out of the elements which now existed in Egypt; and he warned the Government, if they attempted to do anything of the kind, and then left the Egyptian people to do the best they could, or, to use a phrase which had now become classical, to "stew in their own juice"—they would have to undo the work they were now doing, and embark upon a far more difficult enterprize than that now before them. He hoped that before long there would be an opportunity of discussing the questions he had foreshadowed, and he hoped the Papers he had mentioned would be presented, because it was impossible to form a just opinion unless we knew all the particulars of the trial of Arabi.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the complaint was sometimes made that the debates on foreign affairs were confined to the two Front Benches; but the complaint could not be made that night. He had waited for someone on the Front Bench opposite to give an indication of the line that would be taken by the Chiefs of the Opposition with regard to the two Amendments before the House. The Leader of the Opposition spoke upon the Motion for the adjournment of the debate on Thursday night, but he gave no indication of the course he meant to take. Therefore, it was naturally expected that early to-day some hint would be given of the course the Chiefs of the Opposition would adopt. At last they had been addressed by a speaker of great weight on the Front Opposition Bench; but the right hon. Gentleman had not told the House what course the Opposition would take with regard to the Amendments. He had not stated whether they would say "Aye," or "No," or walk out of the House. He had never known so odd a debate. This was a debate in which almost all the speakers who supported the same Amendment had differed as to the grounds on which they supported it. For example, there was a disagreement between the Mover and the Seconder of each of the two Amendments. There would, probably, be a disagreement between occupants of the Front Opposition Bench; there would be a difference between father and son; and there had certainly been a difference of opinion among the Fourth Party, reduced as it was by the absence of one of its Members at Rome. In these circumstances, it was the duty of Her Majesty's Government to wait, before addressing the House, for some observations from right hon. Gentlemen opposite. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Bourke), in the course of his remarks, did not throw much light on the subject of the Amendment before the House, but told them that they ought to have answered the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour). Presently he would make some attempt to answer that speech; but one reason why the Government did not think it necessary to answer his hon. Friend immediately was that his own Seconder answered a considerable portion of his remarks. His right hon. Friend had called attention in a very prominent manner in portions of his speech to the fact that the Khedive presided over a

Council at which certain measures against the English Fleet were ordered by the Egyptian Government. It was known at the time—not only through Government despatches, but through the ordinary sources of information—that such was the case. It was known that the Khedive was acting under compulsion, and that he was presiding nominally over the councils of men with whose proceedings he entirely disagreed. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman himself answered that portion of his remarks by stating that the Khedive was not at that moment a free agent. The right hon. Gentleman had asked the Government to give information as to Arabi Pasha. With regard to the proclamation, he thought the Government had expressed their opinion that it was rather a foolish one. At the same time, it could not be considered as having been issued against this country, inasmuch as those who issued it were surrounded by British troops, and it was hardly likely that they would have issued a proclamation which was directed against England. His right hon. Friend had asked for further information with regard to Arabi's trial. Well, they had communicated to the House that morning as full information as, in the opinion of Lord Dufferin, could be given at the present moment. With regard to the communication of Papers, perhaps he might be allowed to refer to a remark of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), who spoke from the Front Bench opposite—a rather unusual place for him. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire asked the Government to immediately produce the despatch from Lord Dufferin which had been received by Her Majesty's Government. That despatch had only been one day in the possession of the Government, and as it consisted of 278 closely-written pages, a considerable number of days must elapse before it could be even printed for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. Consequently, he could not make any statement in regard to it to-night. Before he came to the speech of the Mover of the Amendment now before the House and to a consideration of the terms of the other Amendment, he wished to refer to something which fell from the hon. Member for the Borough of Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). The hon. Member quoted the speeches he had made in the House on this subject, and asserted that he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) expressed indignation at the proceedings of his right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) in Egypt. This was an absolute misapprehension, and he must give the statement a most emphatic contradiction. His indignation was entirely directed against the Government of the late Khedive. The speech quoted was a speech from an entirely philanthropic point of view, and expressed his belief that the late Government were, by the institution of the Control, rendering themselves too much responsible for the manner of the administration of Egypt by the late Khedive. The hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) and his right hon. Friend the Member for King's Lynn (Mr. Bourke) had both stated that Her Majesty's Government had refused, in the past, opportunities for the discussion of this subject. But the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth was present during the debates on the Vote of Credit, and he must remember that for days the House was engaged in the discussion of almost the whole of the points connected with this subject, with the exception of those new ones which had been raised to-night by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. In the course of that debate words were used with regard to the military character of the rebellion in Egypt, and with regard to Arabi being a military adventurer, which aroused the indignation of the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth. [Mr. BOURKE: Hear, hear!] He was astonished to hear that his right hon. Friend appeared to agree with the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth. [Mr. BOURKE: We were misled.] He hoped the Government were not misled. The words "military adventurer" occurred in the speeches of both the Leaders of the Opposition, in that House and in the House of Lords. The Friends of the right hon. Gentleman used the phrase a considerable time before it was used in the debate to which reference had been made. It was at the meeting in Willis's Rooms, before the debate on the Vote of Credit, that that phrase was applied to Arabi by the Leaders of the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) had made a statement which was entirely outside the scope of many of the speeches that had been delivered that evening. But the hon. Member had only repeated military arguments which were brought forward over and over again in the debate on the Vote of Credit, and which were answered by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, then Secretary of State for War. He should not venture, in the presence of his right hon. Friend, to deal with what he said as to the use of Cyprus, except to observe that Her Majesty's Government did make use of the Island for a small force. There were difficulties, however, which would prevent Cyprus being used for military operations. Cyprus was without a harbour. There was, indeed, a kind of natural harbour at Famagosta; but it would be impossible to land large bodies of men there on account of the deadly climate of that town. Still, it was an entire misapprehension to suppose that the Government did not attempt to make any use of Cyprus in the Egyptian Expedition. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire dealt in this way with what he might call ancient history. They had heard a great deal of ancient history that evening. The hon. and learned Member for Plymouth went back further, and attacked the Government for the *laches* they had committed in regard to the original sending of the troops to Alexandria. The hon. Member made a statement which showed that he did not know very much of the working of the system of government conducted by Gentlemen who belonged to the two great political Parties in the State. The hon. Member attacked Lord Granville for saying, "Mr. Gladstone agrees with me," and then going on to say, "The opinion of Her Majesty's Government" was so and so. One of the most delicate duties of a Secretary of State, or of any other Minister of high position, was to decide what were the questions in regard to which he might assume the consent of the Government and speak by himself for the Government; and what, on the other hand, were the questions as to which he ought to get the assent of the whole Cabinet. But in matters of detail, which required to be dealt with day by day, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, after consulting the Prime Minister, might fairly think himself justified in speaking of the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. Then the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth attacked the Government for having sent ships to Alexandria in connection with France, although they had said they thought it was a mistake that the other Powers were not invited to co-operate in the Expedition. They thought it would be undoubtedly better if they could have obtained the assistance of other Powers; but, at the same time, they had given their reasons for going to Alexandria with France without asking the consent of the other Powers. The hon. and learned Member said he could find nothing in the Papers to show that the French did give way to us on so large a question, and that we ought to give way to France on a smaller one. Did the hon. and learned Member not remember that for months France had been refusing absolutely to assent to the principle of Turkish intervention in Egypt, and that just before the date of which he spoke the French entirely changed their policy and consented to such intervention? Another matter of ancient history had been brought before the House in several speeches to-night. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had spoken of the Dual Control, and had attacked the independent Members of the Liberal Party for going about the country and attributing all that had occurred in Egypt to the institution of the Dual Control. How could Her Majesty's Government prevent independent Members from taking that line? [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I do not acquit the Government.] The Government did not want to be acquitted. The Government were quite prepared to endorse the views taken by those Members of the Liberal Party for reasons which had previously been laid before the House. There were two Dual Controls—the original Dual Control of Lord Derby, and the second, which was established by Lord Salisbury. The Dual Control which had been unanimously condemned by Liberal speakers was the second Control. That distinction was clearly pointed out by the Prime Minister. ["No!"] His right hon. Friend in his speech on the subject, began by quoting the speech which he himself (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had made, and expressed approval of it. The first question was, whether the first Control was a political Control? He asserted that in 1876 it was not, because the Government were not concerned in it. In 1879 the Egyptian Government was deprived of the power of dismissing the Controllers, and the Government brought foreign intervention into the heart of Egypt, and established what was in the strongest sense a political Control. That could be proved by the dates. If the hon. Member was as well acquainted with what had taken place under the late Government as he was with what had recently occurred, he would know that Lord Derby refused over and over again in the strongest terms to create a political Control. Lord Derby refused repeatedly to appoint a Controller. He had always insisted that the Controller should be dismissible by the Government of Egypt. He was over and over again applied to by the French Government to appoint a Controller, but always refused. He thought the Government was entirely justified in quoting Lord Derby with regard to the earlier Control, and Lord Salisbury in regard to the later form of the Control. His hon. Friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) had said that the doing away with the Control was the matter upon which we had gone to war. He could not allow that statement to pass without notice, for fear it should be supposed that he agreed in that view. He could not admit that the weakening of the Control was the cause of our going to war. The Prime Minister had given a list of reasons for the war, and the Control formed a very small element in those reasons. His hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had said that we went to Egypt to protect British capitalists, and quoted his noble Friend the present Leader of of the House as having admitted as much in his speech at Darwen. His noble Friend would remember that speech better than he did, and as his noble Friend would probably speak, he would leave him to deal with it. But he was perfectly certain that his noble Friend said nothing of the kind, and had merely mentioned the matter in an incidental way, and not as the cause of the war. He agreed with his hon. Friend that if the case were as he said that his noble Friend had stated it, we should be perpetually at war. He wished his hon. Friend had read the whole of his noble Friend's speech to the House. If he had done so he would have come to a different conclusion. He was sorry to make further references to the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford in his absence, but he was obliged to make one or two remarks upon it. His hon. Friend had made the same attack on the Government which had been made in "another place" by the Leader of the Opposition. His hon. Friend said that the Government were too late in their action; but it ought to be remembered that if they had acted sooner there would have been risk of serious European complications, or even of European war. His hon. Friend should remember the absolute necessity of taking the other Powers with us in everything we did. That subject was fully discussed in the previous debate, and he did not know that anything more could be said now than had been said then. This country now stood in a different position from that in which it would have stood if it had in the first instance resorted to the arbitrament of force. Then, his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford attacked the Government for having broken down the authority of the Khedive; but if that authority had been broken down, it was done by the mode of the action the late Government adopted in removing the late Khedive. On account of the manner of that action of the late Government a military revolt became only a question of months or years. It was absolutely certain that a military revolt would come some day. Several Members had spoken of a National Party in terms almost as strong as those of the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke). The Government had never denied that there was a National Party in Egypt, and national demands. It was said that the Government had changed its opinion on the subject. He had never changed his opinion. But Arabi Pasha had never represented the National Party. The hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) had referred to great names in connection with Arabi; he had spoken of Cromwell and Hampden and Washington and Garibaldi. He did not desire to speak ill of a man who had passed away from national politics as Arabi had done. But, whatever might be urged against Garibaldi, it must be remembered that, after he had conquered the Two Sicilies, he did not make himself King of Italy, as he possibly might have done, and he did not even make himself Governor of the Two Sicilies. There was no such absence of selfish motives in Arabi and his Colonels. It was inappropriate for anyone holding the high opinion of Cromwell, Hampden, and Washington which was entertained by his hon. Friend, to couple with their names the name of Arabi Pasha. All that was aimed at in the military rebellions was promotion and pay for the Army. In February, 1881, Arabi demanded the dismissal of certain men from office, and an increase of pay to the Army, and nothing else. In the second rising the object put forward was an increase of the Army and increase of pay; and the result was a considerable increase of the Army and of the pay. In the third rising the object aimed at was an increase in the number of officers and in the pay of the men. The fact was that the authorized representatives of the National Party, of which he admitted the existence, were perpetually in conflict with Arabi and the Colonels. The Military Party and the National Party never acted together. Man for man, Cherif was a more authorized representative of the National Party than Arabi, as had been pointed out by *The Quarterly Review*, which, he believed, had some distant connection with the Party to which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke) belonged.

MR. BOURKE: Will the right hon. Gentleman give any evidence?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Of the connection of himself with *The Quarterly Review?*

MR. BOURKE: Of the connection of Cherif Pasha and the National Party.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that it was Cherif Pasha who made the first suggestions for the representation of the Egyptian people in an elective Senate. With regard to the relations existing between Arabi Pasha and the Colonels, he would call attention to the numerous disputes which took place between them and the Chamber of Notables. The Military Party, when they wished to obtain the protection of the national name, summoned the Chamber of Notables. That Chamber at first refused to meet, and then the Military Party threatened its members with violence. They called upon them to sign a decree deposing the Khedive, ordering those who were in favour of the proposal to rise in their places, very much as hon. Members might be called upon under their New Rules of Procedure to rise. But there was a sanction attached to the order not possessed by the Speaker of the House, for the Members were told that in case they refused their heads would be cut off. The Chamber, however, were not to be intimidated by violence, and it was immensely to their credit that they were not. Out of the 160 Members who were present, only eight took part with the Colonels, and those, in all probability, really favoured the Military Party. The same views with regard to Arabi's pretensions to be considered as leader of a National Party were advanced both by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition in that House and the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition in the other. There was no evidence of the support of the Military Party by the people at large, for the people were apathetic and did not readily respond to such an invitation. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford covered the whole ground of the policy of the Government; but, as he read the original Amendment, it referred rather to the present and to the future than to the ancient history of the question; it related mainly to the keeping of English troops in Egypt for the future. In every step which the Government took there they followed the advice of Lord Dufferin. Some time ago his Lordship recommended the immediate reduction of the British force in Egypt from 13,000 or 14,000 men to 6,000, and that suggestion was now being carried out. With regard to the present and to the future, they had been told that the Powers had not gone with them. His noble Friend the Under Secretary of State last night had informed the House what was the attitude of Foreign Powers towards them, and since that time he had learnt the views of one more Power on that subject. Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia had expressed their general approval, and they had no reason to suppose the Government of Turkey was hostile to the course they had taken. [MR. BOURKE: Does that apply to the Suez Canal?] Yes. Generally speaking, the Powers were favourable to their views; only in small matters of detail had objections been raised. The Government of France, it was true, had made no reply; but he had no doubt that was due to the present position of the Government there. The main part of the attack made upon them with regard to the future was not made to-night, but last night; to-night the debate was chiefly confined to the ancient history of the subject. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) declared that the principles enunciated in Lord Granville's despatch of November 4, 1881, had been completely repudiated; that whereas it had then been laid down that Her Majesty's Government desired no partizan Ministry in Egypt founded upon the influence of a foreign Diplomatic Agent, those principles had been denied by his noble Friend the Secretary of State for War. Her Majesty's Government had not departed from the principle laid down in the quoted despatch. In the debate in Committee on the Vote of Credit the same passage from that despatch was cited; and on July 25 he himself had said that England desired no partizan Ministry in Egypt. Those were the opinions of Her Majesty's Government at that date, and he went on to say that he wished to make that statement in the clearest terms. In answer to the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), who asserted that they were sending troops to Egypt in support of a partizan Ministry, he said—

> "We are doing nothing of the kind. So completely is the reverse of that statement true that we have actually recognized within the last few days the Ministry in which Arabi Pasha was formerly the Minister of War. . . . We are now in actual relations with that Ministry, which certainly cannot be called a partizan Ministry of our creation."—(3 *Hansard*, [272] 1717.)

He was not aware that that position was challenged, and, having regard for the altered circumstances, the statement might be repeated that their policy still proved that they desired no partizan Ministry in Egypt. In his speech from which he had quoted he traced the history of the Control, and showed how under the late Government it became political instead of financial. He pointed out how, through it, the late Government "did most absolutely and distinctly interfere in the internal and political affairs of Egypt." With regard to the future, they had every interest, not only from the Egyptian and philanthropic point of view, but from the English point of view, in desiring to develop Egyptian institutions, and they had made great efforts in that direction. He would only quote one instance. They had taken steps to do away with that exemption from taxation previously enjoyed by foreigners, and they also desired that the tenure of office held by foreigners should depend upon the Egyptian Government. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), however much he might doubt their good sense, had no grounds for considering that they desired to cover their position with fair words. Although the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and the hon. Member for Northampton might doubt the motives of the Government, complete confidence was shown by the Governments of Foreign Powers as to the disinterestedness of their policy and the sincerity of their propositions. The Government of this country was bound to prevent anarchy in Egypt, because that condition of affairs would mean the blockade and possible destruction of the Suez Canal. Before Her Majesty's Government entered upon the war the Conservative Party had agreed, according to the statements of their spokesmen at Willis's Rooms, on the existence of anarchy and on the duty cast upon the Government of protecting our great highway. But after having secured it, the Government's chief obligation was to promote the well-being of the Egyptian people, and that they were doing; so Arabi himself admitted. There was no question of annexation. Our troops were being withdrawn rapidly, but it was necessary to take the precautions mentioned in the Queen's Speech in order that we might leave peace and order behind us in Egypt as well as liberty. The Government had done nothing to violate the promises that had been given to the House, and intended to fulfil the undertakings into which they had entered.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that he must complain that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was somewhat ungenerous, though less ingenious than usual. He had only made a semblance of dealing with the difficulties of the case against him, and he had confused facts and dates in a way so utterly hopeless that it was impossible to unravel them. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman to give them the date when the Chamber of Notables was placed under undue pressure by Arabi Pasha and the Army. That date was at a considerably advanced period of the spring, because it was after that crisis had been going on for five months uninterruptedly that the moderate, but important, demands of the National Party had been contemptuously refused by Her Majesty's Government. The demand of the Chamber of Notables and of Arabi Pasha were three-fold; first, they demanded a representative Chamber; secondly, they demanded the dismissal of Riaz Pasha; and the third demand was that the Army should be reduced to 18,000 men; and yet the right hon. Gentleman put the last of these demands as the only one made by the Egyptian people. That was an instance of the gross inaccuracy of the right hon. Gentleman — an inaccuracy which he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) thought had never been equalled by any Minister in that House. He contended that the demands of the Egyptian Government had been just and moderate, and asked to be informed why were these moderate and just demands refused consideration by a Liberal Ministry, presided over by the orator of Mid Lothian? Because the Representatives of the English Government in Egypt told the Government that if they were granted they would ultimately involve the abolishment of the Control, and in order to maintain that Control—if they liked a Control established by Lord Salisbury, and not by Lord Derby—they drove the National Party to despair, and thus produced the war. Many of the other statements made by the right hon. Gentleman were equally unfair. The right hon. Gentleman made it a charge against the Opposition that they had described Arabi as a military adventurer; but why was Arabi so termed by the Opposition? Because the right hon. Gentleman himself had told the House that there was strong evidence connecting Arabi with the Alexandrian massacres. And yet, after describing him in that way, the right hon. Gentleman had been a party to the scheme by which Arabi had been let off. The right hon. Gentleman had also laid much stress on the fact that they had exhausted every means of coming to a decision before going to war. What did that mean? It meant that the Government had no policy whatever, and, after drifting about, were compelled to go back upon independent and isolated British action. The right hon. Gentleman asserted that we could rely upon receiving the support of other Powers; but he should be chary about placing implicit confidence in the right hon. Gentleman's assurances in the absence of fresh evidence. They were told the same sort of thing from September, 1881, down to July, 1882; but when they came to examine the Blue Books they found that on every single point almost all the Powers were opposed to the Government. Regarding the alleged difference of policy between Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury, he would observe that the statement was without proof; but, at all events, if the new form of Control which the right hon. Gentleman said Lord Salisbury had introduced had done so much mischief, why did not the present Government modify it soon after their entrance into Office? The right hon. Gentleman asserted that the power to abolish the Control was wanting. Let the right hon. Gentleman read the despatches of Lord Granville written the other day, in which that noble Lord stated that the Khedive had full authority to abolish the Control if he should desire to do so. Those despatches effectually disposed of the assumption that the Control as established by Lord Salisbury was immovable. What was the key-note to the policy of the Government?—for it was impossible to understand the question without looking at it. The key-note of their policy was probably one of the strangest that any Ministry had ever set before themselves. It had not been British interests, for they were ashamed to defend them. It was not the ancient traditions of the Foreign Office, for they had been violated and set aside; it was not motives of peace, because they had broken the peace; it was not the balance of power, because they had found it established, and they had completely destroyed it. The key-note of their policy had been the avowed and open desire to reverse the policy of their Predecessors, the late Government, in every single particular. ["Hear, hear!"] He accepted and understood the cheers of the hon. Member for Wycombe, as adding his seal, for what it was worth, to the fact that the key-note of the Government policy had been the spirit of faction. The Ministry found England strong, with the alliance of Germany and Austria, and with the friendship of Turkey, and the peace of Europe secure. They reversed that by insulting Austria and affronting Germany—["Oh, oh!"]—they had intrigued against Austria and Germany, and endeavoured to establish a counter-combination in Europe with free Italy, Republican France, and despotic Russia, and as a result they had set the controlling Power of Europe against them. They had met with nothing but confusion and embarrassment, until they found themselves separated by the force of circumstances from France, and obliged to act alone. Since that time the German Powers had been less hostile and the German Press had been more favourable. Lord Beaconsfield sought the alliance of Germany and Austria, and the friendship of Turkey, but, at the same time, succeeded in keeping upon perfectly good terms with France. How did the present Government now stand with regard to France? The Ministry were now at daggers drawn with their French ally of 12 months ago, for whom they sacrificed so much, and from whom they had gained so little? What had become of the "perfect accord" between the two Powers which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Chelsea stated in this House on the 15th of May last was "prepared for all eventualities?" It had gone the way of every other formal statement which the right hon. Gentleman made with so much *sang-froid* while he was at the Foreign Office. A French journal rightly described our policy in Egypt as "at once violent and underhand" towards the Ottoman Government. The Ministerial policy had undergone more phases than it was easy to count. At first, our Goverment, acting under the dictation of France, chased the envoys of the Sovereign of Egypt out of that dependency, and affronted him in every possible way, by scorning his advice, by sending Joint Notes and an *ultimatum* to his vassal without his consent or knowledge, and, finally, by bombarding his principal seaport against his protest and entreaties. At other times they begged him to send a Commissioner, a general, a ship of war, a proclamation against the rebels, an army. All the humours of a spoilt child—at one time pettish and defiant, at another coaxing and penitent—were displayed by the British Cabinet towards the Sultan and Government of the Ottoman Empire. There was neither dignity, nor consistency, nor justice in the treatment Turkey received. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite expected the Porte at one moment to endure with complaisance, and even pleasure, the grossest insult that could be offered to an independent Power, and, at the next, to be ready with grateful humility to lend its diplomacy, its armies, and its sovereign influence to every varying phase of their policy. As to France, for which Her Majesty's Government had sacrificed so much, the utterances in the French Chamber showed that the French Government was thoroughly dissatisfied with their policy. One piece of good fortune the Government had, indeed, enjoyed, and that was the internal impotence of France at this moment; but immediately that France obtained a strong Government, Her Majesty's Government would find themselves confronted by open hostility from France, probably backed up by the hostility of Turkey. Every effort had been made by the Government to offend Turkey. The Ottoman Empire was the Sovereign Power in Egypt, and yet the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), addressing his constituents recently, declared that the policy of the Government was to separate Egypt from Turkey, allowing the Egyptians to "stew in their own juice," and that the authority of the Sultan in Egypt was broken down and at an end. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) maintained that the Government had no right to prate about international engagements in the Royal Speech and allow a Minister to make such a disgraceful statement.

Mr. SPEAKER said, he must remind the hon. Member that the expression was un-Parliamentary.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he would withdraw the word disgraceful and substitute unstatesmanlike. He must, however, adhere to his opinion, that such a statement was very ill-advised. He contended that the Government had no consistent policy. They had no conception of the danger in Egypt. Although warned by the Sultan, by the Press, and by the European residents, in Egypt, they drifted along until they got into war. They were "everything by turns, and nothing long." First they based their policy upon the alliance with France and determined upon joint political action with France—a very different thing from joint financial action. For months they lingered on in hopes of that being carried through. The result of their subserviency to France had been that they not only had completely failed to carry out their action with France, but had almost come to blows with her. With respect to Turkey, Her Majesty's Government first joined France in chasing the envoys of the Sultan from Cairo. After that they begged the Sultan to assist them, they begged for every kind of assistance, although they had sent in a joint *ultimatum* Note with France without his sanction. It had been said that the Turkish Government were in complicity with Arabi; but of this there was no proof, and it was, moreover, most unlikely, seeing that the movement was a National one. On the contrary, the Sultan himself warned Lord Dufferin of the probable result of the movement. The Government had destroyed that National movement and its leader, and slain some thousands of the unfortunate Egyptian people, and now the Government posed as the defenders of the people—the most ridiculous assumption any Ministry had ever made. There was a fourth point in which the Government had reversed its policy. They used to hear a good deal about that chimera, invented to please the popular ear, which was called the Concert of Europe. The Government first tried joint action with France, but this collapsed. Then they had a Conference at Constantinople, and gave it, as it was said, a slap in the face by declaring war on their own account. The Government never had, in fact, a definite policy. If Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour had not made up his mind, the Government would never have made up theirs. If the war was not undertaken for British interests, what was it undertaken for? But the Government were ashamed to say it was undertaken for the purpose of protecting British political, commercial, and financial interests, and so they said they intervened to stop anarchy. But the anarchy was caused by themselves. If there ever was a war made in cold blood for the selfish interests of this country it was this Egyptian War. He was not, however, attacking it on that ground. The Government were guilty of the grossest inconsistency in making war, and the war itself was both unnecessary and unjustifiable. It was practically impossible for him to enter into details on that occasion, with a view to show the period when, and the manner in which, the war might have been avoided. The war, he asserted, however, might easily have been avoided, and when they said the war was unjustifiable, they spoke of the Egyptian War as a whole. He would not say that in July, 1882, war could certainly have been avoided; but with moderate sagacity and foresight on the part of the Government between September, 1881, and June, 1882, war might have been avoided. It was no answer to their impeachment of the Egyptian policy of the Government to say to the Conservative Party, as had been frequently said —"Oh, you are equally responsible, because you supported the Vote of Credit in August last, and you urged that British interests in Egypt should be safeguarded." The statement of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, that this Hotse was to forgive the Government for the mistakes of the past because in the future they might bring the troubles in Egypt to a satisfactory conclusion, was a demand upon the patience and forbearance of the Opposition which they could not acknowledge. There were moments and crises when, no matter how desperate and how unpardonable had been the faults of a Ministry, or how culpable they were for the impending war, a patriotic Opposition was bound to give its silent support to those measures which the Government, acting with their superior knowledge of the public necessity and of the national safety, declared solemnly before the Parliament and the country to be essential. The Opposition, in face of national peril and of foreign enemies, might feel bound to restrain its indignation and to smother its criticism till the peril had been met and averted. It reserved, however, its natural right, and, indeed, its national duty. The Opposition criticized freely and severely the faults which led to the crisis that the Government declared to require such exceptional measures to cope with. The blunders of the Government had been so incredible, that he had felt it his duty, on patriotic grounds, to refrain from expressing all he felt concerning them. There was a striking analogy between the policy of the Government in Egypt and in Ireland. ["Oh, oh!"] The Egyptian War and the Coercion Bills for Ireland were good instances of what he meant. Both in Egypt and Ireland the Government had neglected their duties, and in both countries they fostered rebellion until they could only remedy it by a resort to extreme measures of force which the Conservatives had always deprecated, and which they would never have had reason to employ, because they would have avoided the necessity. In neither instance were they justified in asking the Opposition to approve of their policy. After looking at all the various other causes of the Egyptian War, there was still one more —namely, the gross and persistent injustice with which Her Majesty's Ministers had treated the Ottoman Porte; and he would conclude by again declaring that he held the Government responsible for a war which, but for their own grievous blunders, would have been wholly unnecessary.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he must confess himself somewhat puzzled by that part of the opening statement of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) in which the hon. Gentleman said—"We think it necessary to move this Amendment." He was at a loss to know whom the hon. Member meant by "we." It could not be the Conservative Party, because some of them had repudiated his proposal, and it had also been repudiated by one of the Fourth Party. In fact, it was childish, and unworthy of the serious consideration of this side of the House. The hon. Member for Hertford had accused hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of refusing to support British interests. For himself, he (Sir George Campbell) denied that allegation. He was much in favour of supporting British interests as long as they could do so with tolerable honesty; but he objected to that intervention in Egypt, because he believed it was opposed to British interests, and that the complication, the difficulty, and the expense in which it would involve us would far outweigh any advantage that would be secured by our going there. Again, even where British interests existed, he was adverse to seeking to forward them by violence, injustice, and immorality. He did not think the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) went far enough, and that was his greatest objection to it. He did not suppose, after what they had heard from the Government, that the British troops would remain long in Egypt; but he was afraid that when they went away they would leave behind something like a Protectorate, and even more than a Protectorate — namely, an administration practically British. He knew of nothing in their interference with the Native States of India which equalled the interference they were about to exercise in Egypt. He had been surprised at the statement of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), that Her Majesty's Government had not appointed Sir Auckland Colvin as Financial Commissioner in Egypt; for, although that might be true technically, they had imposed on the Khedive obligations under which he was to accept a European Financial Adviser for a period of 10 years. Sir Auckland Colvin was a servant of the Indian Government, and had been recommended for that post. Sir Evelyn Wood had been appointed to command the Egyptian Army; and English officers were to drill, instruct, and exercise all superior functions over that Army, and the result would be that they would have in that country what would be as completely a British contingent as, and more so than, any contingent furnished by any Native State in India, and commanded by English officers. Besides that, they would leave a whole host of British officials, who would remain in Egypt, all which, it seemed to him, would amount to a very complete Protectorate, and he could not imagine when they should get rid of the obligations which that would involve. He understood that Her Majesty's Government undertook not only to introduce a civilized, stable, and permanent Government in Egypt, such as would give security and peace to the people, but also one which would punctually pay the debt incurred by the Khedives of that country. It seemed to him, however, that if they were to stay in Egypt until they had achieved all that, they might stay there until Doomsday. It might not be possible to withdraw their troops until some kind of Government had been established, but he had a great objection to any form of English Government being established. He did not wish the Egyptian people to "stew in their own juice;" but it must be remembered that they were Orientals, and we must be prepared to accept a Government which was not perfect according to our ideas. They might, perhaps, be allowed to simmer in their own juice. We ought, in this matter, to follow more closely the course we took in Afghanistan, and, having set up a tolerable Government in Egypt, we ought to get out of the country as soon as we could. He should be sorry to see anything like a British Administration continuing in that country 10 years, or it might be half-a-century. He thought the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle would be better if it included the words "British civil and military officers," so that the Resolution might express the opinion that British civil and military officers ought to be removed from Egypt at a very early date.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, it is not my intention to trouble the House at any length upon the discussion of the questions which have been so ably debated to-night, as I stated last night that it did not appear to me that the present was the most suitable occasion for raising a general debate with regard to the conduct of the Government in Egypt. On the contrary, I believe we shall have many opportunities—more than we perhaps shall desire—for discussing that policy. It is my firm conviction that, whatever may be said and decided now at the beginning of the Session, there will be more than one occasion in the course of the present Session, and I fear for more than one year to come, on which we shall find questions connected with this Egyptian settlement coming up, and coming, perhaps, in unpleasant forms before the House. I should have been well content to allow the matter to stand on the footing on which I left it after the few words which I said last night; but the course taken by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) is one that compels me to reconsider my course, and to look forward as to what will be the effect of the vote which we shall have to give one way or the other on his Motion. I ask myself, and wish to ask the House, what is the real effect and construction of the proposal brought before us by the hon. Member? Sir, we know that we cannot, in these matters, altogether separate the wording of a particular Resolution from the known opinions, sentiments, character, and views of those by whom it is proposed; and we must feel that when a proposal of this sort comes from a Gentleman who has taken so leading and prominent part in advocating particular views as the hon. Baronet, who has been so honourably distinguished by consistent opposition to the policy of the Government, we cannot but see what the effect will be of giving a vote in support of it. I may say, in connection with the point, that my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle has, on many occasions, taunted me for not having submitted to the House some Resolution declaring that the late war was unnecessary and, therefore, unjustifiable, and has intimated that it was his wish that such a Motion should be made that he might have the opportunity of supporting that declaration. Although I have never shrunk in the least degree from declaring my opinion in this House and out of it with respect to the character of that war, yet, as far as the suggestion of the hon. Baronet is concerned, I have always felt that although that support might be given in words, yet, in spirit and in substance, it would not be a real and beneficial support such as should arise from a concurrence of opinion. Neither do I think it would be of any advantage, or a right course to follow, to endeavour to catch the votes of the hon. Baronet and his Friends, looking to the views which those hon. Gentlemen have expressed, by words which would have a different meaning in his mouth and in mine. I feel the same with regard to the Amendment which he has brought forward on the present occasion. Let me call the attention of the House to the nature of the Amendment. In the Address it is proposed—

> "Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that the reconstitution of the Government of Egypt and the reorganisation of its affairs under the authority of the Khedive have in part been accomplished and will continue to receive Her Majesty's earnest attention."

Upon that, the hon. Baronet proposes to add an Amendment directed against the employment of British troops in Egypt.

I can only regard that Amendment as it has been regarded by one or two speakers, as referring to the present and prospective conduct of the Government in Egypt and not to past transactions. The Amendment is to the effect that the House expresses its hopes that the affairs of Egypt will not be reorganized by the employment of British troops. I cannot conceive a more dangerous or mischievous course than that. It would be to entirely weaken the hands of the Government; and not only that, but it would place a false construction upon the policy of this country, and give the signal for anarchy and confusion in Egypt. Therefore it is that I am not prepared to vote for, but, on the contrary, am quite determined to vote against, the Resolution proposed by the hon. Baronet. I cannot, however, help feeling that, in supporting the Government against the hon. Baronet, I might be giving the impression that I approve and concur in the policy of the Government with regard to Egypt; and I am, therefore, thankful to have an opportunity given me by the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) to put clearly upon record, as far as I myself am concerned, and I believe also as far as most of us on this side of the House are concerned, my dissent from that policy, and more especially my opinion with respect to what I consider to have been the blunders and errors which have been committed by Her Majesty's Government, in consequence of which we have been led into a war which might and could have been avoided, having at the same time a due regard to British interests. Now, these are the words of my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford—

> "Whilst assuring Her Majesty of our support in such Measures as may be necessary for a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of Egypt, humbly to express our regret that steps were not taken at an earlier period which might have secured such objects as are of importance to this Country, without involving the necessity for military operations."

I am convinced now, as I have been all along, that with greater wisdom, caution, resolution, and consistency on the part of the Government in the later months of 1881 and the earlier months of 1882, they might have attained every desirable object that this country had an interest in as regards the affairs of Egypt without resorting to bloodshed or violence of any kind, and in such a manner as to escape the sad necessity of last year. We have a right, without being inconsistent, to say that we condemn the conduct of the Government as being deficient in wisdom and foresight at that time, although we felt it necessary to support their action after affairs had taken a certain course. We could not deal with these matters as they were going on, because we were kept in the dark with regard to them, inasmuch as negotiations were then going on, and there was much that the Government could not lay before us. We were always stopped, when we made inquiries, by an assurance that negotiations were going on between ourselves and our French neighbours, and we were given most distinctly to understand, and we did believe, that the result of those negotiations was the most cordial co-operation between ourselves and the French Government with regard to the Egyptian Question, and that some way or another—we did not care how—the difficulties which were constantly cropping up with regard to that question would be got over without any warlike operations. I believe, myself, that the Government had the same opinion at the time; but when we come to see the course which they pursued, how they vacillated from time to time, how they missed opportunities which they will never have again, one really wonders at their blindness. The fact is, that from the beginning of these transactions to the end their policy was one which I will venture to describe as one of dawdling. I believe that even among the Ministry themselves the idea was entertained that the best way of dealing with matters of this sort was to dawdle, and to let the difficulties settle themselves. By that means they relieved themselves of many of the difficulties they had to face. In my opinion, however, such a policy was an erroneous one, and has had most unfortunate results. As to the conditions in which we were placed, I think it is really unnecessary for me to take any further notice of the statement which some supporters of Her Majesty's Government have not been ashamed to make, that many of the difficulties of the Ministry have arisen and have been inherited from the conduct of their Predecessors and from the Dual Control established by my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury)—they are so meagre, that I do not think that it is necessary that I should notice them, because I cannot think that Gentlemen of experience in the position of Her Majesty's Ministry would think that such an assertion was worthy of being supported by argument. In the first place, those who make such assertions must take a most narrow view of the circumstances of the case, and, in point of fact, it is not a correct view to say that it was the Dual Control which produced and led to these difficulties. But, even supposing that it did, I do not see how those who make that assertion can answer the observation of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), that when Her Majesty's Government had a perfect opportunity for dealing with the matter, without any reference to what had been done by Lord Beaconsfield's Government, during the two years they were in Office before the difficulties in question arose, they entirely failed to do so. It must be remembered that the Government were not in the position of being the slaves of their Predecessors; they had obtained the administration of affairs by denouncing the policy of their Predecessors, and it was to be expected that they would reverse and alter rather than follow the policy of the late Government. Seeing that they did not do so, it leads me to believe that they were not disposed to condemn, but rather that they might be taken to have admitted that that policy was a right one, and was one which they were prepared to adopt and follow. Consequently, what we have a right to say is, that the policy which we carried out during several years, under much greater difficulties than any the present Government have had to contend with, was most successful. We are also entitled to say that, having inherited such a policy, they so mismanaged it as to produce exactly opposite results to those their Predecessors in Office had in view. That policy was directed to the maintenance and protection of the interests of this country, to the welfare of Egypt, and to the moderating and rendering impossible, so far as we could, conditions and differences that might lead to war with other European Powers, or with the Egyptians themselves. The difficulty which led to the deposition of the late Khedive was a far greater one than that raised by the conduct of Arabi Pasha, which raised questions of very great magnitude. On the other hand, we have been told over and over again that Arabi Pasha was a mere military adventurer, and that the movement he initiated must not be regarded as a national one in any sense. If that was the case, why did not the Government, with the powers and advantages which they possessed, stamp out and extinguish the movement at the beginning, without allowing it to attain the proportions that it did? They had then the advantage of the system of Control which was in force, and which had been adopted under an agreement with the Rulers of the country, and which had been in operation for some time with a fair prospect of success. The Government had the advantage also of the assistance, which might be claimed at the proper time, of the exercise of the authority of the Suzerain Power; and they had the further advantage of their own cordial alliance with the Government of France, and that they had never done anything in the way of war or violence which might set any portion of the people against them. The people of Egypt knew us then, for the most part, as those who reduced the severity of the existing system, and had introduced great improvements. A great deal of that has now been sacrificed by them, owing to the course they have pursued, and cannot be restored; and you have now to meet that still greater difficulty—you have to act with a Ruler practically set up by yourselves, no longer having that same prestige, and without that cordial alliance with France in the matter which, if properly used, would have been of the greatest value; and you have made your own influence supreme. We say that there has been great mismanagement in this matter. You have been too hasty on one occasion, and on another occasion you have been too slow; and the end has been that you have now landed us in a confusion which speaks for itself. It is all very well for the Government to say—"We can bend our course this way or that," and that we must judge you by the result you have produced. ["Hear, hear!"] Does the right hon. Gentleman mean that results produced by warlike operations are results which the Government, in their calmer moments, are satisfied with producing? If so, I should like to ask hon. Gentlemen in that other quarter of the House below the Gangway on the other side of the House who cheer—"Do they hold that opinion? Do they think that has been an example of brilliant success on the part of their trusted Leader?" They may say that if they are called upon to give any vote that might be embarrassing to their Leaders they decline to do so, because they have confidence in them after all. I can understand such an opinion as that on the part of all hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on the other side of the House. I venture most confidently, however, to ask those hon. Gentlemen, do they, in their hearts, believe that in this whole matter of the Egyptian policy of the Government, allowing for all the difficulties and circumstances—do they conceive that the result is such a brilliant success? If they do, and if they are thoroughly well satisfied with it, I can only say that I think they are more changed than I thought they were. I do not know that I need go into any discussion upon this subject at the present time. We put in our protest, and we think that it is our privilege to do so; and with regard to the future, we shall watch with anxiety to see what the course of the Government may be. We know very well that they have a difficult task before them; but do not let hon. Members be led away by any of these sophisms and shallow sentiments that we have heard, for we hear very grand sentiments, which are not at all supported by the actions of their followers. I hope, however, that is not the case on the present occasion. I hope that with regard to this policy the Government will devote their attention more anxiously to the problem which is before them; and I venture to say they will find that they have embroiled themselves in very considerable difficulties, and that they will need the whole of their skill and wisdom to extricate themselves.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I took up so much of the time of the House last evening in relation to this subject, that I shall only now trouble you for a brief period with the remarks which I may have to make. There are, however, one or two observations which can be properly offered upon the speech which has been made by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Sir Stafford Northcote), and on the position which matters have assumed on this occasion. We have always been well aware both of the public and of the patriotic spirit of self-sacrifice which distinguishes the right hon. Gentleman and the Opposition. I may even say, in relation to this matter, the right hon. Gentleman, in the statement he has just made, has given the most splendid instance of it to be found, I think, on record. He has told us that he has long been of opinion, and is still of opinion, and that he has never shrunk from declaring it, that the war that took place in Egypt was an unnecessary and therefore an unjustifiable war. "But," he says, "if I am asked why I do not put that opinion in the form of a Resolution, that is quite a different thing. I could not do that, because I was perfectly well aware that the hon. Member for Carlisle and his Friends would have voted with me, and would have attached a very different meaning to any Resolution which I might have framed from that which I attached to it myself." Therefore, Sir, although the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends have for months been cherishing that burning opinion of the unjustifiable and therefore wicked character of this war, nothing would have induced them to submit that opinion to the judgment of the House, because, forsooth, they would have been supported by some hon. Members who would have attached a different meaning to the Resolution. All I can say is that I admire the patriotism and public spirit of the right hon. Gentleman; and I only trust that the noble sentiments and principles which have actuated his conduct and that of his Friends in relation to this matter will continue to actuate him, and that he will never, on any account, or on any subject whatever, be induced to submit any Resolution to the House which will not be supported by Members who will agree with every detail of it. The right hon. Gentleman says he could not vote for the Amendment which has been moved by my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), because it would weaken the hands of the Government in the difficult task in which they are now engaged in Egypt. But, Sir, while I am indebted to the right hon. Gentleman for that consideration which he has shown to the Government in that matter, I must point out to him that the Resolution he is going to support would weaken the hands of the Government to the extent that if the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) is carried, I am afraid it would render it impossible for them to continue to conduct the affairs of the country at all. Therefore the Resolution would also weaken the hands of the Government in carrying on the task with which they are charged in Egypt. But, no doubt, the right hon. Gentleman having challenged the judgment of the House on this subject, is prepared to take the settlement of the Egyptian affairs into his own hands. The right hon. Gentleman says that, although he would prefer a more convenient opportunity, yet, as the subject has been raised, he finds it necessary to place clearly on record the sense which he and his Friends entertain of the many and serious blunders which have been committed by the Government in the course of the transactions referred to. Now, I want to point out to the House the extraordinary position which the Opposition has taken up in regard to this matter. The right hon. Gentleman made early in the debate last night any observations it seemed fit to him to make on the question of Egypt; if he did not do so, all I can say is, he had the opportunity of doing so if he wished. He has had all the information that it has been in our power to give relating to our past transactions with Egypt. He knows, and has known for months, all that can be known of the policy of the Government and of the negotiations that have been engaged in from stage to stage, and yet he deliberately elects to take no action on this occasion, which he does not think a fitting or convenient one, to put into a definite form the opinion which he holds as to the unjustifiable character of the war that has been concluded. But, Sir, when a Motion is made from that side of the House condemning, as it is intended to condemn—although it does not do it in very clear terms—the employment of the troops of Her Majesty in support of the Khedive, then the right hon. Gentleman, notwithstanding his opinion that this is not a fitting opportunity to challenge the conduct of the Government, thinks it necessary to follow at the heels of the hon. Member for Hertford, and to support an Amendment which he has moved expressing, in vague and general terms, some dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Government in these transactions. The right hon. Gentleman talks of putting clearly on record the sense of the Opposition of the blunders of the Government. What does this Motion place clearly on record? What does this Resolution mean?—

> "While assuring Her Majesty of our support in such Measures as may be necessary for a satisfactory settlement of affairs in Egypt, humbly to express our regret that steps were not taken at an earlier period which might have secured such objects as are of importance to this country without involving the necessity for military operations."

I want to know what steps, and at what period? No one in this country is ignorant now of the various stages of these transactions. They are definite and well marked. When or where was it that other steps might have been taken which might have secured the objects we had in view? I will enumerate the distinct stages of these transactions. There was the Joint Note; there were the overtures of M. Gambetta in regard to joint action; there was the despatch of the Fleet; there was the demand for the dismissal of Arabi Pasha; there was the proposal to the European Powers for the assembly of a Conference; there was the assembly of a Conference, and the efforts made at the Conference to induce the Powers to call upon Turkey to send a force to suppress Arabi Pasha. There was the destruction of the forts of Alexandria—which the Opposition, in their desire to support Her Majesty's Government, choose to call the "bombardment" of the town of Alexandria; and there was the despatch of the expedition in July. Now, in what particular, or in which of the stages of these transactions, ought the Government to have done that which the right hon. Gentleman tells us we should have done? What is the meaning of a vague Resolution like this, telling us that steps were not taken which might have been taken? The right hon. Gentleman is so proud of one attack he made upon us on a former occasion, that he thinks it worth while to repeat it to-night. He thinks he has absolutely condemned, pulverized—smashed, I suppose—the policy of Her Majesty's Government when he says, as he has done several times, that it is a policy of "dawdling." But the right hon. Gentleman, or some of his Friends, should have told us at what particular period this dawdling occurred. He tells us that sometimes we were too rash, and sometimes too slow; but he does not condescend to tell us at what particular moment we were too slow or too rash. He tells us that we missed great opportunities—that there were moments when we might have supported Arabi Pasha, but that, instead of doing this, we relied entirely on Tewfik Pasha and his influence in the country. If my recollection serves me aright, the bearing of all the questions put across the Table by hon. Gentlemen opposite was—"Will you promise, under all circumstances, to support Tewfik?"

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I did not say anything against Tewfik.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The right hon. Gentleman says he did not say anything against Tewfik. At any rate, he called him a "creature." I do not know whether he considers that is saying anything against him.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am sure the noble Marquess does not wish to misrepresent me. What I said was, that before these operations took place Tewfik was in an independent position and ought to have been supported by us, and might have been supported by us with certain advantage; but since he has been set up again by our arms he has occupied a different position. I never said a word about Arabi Pasha.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I agree with the right hon. Gentleman. I do not wish to misrepresent him; and I think it possible I may have done so, because, to tell the truth, I found it very difficult to carry away any definite impression of what he meant. I understood the right hon. Gentleman to follow the line of argument of those who were of opinion that there was a period in these transactions when we might have supported Arabi Pasha, and a period at which we might have supported Tewfik more effectually. The hon. Gentleman the Mover of this Amendment—the hon. Member for Hertford—only thought it worth while to allege one point, where he considered we might have taken earlier action. He quoted from the Blue Book part of the despatch of Sir Edward Malet of May 23, in which that official stated that the situation which existed at the time in Egypt had been brought about by the Ministers and the people persisting in the belief that the two Powers would not despatch troops to that country. The extract the hon. Member read did not, I think, include the passage in which Sir Edward Malet said—

> "I am still of opinion that if the Sultan declares himself, and if it is known that troops are ready to be despatched, we may succeed without the necessity for landing them."

Well, that was the policy Her Majesty's Government were at that time pursuing. They were doing everything in their power to induce the Powers of Europe to request Turkey to adopt the policy of despatching a force to Europe for the restoration of the Khedive's authority, exactly in the manner recommended by Sir Edward Malet. There was nothing in the despatch of Sir Edward Malet to show that France and England jointly, or England solely, would accomplish the objects for which the war was subsequently undertaken. But a little earlier than that time we had the support of the Opposition, or, at all events, of a part of it. On the 15th of May Lord Granville, in the House of Lords, announced what had been done, and the circumstances under which the Fleet had been ordered to Alexandria. The Marquess of Salisbury rose immediately afterwards and said he had no exception to take to the statement of policy made by Lord Granville, and he went on to say that he trusted with the noble Lord that the use of the sword would not be necessary, but could only be averted by the knowledge that the sword was there. The noble Marquess went on to say that it was very necessary it should be known what sword it should be; that, in his opinion, the best sword to use would be that of Turkey; and that, under any circumstances, the worst sword would be the sword of France. We were, therefore, adopting at that time the very policy recommended by the Marquess of Salisbury. We were doing everything we could to enlist in our cause the sword of Turkey. But I do not think I need follow any further the course of this debate. It is very easy for hon. Members on a Motion such as this to wander here and there over several volumes of Blue Books, to pick out here and there a despatch, and to enforce, by means of extracts from that despatch, their favourite doctrine and their favourite case against the Government; but I submit that the Government can hardly be called on to give a reply to vague, rambling, and desultory accusations, such as we have heard to-night. Place before the House some Amendment which will call in question the policy of the Government, on some particular point or points—tell us where we acted rashly, and when we were too slow, and then we will endeavour to meet you; but we cannot—it is impossible to—follow a variety of speeches in which extracts are taken out of Blue Books ranging from January to May, and when a variety of separate transactions are mixed up together in an incongruous debate. The right hon. Gentleman asks us whether we are satisfied with the result achieved. No doubt, we regret, and all the country regrets, that it was necessary for us to draw the sword at all; but we do think that, having been compelled to draw it, as we think in defence of the interests of this country, and to fulfil engagements for which we are not altogether responsible, the result that has been achieved has been a satisfactory one, and that it has been achieved as rapidly and with as little sacrifice of life and of money as could have reasonably been expected; and if the right hon. Gentleman is inclined now to disparage our success, and the result that has been accomplished, I should like to ask him what was the result he and his Friends anticipated when, on the 30th June, they went to Willis's Rooms, not to attack or denounce the Government, as they informed their audience, but to guide, and, if possible, stimulate the policy of the Government? What was the result they looked forward to on that occasion, and did they, when "stimulating" and "guiding" the Government, expect that any more satisfactory result would be arrived at than has been achieved? I will not detain the House any longer; but I must congratulate the Opposition on the brilliant result they have accomplished after months of consideration and denunciation of the Government. I congratulate them upon their partial adhesion to the policy of the hon. Member for Carlisle, and upon the manly, straightforward, and clear Amendment upon which they are going to challenge the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS (who rose amid great interruption), said, he did not propose to stand between the House and a Division. He only wished to ask for an explanation of one phrase used by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), which explanation, no doubt, the noble Marquess would be able to afford the House. The noble Marquess said that on May 15 the Government were doing all they could to enlist the sword of Turkey. Well, he (Baron Henry de Worms) referred to the despatch of Lord Granville to Lord Dufferin, dated "Foreign Office, May 15th, 1882," and he found in it the following paragraph:—

> "In order not to complicate the situation, it is important that the Turkish Government should abstain from all intervention and interference in Egypt."

How was that to be explained?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The despatch I referred to was dated May 23rd. I have not had time to refer to the other. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) spoke of the despatch of May 23rd, as showing that Sir Edward Malet had given us at that time a warning. I said that at that time the Government were endeavouring to co-operate with Turkey. It was about that time—I cannot exactly state the time — when the co-operation of the French Government had at length been secured, and definite proposals had been made to the Porte.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question put,

> "That the words 'whilst assuring Her Majesty of our support in such Measures as may be necessary for a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of Egypt, humbly to express our regret that steps were not taken at an earlier period which might have secured such objects as are of importance to this Country, without involving the necessity for military operations,' be there added."

The House *divided:* — Ayes 144; Noes 179: Majority 35. — (Div. List, No. 2.)

Main Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

[*Second Night.*]

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENTARY OATHS ACT (1866) AMENDMENT BILL.

RESOLUTION IN COMMITTEE.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair (for Committee to consider of amending the Law relating to Parliamentary Oaths)."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 160; Noes 70: Majority 90.—(Div. List, No. 3.)

MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Parliamentary Oaths."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he wished to explain that, although he could not blame himself for voting against every stage of this Bill, so far as it was at present understood, before giving his vote on the last question, he had risen for the purpose of putting some questions to Her Majesty's Government, when Mr. Speaker ruled that he was too late, and he had therefore voted in the minority. He was now aware of the fact that a number of hon. Members had left on the understanding that as the introduction of the Bill had come upon the House by surprise, if anything were done in their absence, an adjournment should be asked for. Surely such a Bill as this, involving matter that had been in contest in the House, a Bill for attaining an object which the House had always refused, especially as it affected the constitution of the House in its fundamental principles, was a measure that might have been deemed worthy of notice in the Queen's Speech. But what had happened? On the first day of the Session, the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) rose in his place, and put a question to the noble Marquess who at present directed the Ministerialists in that House, asking him whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill for the alteration of the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866? The noble Marquess replied in the affirmative, and upon hon. Members occupying those Benches, as well as upon the great majority of the House, the announcement that such was the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers came as a complete surprise. He (Mr. Newdegate) had been in communication with the leading Members on that side of the House, and, with their consent, he intended to ask for the adjournment of this question. When Her Majesty's Ministers had an opportunity of making some explanation of the provisions of the Bill, and of the circumstances under which it was introduced by them, he trusted they would succeed in exonerating themselves from the imputation of having introduced it under terror of what had proved to be Mr. Bradlaugh's very weak mob; and, having done so, that they would condescend to give to the House the further explanation asked for with regard to the Bill itself. He would remind hon. Members that they were, for the first time, about to consider and debate this Bill under the New Rules of Procedure, which were framed with the intention of curtailing debate; and it was, therefore, doubly incumbent on the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General to give all possible information, and afford every opportunity of obtaining information, on introducing to the House so important a measure.

MR. R. N. FOWLER said, he did not share the curiosity felt by his hon. Friend who had just spoken (Mr. Newdegate) as to the details of the proposed measure. He was perfectly well aware, and he believed the House was also aware, of the nature of the Bill, the object of which was simply to admit to that House a man who had avowed his disbelief in a Supreme Being. The Bill, if it became law, would, he believed, amount to a national renunciation of God; and he, therefore, felt it his duty to give it upon every occasion his most strenuous opposition.

MR. WARTON said, he could scarcely find words to express his opinion upon this proposal. He thought nothing in the history of this country was more disgraceful than this yielding to mob law. Nothing could be more despicable than that, because some man threatened to force his way into the House of Commons, contrary to the Rules and wishes of the House, the Government should immediately bow their heads before him, and prefer Bradlaugh to God. Every day the Members of that House opened their solemn deliberations by prayer, and in their prayers they recognized the sanctity of religion, and acknowledged a God by Whom alone Kings could reign. That was the Constitutional theory upon which their laws were based; and the day on which they set aside that principle would be the most unhappy day England had ever seen. Englishmen were patriotic and loyal; and the reason why this country had been so blessed beyond all others was that we had always recognized the providence of God. The country could have no more short-sighted policy, were there Atheists or not on the Treasury Bench, than a policy abolishing the national recognition of God. He had never heard anything in the speeches of the Prime Minister that horrified him more than the charge he made against those who opposed the admission of Atheists, that they stood on too narrow a platform. Such a statement showed that the power and authority of God were thought nothing of by this Liberal Ministry. The House ought to have an explanation from the hon. and learned Attorney General of what the Bill was to be, and of the motives of the Government for producing it. In the absence of such an explanation, he believed that the Government were merely yielding to Democratic and Socialistic and Atheistic principles. Such principles prevailed during the French Revolution; and if we wished to reduce England to the position of France in its worst stages, we could not adopt a better method than the introduction of a Bill to ignore God and bring in Mr. Bradlaugh. Nothing could be more irreligious than this Bill; and he felt sure it would arouse the feeling of the country against the Government. A more silly and wicked thing the Liberal Government could not do.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he was very unwilling that the House should think there was any want of consideration on his part towards them through the absence of an explanation of this Bill. He had two principal reasons for not thinking it necessary to give any further explanation of the Bill, which hon. Members would be able easily to master when it was in their hands. The first reason was that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) stated, on the previous day, the general nature of the measure, in answer to a Question. He stated that it was a Bill which would afford an opportunity to those who desired to make an Affirmation in preference to taking the Oath to take that course. That statement explained the general nature of the Bill. His (the Attorney General's) second reason was that when Notice was given of the introduction of this Bill, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), speaking on the part of the Opposition, said he should offer opposition to the Bill when it reached the second reading. [MR. CHAPLIN: If ever it reached.] He would challenge the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) on the point. The statement was—"When the Bill reached the second reading." The words "if ever" were not used, as suggested by the hon. Member. If the right hon. Gentleman, and those with whom he immediately acted, had intended to oppose the Bill at that stage, where were they then? The right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition and the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire were simply following the usual habit of Parliamentary courtesy in allowing hon. Members to see the contents of a Bill before opposing it. For those reasons, he thought it was considerate to the House not to make a lengthened statement. He was sure the Committee would excuse him; and he did not think he need gratify the curiosity on the part of the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler), or that the House would wish him to answer the personal observations or theological views of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton).

MR. CHAPLIN said, he should not have risen, except for the observations which had fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. He was distinctly under the impression, although of course it was a matter of memory and hearing, that what the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) said was either "if ever" or "whenever" the Bill reached the second reading, he would oppose it by every possible means. But whatever the right hon. Gentleman might have said, as Leader of the Opposition on that occasion, he (Mr. Chaplin) ventured to say that that question above all others was one which concerned every independent and individual Member, and was one upon which those hon. Members were perfectly competent to express opinions for themselves. The hon. and learned Attorney General had urged some complaints against hon. Gentlemen on that (the Opposition) side of the House, on the ground that their action was a departure from the usual courtesy of the House, by which, on almost every occasion, Bills were allowed to be introduced without opposition; but he must remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that that was a totally unusual occasion, and was absolutely without precedent. It was true that the Leader of the Opposition was absent on the present occasion; but he (Mr. Chaplin), for one, could not admit that fact as any ground or reason why independent Members, who were totally opposed to the introduction of a measure which they regarded as one of the most fatal measures ever introduced into that House, were to hold their mouths and not offer such opposition as they deemed it their duty and their right to offer. When he considered the opinions expressed on that side of the House, and the enormous importance of the question—which was being raised, he believed, for the first time in the history of this country—he did not think that was an hour at which this debate ought to proceed. It was out of all reason that the House should be called upon at 1 o'clock in the morning to debate the introduction of a Bill which involved consequences of the most enormous magnitude and importance to this country—a Bill which the great majority of hon. Members on that side of the House, and many on the other side, regarded, as they were obliged to regard it, as a Bill for only one purpose—namely, to facilitate the entrance of Atheists into the Parliament of England. It was the most mischievous and pernicious measure ever introduced into that Assembly; and, under the circumstances, he had not the slightest doubt as to the course he ought to pursue, and that was to move that the debate be adjourned by Progress being reported.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he had much pleasure in seconding the Motion of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), for he considered this a Bill which ought, at its initiative stage, to occupy the attention of the House. Seeing that on the first night of the Session, a Member of the Government announced the introduction of a measure which was not mentioned in the Queen's Speech, the House ought to have some further assurance from Her Majesty's Government that this measure would not be pressed upon the House with any undue haste. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) certainly stated, on the previous day, the object of the Bill; but he did not say whether it was regarded as a measure of the first importance, or whether it was to take precedence of every other measure to be introduced by the Government. The Committee ought to have some assurance from the noble Marquess upon those points. If they allowed the Bill to be introduced that night, they ought to have some statement as to whether it was to be proceeded with before any other Bill. That was a measure which occupied the attention of every constituency; and he could assure the Government that it would meet with the most violent opposition from that side of the House. He himself should feel perfectly justified in saying—and he believed he expressed the feeling of that side of the House—that he should oppose this Bill in every possible way, and at every possible stage. It was the duty of the Conservative Party to show to the country that they were determined, as long as they had breath in their bodies, to use every Form of the House to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh, or any other Atheist, coming into the House of Commons.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Mr. GRANTHAM said, he quite agreed that it was unusual to oppose a Bill at this stage; but the Committee ought to remember the extraordinary position in which the House and the country were placed by the course taken by the Government. It should not be forgotten that this was not the first time that this question had been before the House and the country. For three years it had been before the House, and until yesterday hon. Members were under the impression that the Government would take the same course as they had adopted on all preceding occasions—that they would render no special assistance to the hon. Member for Northampton to obtain full admission to the House; but in consequence of the threats of Mr. Bradlaugh, and the fear of his mobs, the Government had made the compact they heard yesterday between Mr. Bradlaugh's Judus Achates, Mr. Labouchere, and themselves——[" Order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. and learned Member that, under the New Rules, a Motion to report Progress must be strictly confined to reasons why Progress is moved.

MR. GRANTHAM said, he was extremely obliged to the Chairman for calling him to Order and reminding him that the House was under the New Rules, as it was well the country should see the way they were to be enforced; but it seemed to him that the observations he was making were pertinent to the question why Progress should be reported, because it was in consequence of the extraordinary position in which hon. Members found themselves placed by the Government, that he thought it desirable Progress should be reported. Therefore, with the permission of the Chairman, he would continue his reasons why Progress should be reported.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject-matter of the Motion is not now before the Committee. The Question is, whether Progress shall be reported, in order that the Motion shall be taken up on another occasion.

MR. GRANTHAM said, he was at a loss to understand why he was not entitled to give his reasons for wishing to report Progress, as that was all he intended to do; but he was determined to make this protest, in order to call the attention of the country to the extraordinary position in which they were placed at the eleventh hour, as it were, by the Government, who had carefully abstained from mentioning this Bill in the Queen's Speech, and had not even now fully explained its character. On the previous day, when the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) asked what the intentions of the Government were, he stated in distinct terms that if the Government would yield to the threats of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), then the latter would keep quiet, as he had lately done; otherwise he would try to force himself into the House; he would enter into a "Treaty," in fact, with the Government, and take no steps to force his way into the House. The position of the House was so extraordinary that he should not only protest, but vote against the Bill being introduced.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he also thought that the Motion should be agreed to. The reason why he thought Progress should be reported, and they should wait for another occasion, was this—that on Thursday Mr. Bradlaugh attended at Trafalgar Square with a brawling mob, and that at the end of Friday's Sitting — after half-past 12 o'clock—the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, clutching at the advantage of the New Rules, got up and, without assigning any reason, called on the House to vitally alter the Constitution of the country. The House and the country were clearly led to infer that the first step towards the alteration of the Constitution was taken by Mr. Bradlaugh and his mob on Thursday. He could not do otherwise than consider that to introduce this Bill was to humiliate the Parliament of England before Bradlaugh and his mob.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 69; Noes 156: Majority 87.—(Div. List, No. 4.)

Original Question again proposed.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, this Bill was of such an unusual character that for once he must step out of the paths which he had held in the House of Commons for many years, and do his little to obstruct a most obnoxious measure, which he believed to be the result of mob law terrorism upon Her Majesty's Government. He must move that the Chairman do now leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Lord Henry Lennox.*)

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 68; Noes 151: Majority 83.—(Div. List, No. 5.)

Original Question again proposed.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON said, he should like to make an appeal to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). He thought the time had arrived when, under the ordinary rules of courtesy, which he trusted they might be able to revert to under the *clôture*, the noble Marquess might be able to see his way to conceding what had been asked for for some time by a large minority in the House. This Bill had been flashed upon the House in a most extraordinary manner by Her Majesty's Government; and he, therefore, was of opinion, considering the peculiar circumstances attending its introduction, and the very great importance Ministers evidently attached to it, and which was felt with regard to it throughout the country, that the noble Marquess would do well to agree to an adjournment.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to what has fallen from the noble Lord (Lord Claud Hamilton), I, in my turn, should like to make an appeal to hon. Members opposite. I would appeal to them to consider the character of the opposition in which they are at present engaged. The nature of that opposition was very candidly admitted by the noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) who just now moved that the Speaker do leave the Chair, for he informed us that he would do all he could to obstruct this Bill. [Lord HENRY LENNOX: Hear, hear!] Very well. I see sitting on the opposite side of the House, and taking part in these proceedings, many hon. Members who have been as loud in their denunciation of Obstruction as any Member of the Government. In spite of the attitude these hon. Members took up in the past, on the very first occasion when leave is asked to introduce a Bill which happens to be particularly distasteful to them, they obstruct almost without using the slightest argument in support of their position.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We cannot now—the New Rules prevent our discussing the Motions.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I say, that almost without using the slightest argument, hon. Members opposite appear to consider themselves justified in resorting, without the slightest concealment, to what they themselves are compelled to admit is wilful and deliberate Obstruction.

Several hon. MEMBERS: No, no! Only one Member has admitted it.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox) made a Motion, as he said himself, for the purpose of Obstruction.

LORD HENRY LENNOX: Perhaps the noble Marquess will allow me to correct him. I am sure he does not wish to misrepresent what I said. What I said was that I was determined to obstruct the progress of the Bill at this hour of the morning. [Several hon. MEMBERS: No, no!]

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I beg the noble Lord's pardon; but I cannot admit the accuracy of the correction. No doubt he is right as to what he meant to say; but what I heard him say was that he intended to do his little to obstruct every stage of this most objectionable Bill. I was going to say, when interrupted, that I feel convinced that every hon. Member opposite who has taken part in these proceedings thinks this is a Bill the character of which amply warrants Obstruction. But, unfortunately, that may be the position of some section or other of the House in regard to any Bill which could be brought forward. Hon. Members who obstruct always say that the peculiar character of the Bill they object to warrants their obstruction; therefore, although I am willing to admit the sincerity of the opposition, I must reply to the appeal made to me by asking hon. Members opposite to consider whether, on this occasion, they are not setting an evil example, or establishing an evil precedent, by the course they are following?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he wished to know what the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) would say if a Member of the Opposition applied the same criticism to hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Government Benches?

An hon. MEMBER wished to ask the Chairman whether there was any Question before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN, without replying, called upon Mr. A. J. Balfour to continue his observations.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the noble Marquess then went on to appeal to the Opposition, and to say that Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House were now engaged in that which they had so often condemned—namely, obstructing the progress of Business. His (Mr. Balfour's) answer to that was—"You have provided a remedy against Obstruction." What were hon. Members occupied with during the whole of the latter part of last Session? Why, he recollected thinking, whilst they were passing the New Rules, that one of the most fatal results of their work would be that in the future they would never be able to accuse anyone of Obstruction. If they should disapprove of the proceedings of hon. Members—if they thought hon. Members unduly prolonged debates—their remedy was simple. They could apply their Rule. He did not, however, wish to enter into any contentious matter, and he would make another appeal to the noble Marquess. It was not to be credited that the solid phalanx the noble Marquess had behind him had remained in the House to this late hour, on the second night of the Session (1.50 A.M.), through any abstract admiration for Mr. Bradlaugh. They all had their little Bills, and they were kept here waiting because the Government would persist in bringing in this particular Bill at this particular moment. It would be just as easy for the Government to bring in the Bill to-morrow—[*Laughter*]—well, on Monday night. They would lose no time by it, and would evidently afford a great convenience not only to hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House, but to the vast majority of their supporters who had come down to-night, each with the object of furthering his own particular crotchet. He would ask the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, at least, out of sympathy for hon. Friends behind him, to allow a postponement.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT wished to repudiate the charge of Obstruction made against Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House. It was obviously unfair, as had just been pointed out by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), to charge all those who were fighting on this occasion with the statement of the noble Lord who had spoken from that side (Lord Henry Lennox). Why did hon. Members oppose the introduction of this Bill? Why, because it was proposed at a quarter to 1 in the morning. It was, no doubt, legitimate to do that, but, at the same time, it was unusual. Hon. Members opposed the introduction, and asked the Government to give them an opportunity of considering the question on account of the very exceptional character of the measure. There was, he was sure, no precedent for the introduction by the Government of a religious Bill which had not been mentioned in the Queen's Speech, and that was another reason for giving hon. Members a further opportunity of considering the Bill. There was the still further reason given by the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope); and then there was to be considered the intrinsic opposition of Members to any Bill which did not commend itself to the House and the country. He thought that, considering all these points, this was a matter in which the Government might very well be expected to yield to the wishes of a very large section of the House.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) always seemed to be actuated by the best motives. The hon. Member's great object just now appeared to be to forward the Business of the House—to facilitate the introduction of the Bills of hon. Members sitting opposite to him. The hon. Member seemed more anxious that hon. Members opposed to him in general politics should introduce their Bills than those hon. Members were themselves. This, no doubt, belonged to the general amiability of the hon. Member's nature; but, while giving him credit for sincerity in the professions he had made, let him apply a simple test. The hon. Member said—"You should bring in your Bill on Saturday night;" but there were difficulties in the way of such a course which it was singular the hon. Member's Parliamentary experience had not made him acquainted with. Hon. Members behind him, however, had reminded him of them. He (Sir William Harcourt) would ask the hon. Member whether he was disposed to say that in the event of the Bill being put down for Monday night he and his Friends would not make dilatory Motions? He (Sir William Harcourt) was quite sure, after the hon. Member's professions, and the indications they had had of his desire not to be obstructive, that if he would rise in his place, and give that sort of assurance, the Government would accept it. He would ask the hon. Member for an answer on this point, because from his answer the House would gather the real reason why the hon. Member and his Friends wished to have the Bill postponed until Monday, and would learn whether those hon. Members would follow the lead of the Heads of their Party, who thought it would be entirely contrary to the proper manner of conducting the proceedings of the House, to refuse consent to the Government to bring in a Bill. If the hon. Member would say that no dilatory Motions would be brought forward, the Government would probably meet them on the point raised.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR in reply, said, that the remark he had made was not for the purpose of facilitating the progress of this Bill, but of all the other Bills which hon. Members were seeking leave to introduce to-night.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, he was very sorry the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) found himself unable to respond to the very reasonable appeals of hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House. The noble Marquess had charged them with a deliberate intention of obstructing this Bill. Well, at such an hour as this—between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning—it was somewhat difficult to draw a distinction between what was Obstruction and what was legitimate opposition to a Bill. Considering the importance of this Bill, and the manner in which it was being pressed on by the Government against the manifest wish of a large number of hon. Members on one side of the House and, no doubt, many on the other side, he must say that a more legitimate opposition than that being offered to the progress of this Bill would be difficult to imagine. The noble Marquess had said they had offered no arguments whatever against the progress of the measure; but the noble Marquess was hardly accurate. They had stated over and over again, and the noble Marquess did not deny it, that this Bill was one of the most important and exceptional measures that had ever been submitted to an English House of Commons; and it was at nearly 2 o'clock in the morning that, with the assistance of the noisy and mechanical majority behind him, the noble Marquess sought to force it on a reluctant Assembly. The mere fact of the hour at which the Bill was being proceeded with, the importance of the measure and its exceptional character—which was not denied by the Government—was as strong an argument as it was possible to adduce in support of the present opposition. All he and his Friends were asking was that such an important measure should be introduced at a time when it could receive an adequate and fitting discussion at the hands of the House. If the Government would consent to introduce the Bill at a proper time they would find that hon. Members had no desire to offer anything but a legitimate opposition; but all he could say was that if the Government persisted in their endeavour to force this Bill on at an hour in the morning like the present, hon. Members would resist as long as they were allowed to do so by the Rules now in force—they would offer all the opposition they believed it to be their duty to offer.

Mr. MOLLOY said, that as he was one of those who had a Bill to introduce that night, and as he did not wish to stop there all night listening to a discussion between the Members of the Ministerial and Opposition Benches, and as he considered that neither the speech of the noble Marquess nor that of the Home Secretary was satisfactory, he would venture to move that the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again." — (*Mr. Molloy.*)

Mr. NEWDEGATE asked the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, upon what day he intended to take the second reading of this Bill, as he had evidently made up his mind to force the Bill through the House?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that it was impossible to name a day for the second reading until the Bill had been introduced; but, if it would be any consolation to the hon. Member, he thought he could assure him that a considerable time must elapse before the second reading could be taken. The first Business which the Government had to take was the second reading of those Bills which it was intended to refer to the Standing Committees; and, until those had been dealt with, the Government would not ask the House to proceed with this Bill.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR observed that the Government must see that there were sufficient Members in the House to prevent this Bill being taken to-night, and the Government had not sufficient votes at their command to put the New Rules in force. What, then, could be gained by dragging the House of Commons into the position in which it was now placed? In the very first week of the Session the House was being dealt with in a manner which was ominous of what would follow. He would ask the Government to consider whether they could possibly gain anything by persisting in the course they had chosen to enter upon on such an occasion as this? There had never been a Bill of the importance or character of this Bill, which had not been heralded long beforehand by public notices; and this Bill was one of such importance that, according to the Rules of the House, it was necessary that leave should be given in Committee before it could be introduced at all. Yet it had been sprung on the House at a day's notice, and the Committee was to be asked to allow this Bill to be introduced at 2 o'clock in the morning. And what was the character of this Bill, and by whom was it proposed? Not by the Prime Minister. He appeared to be anxious to keep out of the way. He had expressed his own opinion on this Bill, and had declared that the introduction of Atheists into the House was but a step downwards——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that the only Question before the Committee is that of reporting Progress.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was perfectly aware of that; but he was not under the impression that he was out of Order in putting forward what appeared to him to be an argument for deferring this matter until the return of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister had said the introduction of Atheists into this House would be but a preliminary to a decision which would be fatal to the recognition of Christianity. If that was the character of this proposal, was it not, at any rate, decent to let the Prime Minister have an opportunity, on the first occasion when this Bill was introduced, of explaining the extraordinary *voltè face* which he must have performed before he could be induced to support this Bill?

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 64; Noes 145: Majority 81.—(Div. List, No. 6.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CHAPLIN rose to renew the appeal to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) made at an earlier period by the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Claud Hamilton). On that side of the House hon. Members had already defended their views; but they had no desire to offer illegitimate obstruction to this measure. All they asked was that it should be introduced at some hour in the evening when they could have the legitimate discussion which they thought necessary. It seemed to him that, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, this was a reasonable opposition to this measure; and he thought the noble Marquess must see that there was a very unusual degree of practical opposition to the measure. Under the circumstances, he hoped the noble Marquess might be persuaded to entertain the appeal.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, there was nothing approaching a reasonable compromise to which he should not be very happy to agree, for the purpose of getting through the first stage of this measure. During the progress of the debate on the Address, it was not possible for the Government to make arrangements to bring in a Bill at what might seem to be a reasonable hour in the minds of hon. Members opposite. But such Bills as this were usually introduced at about half-past 12 o'clock; and if it would meet the views of hon. Members opposite, who wished that more time should be given for the consideration of this Bill, he would do his best, if the discussion were now adjourned, to bring the Bill on again on Monday night as soon after 12 o'clock as possible, though it was impossible to say when the debate on the Address would be closed or adjourned. He would be glad to agree to that course, on the understanding that hon. Members opposite would then not object to the Bill being taken.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE trusted that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) would accept that proposition, and would move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again," — (*Mr. Beresford Hope,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (DURHAM) BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays in the County of Durham."

MR. WARTON said, that a large number of Bills of this class was being introduced, and he wished to ask whether the Government intended to discourage such Bills or not? because, if they did, the task of those who opposed them would be very much easier. He need hardly say he should feel it his duty to oppose all these Bills.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Warton) asked the Government to make a statement of their general policy in reference to the different classes of Liquor Bills it was proposed to introduce. He should point out that neither the Government nor the House were at present aware what the contents of the Bills were. It would be highly inconvenient that, at this stage, the Government should make a statement of their policy. Of course, the Government would be quite prepared to make a clear statement on the subject of the Bills when the Bills arrived at the stage of second reading.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. THEODORE FRY, Mr. WALTER JAMES, Mr. LAMBTON, Mr. DODDS, Mr. THOMAS RICHARDSON, Mr. GOURLEY, and Mr. JAMES THOMPSON.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 21.]

GENERAL POLICE AND IMPROVEMENT (SCOTLAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (BROUGHTY FERRY PAVING) BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made under "The General Police and Improvement (Scotland) Act, 1862," relating to the burgh of Broughty Ferry, *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 1.]

PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (FRASERBURGH WATERWORKS) BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made under "The Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867," relating to the burgh of Fraserburgh, *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 2.]

BANKRUPTCY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to amend and consolidate the Laws of Bankruptcy, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL, and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 4.]

PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Bill to amend and consolidate the Law relating to Patents for Inventions, Trade Marks, and Registration of Designs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL, and Mr. JOHN HOLMS.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 3.]

BALLOT ACT CONTINUANCE AND AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir CHARLES DILKE, Bill to amend and make perpetual the Ballot Act, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir CHARLES DILKE, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 5.]

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (UNREFORMED) BILL.

On Motion of Sir CHARLES DILKE, Bill to make provision respecting certain Municipal Corporations and other Local Authorities not subject to the Municipal Corporation Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir CHARLES DILKE, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Mr. MUNDELLA, and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 6.]

INDICTABLE OFFENCES (PROCEDURE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Bill to regulate Procedure in Criminal Cases, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL, and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 8.]

COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Bill to establish a Court of Appeal in Criminal Cases, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 9.]

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CORRUPT AND ILLEGAL PRACTICES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Bill for the better prevention of Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Parliamentary Elections, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Sir CHARLES DILKE, and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 7.]

ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY (MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND ART) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to confer further powers upon the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland for acquiring lands in Dublin for all or any of the purposes of "The Dublin Science and Art Museum Act, 1877," *ordered* to brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 10.]

CHURCHWARDENS' ADMISSION BILL.

On Motion of Sir GABRIEL GOLDNEY, Bill to facilitate the admission of Churchwardens and Sidesmen to office, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir GABRIEL GOLDNEY and Mr. MONK.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 11.]

PAROCHIAL BOARDS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to reform the constitution of Parochial Boards in Scotland, and the mode of electing the members of such Boards, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. BAXTER, Mr. BARCLAY, and Mr. MACKINTOSH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 12.]

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ANDERSON, Bill to amend the Acts against Cruelty to Animals, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ANDERSON, Sir FREDERICK MILBANK, Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY, Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, Mr. PASSMORE EDWARDS, and Mr. BUCHANAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 13.]

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT (1881) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. PARNELL, Bill to amend the Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881), *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PARNELL, Mr. HEALY, Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Mr. SEXTON, and Mr. LALOR.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 14.]

UNIVERSITIES COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHARLES ROUNDELL, Bill to enlarge the powers and amend the procedure of the Universities Committee of the Privy Council, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHARLES ROUNDELL, Mr. BRYCE, Mr. SHIELD, and Mr. THOROLD ROGERS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 15.]

ELECTIVE COUNCILS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BARRY, Bill to establish Elective Councils in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BARRY, Mr. HEALY, Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, and Mr. SEXTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 16.]

TREES PLANTING (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CORRY, Bill to encourage the planting of trees in Ireland, and to amend the Laws relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CORRY, Viscount CRICHTON, Sir HERVEY BRUCE, and Mr. AYLMER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 17.]

LIMITED PARTNERSHIPS BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to establish Limited Partnerships.

Resolution *reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MONK, Mr. NORWOOD, and Mr. LEWIS FRY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 18.]

LONDON BROKERS' RELIEF ACT (1870) REPEAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. RICHARD B. MARTIN, Bill to repeal "The London Brokers' Relief Act, 1870," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. RICHARD B. MARTIN, Mr. MAGNIAC, and Mr. BUXTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 19.]

POOR REMOVAL AND SETTLEMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Sir HERVEY BRUCE, Bill to amend the Law of Settlement and Removal of Poor Persons to Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir HERVEY BRUCE, Mr. CORRY, Mr. LEWIS, and Mr. O'SULLIVAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 20.]

BOROUGH FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BIGGAR, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Irish Parliamentary Franchise in Boroughs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BIGGAR, Mr. DAWSON, Mr. GRAY, Mr. CALLAN, and Mr. LEAMY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 22.]

PAROCHIAL CHARITIES (LONDON) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BRYCE, Bill to provide for the better Application and Management of the Parochial Charities of the City of London, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BRYCE, Mr. PELL, Sir HENRY PEEK, Mr. WALTER JAMES, Mr. COHEN, and Mr. DAVEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 23.]

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. WILLIAM CORBET, Bill relating to the Registration of Voters (Ireland), *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Callan, Mr. Dawson, Mr. William O'Brien, and Mr. Gray.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 24.]

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (OFF LICENCES) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the granting of Licences for the sale by retail of Intoxicating Liquors not to be consumed upon the premises.

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Lewis Fry, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Staveley Hill, and Lord Moreton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 25.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (MONMOUTH) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Carbutt, Bill for Closing Public Houses on Sunday in the county of Monmouth, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Carbutt, Sir Hussey Vivian, and Mr. Richard.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 26.]

MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'Connor Power, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Municipal Franchise in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Sheil.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 27.]

BREACH OF PROMISE OF MARRIAGE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Caine, Bill to abolish Actions for Breach of Promise of Marriage, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Caine, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Buchanan, Colonel Makins, and Mr. Meldon.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 28.]

LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Bill to better the condition of Labourers in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Parnell, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Callan, and Mr. Lalor.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 29.]

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. M'Coan, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Election of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Gray, Mr. O'Sullivan, and Mr. Macfarlane.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 30.]

SEA FISHERIES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'Kelly, Bill to promote the Sea Fisheries of Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Mr. O'Connor Power, and Mr. O'Donnell.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 31.]

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Bill to amend the Law relating to University Education in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Gray, Mr. Dawson, Mr. O'Donnell, and Mr. William Corbet.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 32.]

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT (1880) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Burt, Bill to amend the Employers' Liability Act (1880), *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Dick Peddie, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. Passmore Edwards, and Mr. Macliver.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 33.]

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Captain Aylmer, Bill to encourage the development of the industrial resources of Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Captain Aylmer, Viscount Crichton, and Mr. Corry.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 34.]

STAGE PLAYS (OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Shield, Bill to repeal so much of the 6 and 7 Vic. c. 68, as empowers the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge to veto the performance of Stage Plays, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Shield, Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Hicks, and Mr. Bulwer.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 35.]

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

On Motion of Sir Thomas Chambers, Bill to alter and amend the Law as to Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Alderman Cotton, Mr. Morley, Dr. Cameron, and Mr. Causton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 36.]

VICE-ROYALTY (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Bill to make certain provisions dealing with the Irish Vice-Royalty, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. O'Kelly, and Mr. Kenny.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 37.]

SPIRITS IN BOND BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill for the improvement of Spirits before being removed from Bond for consumption.

Resolution *reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'Sullivan, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Daly, and Mr. James Richardson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 38.]

IRISH REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND ACT (1874) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Blake, Bill to amend "The Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act, 1874," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Kelly, Dr. Commins, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 39.]

PARTNERSHIPS BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to consolidate and amend the Law of Partnerships.

Resolution *reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Barran, Mr. Lewis Fry, and Mr. Norwood.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 40.]

CHURCH OF ENGLAND PATRONAGE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Edward Leatham, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Sale of Patronage in the Church of England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Edward Leatham, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. George Russell, and Mr. Shield.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 41.]

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Staveley Hill, Bill to amend "The Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1875," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Staveley Hill and Mr. Monckton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 42.]

BANKRUPTCY LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Bill to amend the Law of Bankruptcy, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Mr. Gorst, and Sir Edmund Lechmere.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 43.]

DISTRESS LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Henry Holland, Bill to amend the Law of Distress, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Heneage, Sir Walter Barttelot, Mr. Cropper, and Sir Joseph Pease.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 44.]

CEMETERIES BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Cemeteries.

Resolution *reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Richard, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. George Russell, Mr. Woodall, and Mr. Caine.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 45.]

VIVISECTION ABOLITION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Reid, Bill for the abolition of Vivisection, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Reid, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Samuel Morley, and Mr. Firth.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 46.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

On Motion of Sir Joseph Pease, Bill for closing Public Houses in England; making provision for the sale of beer for consumption off the premises during certain limited hours; and for the exceptional requirements of large towns on Sundays, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Joseph Pease and Viscount Castlereagh.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 47.]

CORPORATION LANDS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Molloy, Bill to deal with lands in Ireland the property of the Corporation of the City of London and of other Corporations and Associations, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Molloy, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Richard Power.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 48.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Meldon, Bill to amend the Law regulating the hours during which premises licensed for the sale of Intoxicating Liquors are permitted to be open in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Meldon, Mr. Whitworth, and Mr. Blake.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 49.]

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Waugh, Bill to amend the Copyhold Acts and to promote the Enfranchisement of Lands of Copyhold and Customary Tenure, and of Lands subject to Customary and other incidents and rights, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, and Mr. Ferguson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 50.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Stevenson, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Birley, Sir William M'Arthur, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Walter James, and Mr. Charles Ross.

Bill *presented*, aud read the first time. [Bill 51.]

TITHE RENT CHARGE (EXTRAORDINARY) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Inderwick, Bill to amend the Law relating to Extraordinary Tithe Rent Charge, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Inderwick, Mr. Duckham, Sir Edward Filmer, Mr. Edward Leatham, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Arthur Vivian, and Mr. Walter.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 52.]

RAILWAYS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Callan, Bill to provide increased facilities for the amalgamation of Railways in Ireland, and in certain cases to provide for the purchase of Railways in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Callan, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Daly, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. O'Sullivan, Colonel Nolan, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, and Mr. Beresford.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 53.]

CONTEMPT OF COURT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Sexton, Bill to amend the Law relating to Contempt of Court, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Sexton, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillwyn, and Mr. Justin M'Carthy.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 54.]

BURIAL FEES BILL.

On Motion of Sir Alexander Gordon, Bill to amend the Law relating to Burial, Monumental, and Mortuary Fees, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Alexander Gordon and Mr. Brinton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 55.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (YORKSHIRE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Charles Wilson, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays in the county of York, the city of York, and the county of the town of Kingston upon Hull, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Barran, Mr. Caine, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Isaac Wilson, Sir Mathew Wilson, and Mr. Pease.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 56.]

STEAM BOILERS (PERSONS IN CHARGE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Broadhurst, Bill to provide for the examination of persons having charge of the working of steam boilers on land, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, and Mr. Craig.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 57.]

BEER ADULTERATION BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Barne, Bill for better securing the purity of beer, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel Barne, Mr. Hicks, and Mr. Storer.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 58.]

TREES PLANTING (IRELAND) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Marum, Bill to encourage the planting of timber trees in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Marum, Mr. Parnell, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Patrick Martin, and Mr. Richard Power.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 59.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (CORNWALL) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Vivian, Bill to prohibit the sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in Cornwall, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Borlase, and Mr. Acland.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 60.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT (1882) (AUDIENCE TO SOLICITORS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Findlater, Bill to amend the Act for the Prevention of Crime in Ireland (1882) as to the audience of Solicitors, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Findlater, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Givan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 61.]

SEA FISHERIES (IRELAND) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Lord Arthur Hill, Bill to improve the Sea Fisheries of Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Lord Arthur Hill, Sir Hervey Bruce, and Mr. Corry.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 62.]

COMMONS AND INCLOSURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. James, Bill to amend the Commons and Inclosure Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. James, Mr. Bryce, and Mr. Cheetham.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 63.]

PARISH CHURCHES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Albert Grey, Bill to Declare and Enact the Law as to the Rights of Parishioners in respect of their Parish Churches, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Courtauld, Mr. Cropper, Mr. Stanley Leighton, and Mr. William Henry Gladstone.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 64.]

SURREY (TRIAL OF CAUSES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Warton, Bill relating to the trial of Causes in the county of Surrey *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Warton and Captain Aylmer.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time, [Bill 65.]

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Byrne, Bill to relieve distress in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Byrne, Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Kelly, and Mr. William Corbet.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 66.]

CATHEDRAL STATUTES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Beresford Hope, Bill to provide for the making or altering of Cathedral Statutes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Cropper, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. George Russell, and Mr. John Talbot.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 67.]

LAND LAW (IRELAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GIVAN, Bill to amend "The Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment Act (Ireland), 1860," "The Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act, 1870," and "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GIVAN, Mr. THOMAS DICKSON, Mr. SHAW, Mr. LEA, Mr. FINDLATER, and Mr. RICHARDSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 68.]

SALE OF LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. RICHARDSON, Bill to continue and extend "The Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act, 1878," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. RICHARDSON, Mr. CORRY, Mr. BLAKE, Lord ARTHUR HILL, Mr. THOMAS DICKSON, Mr. MELDON, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. EWART, Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, and Mr. REDMOND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 69.]

TRADE MARKS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD, Bill for the amendment of "The Trade Marks Registration Act, 1875," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD, Mr. ARMITAGE, Mr. ARNOLD MORLEY, and Mr. ORR-EWING.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 70.]

AGRICULTURAL TENANTS' COMPENSATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAPLIN, Bill to amend "The Agricultural Holdings (England) Act, 1875," and to secure to Agricultural tenants compensation for their improvements in all cases, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHAPLIN, Mr. EDWARD STANHOPE, Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Mr. BIRKBECK, Mr. PELL, Mr. COWEN, Mr. RITCHIE, Mr. DAWNAY, and Mr. LAWRENCE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 71.]

FIREARMS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MORGAN LLOYD, Bill to regulate the possession of revolvers and other firearms, and to amend "The Gun Licence Act, 1870," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MORGAN LLOYD and Mr. INDERWICK.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 72.]

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HENEAGE, Bill to amend the Law relating to Agricultural Holdings in England, and to make provision for securing to Tenants due compensation for Improvements, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HENEAGE, Mr. DUCKHAM, Mr. FOLJAMBE, Mr. GURDON, and Mr. MELLOR.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 73.]

NOTICES OF REMOVAL (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Sir ALEXANDER GORDON, Bill to extend the time for Notice of Removal from Agricultural Holdings in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir ALEXANDER GORDON and Mr. M'LAGAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 74.]

CHURCH DISCIPLINE, &C. ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MORGAN LLOYD, Bill to amend the Church Discipline Act, and the Public Worship Regulation Act, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MORGAN LLOYD, Sir HENRY HUSSEY VIVIAN, Baron DE FERRIERES, and Mr. GREER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 75.]

SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to enable Parochial Boards to borrow money for the purpose of procuring Seed Potatoes, Seed Oats, and other Seed for Tenants in Scotland; and for other purposes relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK, Mr. M'LAGAN, and Mr. MACKINTOSH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 76.]

INCUMBRANCES ON LAND REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HARCOURT, Bill to establish the Registration of all Incumbrances on Landed Property for the future, with a view to simplify the title to land, to facilitate the transfer thereof, and to prevent frauds on purchasers and mortgagees, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HARCOURT, Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Mr. ROUNDELL, and Mr. STAVELEY HILL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 77.]

BANKING LAWS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Banking Laws in Scotland.

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. BARCLAY, and Mr. M'LAREN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 78.]

IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ANDERSON, Bill to abolish Imprisonment for Debt, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. MICHAEL BASS, Sir HENRY WOLFF, and Mr. BROADHURST.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 79.]

CHURCH BOARDS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ALBERT GREY, Bill to provide for the establishment of Church Boards in the parishes of England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ALBERT GREY, Mr. REID, Mr. BUXTON, Mr. STUART WORTLEY, and Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 80.]

THEATRES REGULATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND, Bill for the better regulation of Theatres and other places of public entertainment, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND, Mr. J. LAWRANCE, and Mr. MACFARLANE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 81.]

BANKRUPTCY (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bill to amend the law relating to Bankruptcy, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Mr. BARING, Mr. DAVEY, Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY, and Mr. WHITLEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 82.]

PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bill to amend the Law relating to Patents, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, and Mr. J. LAWRANCE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 83.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (ISLE OF WIGHT) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ASHLEY, Bill to prohibit the sale of Intoxicationg Liquors on Sunday in the Isle of Wight, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ASHLEY, and Mr. CLIFFORD.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 84.]

FREE LIBRARIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HOPWOOD, Bill to amend and consolidate the Law relating to Free Libraries, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HOPWOOD, Mr. BIRLEY, Mr. RATHBONE, Mr. SLAGG, and Mr. SUMMERS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 85.]

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MELDON, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Registration of Parliamentary Voters in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MELDON, Mr. SHAW, Mr. MITCHELL HENRY, Mr. FINDLATER, and Major NOLAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 86.]

House adjourned at five minutes after Three o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 19*th February*, 1883.

QUEEN'S SPEECH—HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE LORD STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD (the EARL SYDNEY) reported Her Majesty's Answer to the Address as follows:—

MY LORDS,

I THANK you for your loyal and dutiful Address.

I confidently rely upon your cordial assistance and support in all measures which may be submitted to you for the purpose of improving and strengthening the laws and institutions of the Country and promoting the best interests of My Empire.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—LEGISLATION.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) asked whether the Government intended to introduce in their Lordships' House any measures before Easter, and, if they did intend to do so, what those measures were to be?

EARL GRANVILLE in reply, said, it was intended to introduce several measures in that House, and amongst them would be a Bill for the better Protection of Young Girls and Women, a Bill to amend the Factory Acts, a Bill with regard to Scotch Peerages, a Bill with regard to the regulation of Fisheries, a Bill with regard to Naval Discipline, a Bill with regard to the Medical Council, and a Bill affecting Education in Wales. There was also a Bill relating to Ireland which would be introduced by the Lord Privy Seal, but to which he would not further refer in the absence of his noble Friend.

EARL STANHOPE asked whether the Bill to amend the Factory Acts would deal with the question of the long hours during which assistants in shops were compelled to work?

EARL GRANVILLE said, that he would prefer to postpone his answer until the introduction of the Bill.

ARMY—PROMOTION—THE ROYAL WARRANT — ARTICLE 20.

QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF POWIS rose to ask the Under Secretary of State for War—(1), When the existing vacancies in the list of general officers of the Line would be filled up? and (2), Whether the "special recommendations" required by Article 20 of the Royal Warrant as to officers promoted by selection were made in writing and recorded in the War Department? He said, that last autumn a new practice had been introduced; vacancies were kept open for a considerable time, and might have remained open still longer were it not for the Egyptian *Gazette*. He was not going to touch upon the promotions on account of the Egyptian campaign, which were made under special circumstances, and under another Article; but the War Office must have known the exact date at which the vacancies to which he referred would occur, and they ought to have been filled up at once. He was not going to say a word upon the question of selection; he took the Warrant as he found it, and his Questions were for information as to the mode in which it was carried on. The Warrant said that any qualified colonel might be recommended for promotion as major-general, and all promotions were to be approved by the Secretary of State for War, so that the responsibility rested with him. It was only the initiatory step that was taken by the Commander-in-Chief. As our Army was the only one in Europe which had a civilian and politician and not a soldier at its head, it was a safeguard for officers that the initiatory recommendations should be given for military and not political reasons. They all knew the pressure which might be put upon Ministers by Members of Parliament, and that led him to the second Question, Whether the officers promoted by selection were recommended specially as required by the Warrant, and in what form these recommendations were made; whether they were in writing, and whether they were preserved as documents for future reference? The special recommendation was an important part of the matter, because the Warrant went on to say that in the absence of special recommendation the promotion should be given to the senior colonel. On the occasion to which he referred, out of 13 officers six were taken and seven left. No. 1 was promoted. No. 2 was not, though he had served in the Burmese War, had been twice wounded, and had commanded a brigade in the field. Nos. 3 and 4 were promoted. No. 5 was passed over, though he had commanded a regimental district, a command which was one of absolute selection, and was always given to a meritorious officer. The sixth was promoted; the seventh was passed over, though he had served in the Crimea, in India and New Zealand, where he was severely wounded in storming a pah, the officer in command of the regiment having lost his life. The eighth was promoted; the ninth, who had served long and commanded a regiment, was passed over. The tenth, who had been Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, was passed over. At present there were nine Aides-de-Camp to the Queen selected from the Line, and it seemed extraordinary that an Aide-de-Camp of the Queen should be passed over as not qualified to command in the field. The eleventh had served in South Africa; but a General who had served in West Africa and had not commanded in the field was put over his head. Anyone taking up the *Gazette* would imagine that these officers had been passed over once. But the fact was that one officer had been passed over five times, another three times, another twice, and four officers once. He thought it desirable that these vacancies should be filled up as they occurred. To the two Questions of which he had given Notice, he would add a third, and would ask, How many of the officers who had been passed over were permanently disqualified for promotion from not having been reported as qualified to command in the field?

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, he had occasion to complain, not of these Questions, but of the speech which the noble Lord had founded upon them. He was perfectly ready to give Answers to Questions; but the noble Earl had not given any previous indication that he was going to refer to matters which were foreign to the Questions which he had placed on the Paper, and to make an attack against the principle of selection; and he further complained that it was extremely inconvenient and very unusual to discuss the qualification of officers who might be selected or not selected for commands from the general list of officers. The responsibility for those appointments rested with the Secretary of State for War, on the recommendation of the illustrious Duke, whose reasons for making them could not be publicly canvassed. He must decline, therefore, to enter into the cases brought forward and described by the noble Earl, for though the noble Earl very properly did not mention any names it was obvious to all to whom he referred. With respect to the first Question put by the noble Earl he was unable to give any answer at present, as the matter was still under consideration, and until the communications at present going on with the Treasury were completed, he was quite unable to say what would be done. As to the second Question, he might mention that only two appointments, such as the noble Earl referred to, had been made up to the present time, and in those cases the recommendations were not in writing. The illustrious Duke and the Secretary for War conferred together, and then they determined which officers deserved promotion and they were promoted. It would be very difficult to state the reasons for the promotions. The fact that the promotions were made by selection was, of course, very clearly marked, but there was no special recommendation in writing. No such recommendation was required by the Royal Warrant. The Warrant had been strictly complied with. As to the last Question, he could not keep in his head the exact position of every general officer on the List; but the noble Earl seemed to assume that certain officers who were kept in the list of colonels were disqualified for future promotion. The case was, that when a colonel was recommended for promotion, and not till then, the illustrious Duke, in making his recommendation, stated that the officer recommended for promotion was competent to command in the field.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—THE WELLINGTON STATUE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD MOUNT-TEMPLE asked what were the intentions of Her Majesty's Government respecting the disposal of the statue of the Duke of Wellington

The Earl of Morley

that had been removed from the top of the arch at Hyde Park Corner? The considerations that should guide the selection of sites for statues were the appropriateness of their style to surrounding objects, the associations connected with the locality, and a good point of view for spectators. This realistic portrait of the Duke and his charger had been out of harmony with the classic arches and the Greek statue of Achilles, and was only well seen from the bedroom windows of the late Duke. At the edge of the Parade opposite to the Horse Guards it would be associated with the Head-quarters of the Army, and the place where Her Majesty welcomed her troops from Egypt, and where military trophies already stood. There it would be well seen by the passers-by. He hoped that position might be carefully considered.

LORD SUDELEY, in reply, stated that it had been definitely decided not to replace the statue of the Duke of Wellington on the arch when reconstructed; but no decision had yet been arrived at as to its ultimate destination. Until the statue was upon *terra firma*, and until the site of the present arch had been cleared, it was impossible to form an estimate of the merits of the statue itself or its suitability to any of the available sites. As the House knew, the First Commissioner of Works had nominated a very important Committee to advise the Government upon the subject. This Committee was composed of the Duke of Wellington, as representing the family; Lord Hardinge, a Trustee of the National Gallery and of the National Portrait Gallery, and a great authority on art; Sir Frederick Leighton, President of the Royal Academy; Mr. Boehm, the eminent sculptor; Mr. Fergusson, whose writings and judgment on architecture were well known; and Mr. Mitford, the Secretary of the Office of Works, possessing great experience. In the selection of this Committee the public would have a guarantee that the advice given would carry great weight, seeing that the highest authorities on artistic matters were represented, while the presence of the Duke as one of its Members would give the assurance that nothing would be done which would be distasteful to the family of the illustrious General. The Committee did not propose to meet until the works were in a sufficiently forward state to enable them to give sound advice. In these circumstances, the House would see that at present it was impossible to discuss the merits or demerits of any of the particular sites which had been proposed. The whole question would be very thoroughly considered in all its bearings. What had been said by the noble Lord would be well weighed; but it was far better to leave the Committee to form an unprejudiced decision.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, it might not be known to those who had not lived as long as himself that it was gratifying to the feelings of the late Duke that the statue was placed near Apsley House. The matter should be carefully considered; but he thought that no better place for the statue would be found than opposite Apsley House. It was there in one of the great thoroughfares by which London was approached, and it would be far more seen there than it would on the Parade at the Horse Guards, while it was far more in harmony with the surrounding buildings than it would be at the Horse Guards, where it could only stand awkwardly in relation to all the things about it.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, said, that so far as associations were concerned, no place could be more appropriate than the Horse Guards, where, however, the space was unfortunately so limited that he could not conceive where it was to stand if it were put there. It would be a great mistake to put it where there could not be a considerable amount of open space around it, for otherwise justice could not be done to it. At the Horse Guards, the only place where space could be obtained was in the gardens in front; but the public would object to the statue being in the gardens to which they had not access. If the statue were put on one side or another in the space open to the public it would present a most extraordinary appearance, and very much spoil the place, while if it were placed in the centre of the open space it would entirely preclude the possibility of having a parade such as it was usual to have on Her Majesty's Birthday, and some other special occasions. He had no wish whatever to say that the Horse Guards was not a suitable place for the statue, for the Duke might be said to have more or less created the Horse Guards and the present Army of England; but the position would not be suitable on account of the space being so limited, and he could not help thinking that it would be more gratifying to the family that the statue should remain nearer to Apsley House.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD, in moving that there be laid before the House—

> "Copy of Rule 72 of the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland; Copy of letter, dated 8th November 1882, from the Earl of Longford to the Lord President of the Council (on appeal from a decision of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) respecting the appointment of a sister of mercy as teacher in a national school open to non-Catholic children; and a Copy of any reply thereto;"

said, he wished to ask whether such an appointment as that mentioned in his Notice was not contrary both to the spirit and letter of the regulations of the National Board in Ireland? The rule was that there should be no exhibition of any religious emblem or any teaching in the school-house allotted to secular instruction to which children or parent could take objection. On this understanding proprietors had promoted and established schools, and clergymen had raised subscriptions; workhouse schools and convent schools, under special rules, had been admitted into the National system. It recently came to his knowledge that a sister of mercy had been appointed teacher by the Board of Guardians in the school at Granard, and that the appointment had been approved by the Local Government Board. It appeared to him that this was in defiance both of the spirit and letter of the rules. He applied to the Commissioners of Education concerning the matter. Their first answer was rather a caricature. They referred him to the rule under which members of a religious community were permitted to be teachers in convent schools—an answer which was irrelevant, as this was not a convent school. He succeeded in obtaining a second reply, which was that the case had been fully considered, and that Rule 72 had no application; and, of course, it had not if it were not applied. Then he applied to the Lord Lieutenant, who saw no reason to question the view of the Commissioners. He (the Earl of Longford), however, saw great reason. He found himself in some difficulty as to further proceedings; for when he wished to appeal from the Lord Lieutenant to the Lord President of the Council, he found that, under the somewhat unusual arrangement made by the Government, they were the same man. The Lord Lieutenant's Irish duties being the more urgent, he was detained in Ireland; but he kept a ghost in London, if such a description might be excused, and the ghost told him that the case could only be disposed of in Dublin. He then wished to apply to the Head of the Government, and found he was away on sick leave, but was apparently represented by a disconsolate widow, who carried on the business. There was little prospect of a satisfactory answer from that quarter. He, therefore, had no alternative but to bring the case before their Lordships. He fully recognized the devotion of sisters of mercy to the work of piety and charity that they undertook; but they were the active agents of an active Church, and they were disqualified for the position of teachers in mixed schools, to be attended by both Catholic and Protestant children. He had, therefore, given Notice of the Motion which stood in his name.

Moved that there be laid before this House—

Copy of Rule 72, of the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland:

Copy of letter, dated 8th November 1882, from the Earl of Longford to the Lord President of the Council (on appeal from a decision of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) respecting the appointment of a sister of mercy as teacher in a national school open to non-Catholic children:

Copy of any reply thereto.—(*The Earl of Longford.*)

Lord ORANMORE and BROWNE said, he was willing to admit the zeal and devotion of sisters of mercy; but it was inconvenient that the rule excluding all persons in religious orders should be evaded in schools attended by a minority of Protestant children who, save at the sacrifice of their religious convictions, would be excluded if the teaching were to be conducted by sisters of mercy. Another reason for excluding these ladies from public institutions was that they did not admit any lay authority; and if they were called upon to observe the rules laid down, they referred you to the Bishop or Lady Superior, saying that these were the only authorities they recognized. He had known one case in which two ladies entirely repudiated the authority of the Guardians, who were obliged to get rid of them. In another case some sisters, being allowed access to a prison, desired a warder to call all the prisoners together in order that they might address them. He could not do so. They appealed to the priest, who abused the warder in the public street. The priest, being chaplain of the gaol, on being called to account for this, apologized. This was a proof of the danger which existed, and which could not possibly be got over, because these ladies repudiated all authority except that of their own Superior or Bishop. He hoped the Government would sustain the system of National education, which had worked well, and had kept the schools free from religious acrimony.

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal) said, the noble Earl had got rather into cross purposes with Departments of the Government in his correspondence on this question, especially as his noble Friend assumed that there was some appeal from the Education Department in Ireland to the Education Department in England; but that idea, as he had explained in his correspondence with the noble Earl, was absolutely without foundation. There was no sort of connection between the two bodies. When the noble Earl in a manner appealed to the President of the Council, he (the Lord President) told him that the Committee of Council in this country had no right to express an opinion in the matter, or to answer any question regarding the educational administration in Ireland. The case lay within a small compass, and turned upon the interpretation of Rule 72, of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. He did not agree with the noble Earl when he said that the first answer of the Commissioners referring to Rule 55, was a caricature, although it certainly was not a complete answer. The rule had reference to convent schools, and the noble Earl did not appear to be aware that those schools formed no exception whatever to the general system and the general rules of the National Board in Ireland. The rule upon which the noble Earl so confidently put an interpretation different from that of the National Board, was one which he could not help thinking the noble Earl had not studied with sufficient care. The 72nd Rule was in these terms—

> "No emblems or symbols of a denominational nature shall be exhibited in the schools during the hours of united instruction, nor will the Commissioners in future grant aid to any schools which exhibit on the exterior of the buildings any such emblems."

That rule had never been interpreted and never was laid down for the purpose of forbidding a person belonging to a religious order of the Church of Rome to wear a religious dress in a school. It could not bear such an interpretation, because the convent schools were just as much subject to this rule and to every other rule of the Board as other schools in Ireland were; and the convent schools had been in connection with the National Board for the last 50 years—having been brought into connection with that Board by the late Lord Derby when Chief Secretary for Ireland. There could be no doubt that the convent schools, of which there was a large number, had done, and were doing, a vast amount of good to a population substantially Roman Catholic, with a mere sprinkling, here and there, of Protestant children. It was well known that the schools were conducted with great devotion by those excellent and admirable ladies, and it was equally well known that when Protestant children attended such schools, as they did in certain small minorities, they had the same protection against proselytism which they enjoyed elsewhere. In fact, no case had ever been alleged of any Protestant child being subjected to attempts of that kind to change its faith. If such danger had been found to be unreal in the case of convent schools, there could, he thought, be very little danger to the faith of any Protestant child who might stray into the workhouse school at Granard. The question raised by the noble Earl was whether the Granard poorhouse school had broken any of the rules of the National Board. The Commissioners of National Education contended, and in this they were supported by the Lord Lieutenant, that the rule which he had read had no application whatever to the matter in hand. Teachers in workhouse schools were appointed by the Guardians themselves, subject to the sanction of the Local Government Board, and their connection with the National Board was simply one of inspection. It was quite clear that the Commissioners had violated no rule, and that in retaining the poor-house school in question in connection with their Board they had acted strictly within their rights. He should be glad to give the noble Earl the Papers moved for if the noble Earl would change the form of his Motion, because, in its present shape, it would not give the facts of the case on both sides.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD desired to offer a few words in reply. Notwithstanding what had fallen from the Lord Privy Seal, it still remained quite clear to his mind that the compact which had been arrived at on the question had been broken. This rule not only applied to emblems outside the school, but also inside. With regard to the sisters of mercy, he had not, before that evening, heard of any other appointment of a similar character. He maintained that the very conspicuous religious dress of a sister of charity was a denominational emblem, and the rule distinctly forbad the employment of any such emblem. The reason why no special rule had been inserted with respect to religious dress of teachers was that it was thought absolutely impossible that such an appointment could be made. It was a total revolution of the existing system. He should certainly recur to the subject, for, unless a protest was maintained, such appointments would again be made, and it would be said that the previous appointments had been tacitly accepted.

LORD O'HAGAN said, that as a Commissioner of National Education, who had held that office the past quarter of a century, he was of opinion that there had been no breach of compact, or any novelty of practice introduced in this case. Section 72 by no means bore the construction which the noble Earl had sought to place on it. The system now prevailing had prevailed for the past 50 years. When the late Lord Derby, as Chief Secretary, conferred the great boon upon Ireland of a separate religious and a combined secular instruction, thereby avoiding the curse of proselytism which had so long laid upon Ireland, it was agreed that ladies belonging to religious orders should be admitted as teachers. If the construction of the noble Earl was adopted there would be an end of conventual education in Ireland. The rule provided against the exhibition of religious emblems or symbols during the hours of united instruction. A nun's dress was not an emblem or symbol. The rule had already been strictly enforced, even to the iconoclastic extent of excluding the emblem of Redemption, the exhibition of which disentitled to a grant. If the noble Earl's wishes were carried out there would be no school in Ireland from which nuns would not be excluded. Could anyone assert that such a result would be in the interests of education? Those schools were admirable and unsurpassed by any schools in existence. His noble Friend on the Cross Benches had admitted that the schools were excellent.

Lord ORANMORE and BROWNE: I said the nuns were excellent teachers of Roman Catholics.

Lord O'HAGAN said, that the adoption of the construction contended for would be a death-blow to the existing system, and would interfere with the performance of services which were beyond price and beyond praise.

The Earl of LIMERICK said, the noble Lord who had just spoken had drawn a red herring across the trail. No doubt the convent schools were doing excellent work in Ireland; but the noble Lord (Lord O'Hagan) was surely aware that, as a matter of fact, there was considerable difference between the convent schools and others in that country. His noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Longford) had not alluded to these conventual schools. The question was not the character of the nuns or their teaching, but the construction of Section 72. But if Section 72 was not clear, Section 71 explicitly forbad any teaching which would be known to belong to a particular religious body. He did not wish to be supposed to sympathize with his noble Friend's opinion on the subject. He did not object to the sisters teaching in workhouse schools; but the question now was the construction of rules, and he did not think his noble Friend's argument had been fairly met. There had really been a new departure, and it might be a good departure; but that question was a large one, and he did not see his way to coming to a final opinion without careful examination.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that all his knowledge upon this subject was derived from listening to that debate; but if he rightly understood the matter, it appeared to him that the whole question lay in a small compass. The noble Earl (the Earl of Longford) relied on one rule, while the other noble Earl (the Earl of Limerick) referred to another rule altogether. It was not, therefore, extraordinary that his noble Friends should have referred to the rule to which the question was directed. If that rule applied to any school connected with the National Board, it applied to every school attached to that Board. Therefore, it would apply to convent schools, some of which appeared to have been long connected with the National Board, and it could not be said that some new construction had now been placed on Rule 72. He (the Lord Chancellor) certainly thought it was paradoxical to say that a nun was an emblem or symbol of a religious denomination, or that, by wearing her usual dress, she was "exhibiting" any such emblem or symbol. Upon that point he agreed with what had fallen from the noble and learned Lord the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The only real question must be whether it was expedient or not that in certain cases like the present the teaching of these ladies should be allowed in any national schools. If it was expedient in some conventual schools—which did not seem to be disputed—he was unable, at present, to see why it should be thought improper in other cases, such as this was stated to be, in which there were none but Roman Catholic children.

The Earl of COURTOWN wished to point out, in answer to the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, that the noble Earl (the Earl of Longford) did not found his argument exclusively on Rule 27; he objected to the employment of a nun in her conventual dress as a teacher as a departure from the general principle of the National system of education, and quoted Rule 27 as that most pertinent to the case. It was well known there were people who held that the National system, as an undenominational one, was a sham, and this matter would tend to confirm it. The noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord O'Hagan) could hardly have forgotten that there were certain rules distinctly applicable to conventual schools, so that the rules applying to the general schools of the country would not affect convent schools. At any rate, he considered that the practice of nuns teaching in the national schools in their conventual garb should not be permitted.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

House adjourned at Six o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 19*th February*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Portarlington, *v.* Hon. Bernard Edward Barnaby Fitzpatrick, *now* Lord Castleton, called up to the House of Peers.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Public Petitions, *appointed* and *nominated;* Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons), *appointed* and *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Leave—Ordered—First Reading*—Parliamentary Oaths Act (1866) Amendment [89].

Ordered—First Reading—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Orders Confirmation * [87]; Settled Land Act (1882) Amendment * [88]; Private Lunatic Asylums (Ireland) * [90]; Factory and Workshop Act (1878) Amendment * [91]; Waste Lands (Ireland) * [92]; Municipal Boroughs * [93]; Registration of Firms * [94].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS—NEW STANDING ORDER.—RESOLUTION.

THE CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS (Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR): I have to move the Resolution which stands on the Paper in my name. The object of the new Standing Order is not to repeal or alter any of the existing Standing Orders, but merely to expedite Business by embodying in a Standing Order a modification of the existing practice. There is a certain class of Private Bills which interfere with vested interests, and therefore the Standing Orders provide that full notice shall be given to interested parties in such cases, and the nature of the Bills duly advertised. When these Bills enter the House, and are ordered for a second reading, they are referred to the Examiners to see that the Standing Orders have been fully complied with. But the mere fact of referring Bills to the Examiners discharges the Order for a second reading, and consequently the day obtained by ballot for the second reading is lost, and the Member in charge of the Bill may have no opportunity during the rest of the Session of obtaining another day for the second reading. The object of the new Standing Order is that after the Examiner has had such a Bill before him, and after hearing the parties concerned, and finding that due notice has been given in the case of all the interests affected, he shall declare that the Standing Orders have been complied with, and the Bill would, in that case, take its due course on the day on which it had been ordered by the House. It will therefore be seen that the new Standing Order makes no alteration in what has hitherto been the practice in regard to Private Bills, except that it dispenses with the necessity, when a Bill is ordered to be referred to the Examiners, of discharging the Order for the second reading. The whole meaning of the Order is that a Bill should run its due course, provided that the Examiner, after having heard all the parties, shall be satisfied that advertisements have been issued, and due notices given to all the parties concerned. I beg now to move the following Resolution:—

> "Where a Bill having been brought in on Motion (not being a Bill to confirm a Provisional Order or Certificate) is read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time, on a day appointed, and it appears that the Standing Orders relative to Private Bills may be applicable to the Bill, the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills shall, on an Order of the House, examine the Bill with respect to compliance with the Standing Orders, and shall proceed and report forthwith, and the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill shall not be affected thereby; but, if the Examiner report that any Standing Order applicable to the Bill has not been complied with, and the Select Committee on Standing Orders report that such Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with, the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill or the Order for Commitment thereof, as the case may be, shall be discharged."

Resolution *agreed to*, and *ordered* to be a Standing Order of the House.

NOTICES.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE ASSASSINATIONS—MAGISTERIAL INQUIRY AT KILMAINHAM.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether one Sheridan, described by James Carey in the course of the inquiry at the Kilmainham Court House on Saturday as having acted as intermediary between the Irish Invincibles and their allies in London, is one of the men mentioned in the negotiations that led to the release of the suspects from Kilmainham Gaol last Spring, and of whom the honourable Member for the City of Cork, before his release, said—

> "He hoped to make use of and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation, as he knew all its details in the West;"

and, with regard to whom the Member for Bradford said in this House, on 15th May—

> "It gave me a sort of insight into what had been happening, which I had not before, that a man (Sheridan) whom I knew, in as far as I had any possibility of knowing, was engaged in these outrages, was so far under the influence of the honourable Member for the City of Cork, that upon his release he would get the assistance of that man to put down the very things he had been provoking."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: On behalf of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), I beg to give Notice, in view of what has transpired at the Kilmainham Police Court, as an Amendment to the Address, in paragraph 10, line 4, to leave out from the word "upheld," to the end of the paragraph, in order to insert the words—

> "And we venture to express our earnest hope that the change of policy which has produced these results will be maintained, and that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's Rule, by concessions to lawless agitation, and that the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country will continue to be met by unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive."

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I have given private Notice to the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of a Question I proposed to put to him. I do not know that it will be convenient for him to answer it now. In reference to the Notices that have been given by my Friends behind me and below me, I propose to ask him, Whether the person described by the witness James Carey, before the Court of Inquiry at Kilmainham, on Saturday last, as P. J. Sheridan, of Tubbercurry, is the same person as the Sheridan referred to in the Memorandum sent to the Prime Minister and other Members of the Government by the late Chief Secretary, at the time when the release of the "suspects" was under consideration in April last, which was read in this House on the 15th of May, 1882? If my right hon. Friend would prefer it, I will put the Question to-morrow.

Mr. TREVELYAN: According to the information which the Attorney General for Ireland and myself have in the Irish Office in London, we believe Sheridan to be the same man. Absolute certainty perhaps in one sense cannot be acquired as to who any particular person referred to in any particular sentence was; but we believe that the man referred to throughout these transactions was the same.

QUESTIONS.

NAVY—ARMAMENT—BREECH-LOADING GUNS.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, The number and calibre of the new breechloading guns received into the Naval Service up to the present time, and in what ships they are mounted; and, whether he will state to the House the present condition of the 43 ton gun and the other breech-loading guns provided for the Naval Service in the Estimates for 1881-2, 1882-3?

Mr. BRAND (for Mr. Campbell-Bannerman): The number and calibre of guns actually on board ship is 66 6-inch and 13 4-inch. The following statement shows the distribution of breech-loading guns on February 10, 1883:—There were issued to ships—*Rover*, 14 6-inch; *Satellite*, eight 6-inch; *Heroine*, eight 6-inch; *Cambridge*, two 6-inch; *Hotspur*, two 6-inch; *Hyacinth*, eight 6-inch; *Excellent*, two 6-inch, one 4-inch; *Swiftsure*, eight 4-inch; *Alecto*, four 4-inch; *Euryalus*, two 6-inch;

Volage, ten 6-inch—total, 56 6-inch, 13 4-inch. Besides guns actually on board ships there were 41 6-inch and 10 4-inch at gun wharves and appropriated to vessels. The condition of the 43-ton guns and other breech-loading guns was described by Mr. Childers in August and November, 1882, and the programme he laid down has been fairly carried out—that is, 43-ton guns have been accelerated by a transfer from guns provided for land service, and the whole will be completed by October next: 9 2-inch guns will be completed by January, 1884. The 8-inch guns have been a little delayed, but probably will be completed by December of this year; while the 6-inch guns will nearly all be ready by the date previously given—that is, June, 1883. The 5-inch and 4-inch guns are all in an advanced state, and will be completed, the former by September and the latter by July next.

In reply to a further Question from Mr. W. H. SMITH,

MR. BRAND said, the delivery of the 43-ton guns to the Navy had been approved.

THEATRES AND MUSIC HALLS (METROPOLIS)—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST FIRE—CAPTAIN SHAW'S REPORT.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, after the recent fire at the Alhambra Theatre, which spread so rapidly that it must have been most disastrous to the public had it happened during the performance, he is now prepared to lay Captain Shaw's Report about Theatres upon the Table of the House; and, if not, whether he will now bring in, or facilitate the bringing in, of a measure which shall give additional safety to the theatre-going public?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have before stated to the hon. Member the reason why Captain Shaw's Report cannot be laid on the Table of the House, and I have now no reason to alter that opinion. With reference to what has been done, the Metropolitan Board is taking active measures with reference to Metropolitan theatres, and, as far as I am able to judge, in a satisfactory manner. With regard to the final Question mentioned at the end, in my opinion that is a matter eminently for the municipal and local authorities, and any proposal of that character should be vested in the local authorities—to whom it belongs—and not in Her Majesty's Government.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND, in consequence of the answer of the Home Secretary, gave Notice that, in view of the great danger which still exists to the theatre-going public from the inefficiency of the powers under existing Acts, and the laxity with which such powers are exercised, a Select Committee be appointed to investigate what steps should be taken to put this important subject on a proper footing, and that their attention should be especially called to the Report of the Select Committee of 1866, over which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) presided.

CHARGES OF RAILWAY COMPANIES—RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. TOMLINSON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to bring in a Bill this Session to carry out the recommendations of the Select Committee appointed last Session to inquire into the charges of Railway Companies, &c.?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he thought the hon. Member would agree with him that it was not desirable to multiply Bills unless there was some prospect of carrying them; and the Government list was already full. If an opportunity should arise at any future period, it might be desirable to introduce such a Bill as that to which the hon. Member had referred.

TREATY OF BERLIN—ARTICLE 61—REFORMS IN ARMENIA.

MR. BAXTER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is true that the Sixty-first Article of the Treaty of Berlin still remains a dead letter; and, if any steps have been recently taken by Her Majesty's Government, with a view to giving effect to the promised reforms in Armenia?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Lord Dufferin has made repeated communications to the Porte on this subject. As lately as December last, Mr. Wyndham, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, pointed out the danger of not instituting the reforms which Her Majesty's Government had so continually and strongly pressed the Turkish Government to carry out.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—IMPORTATION OF DISEASED CATTLE FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. BIRKBECK asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is a fact that upwards of 300 head of cattle arrived at Liverpool on the 31st of January in the steamship "Kansas," all affected with foot and mouth disease; and, whether, taking into consideration the serious losses incurred by tenant farmers from foot and mouth disease, Her Majesty's Government will prohibit the importation of live stock from Foreign Countries where disease is known to exist?

Mr. MUNDELLA: The steamship *Kansas*, from Boston (United States) arrived at the foreign animals wharf at Liverpool, at noon on January 30, 1883, having on board 313 cattle and 398 sheep. The Inspector of the Privy Council stationed at Liverpool certified on the same day that 219 of the cattle were affected with foot - and - mouth disease, and six sheep with sheep scab. The cargo was landed at the foreign animals wharf at Birkenhead, and there slaughtered. In reply to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, I have to say that it is not the intention of the Privy Council to prohibit importation from foreign countries where disease is known to exist. I am advised that there is no country in the world where disease, as defined by the Act, is non-existent, and that prohibition would be in direct violation of the principle of the Act, which distinctly provides for the reception and slaughter of animals coming from countries where disease is known to exist.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON IRISH INDUSTRIES.

Captain AYLMER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What decision the Cabinet have arrived at regarding the Memorial presented to the First Lord of the Treasury last Session, praying him to consent to the appointment of a Royal Commission on Irish Industries?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I can only refer the hon. and gallant Member to a communication which, I am informed, was addressed to him by the Prime Minister on the 3rd of November last, to the effect that his Colleagues agreed that they could not recommend the Crown to grant a Royal Commission. No different conclusion has, I understand, been arrived at by the Cabinet since the receipt of the Memorial referred to. Possibly, however, the Bill of which the hon. Member has given Notice will show some subject calling for inquiry of which the Government is at present unaware.

GROUND GAME ACT—LEGISLATION.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the decision of the Supreme Court in Scotland as to the trapping of rabbits under the Ground Game Act; and, whether the Government will introduce a Bill to amend the Act, so as to give farmers full liberty to trap rabbits?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am informed there has been a decision, which has astonished a good many people, including the promoters of the Bill, to the effect that a hole made by a rabbit is not a rabbit hole; that it is essential to a hole that it should have a top. I do not know whether that is the correct view of the Act, or whether it is the view of those who promoted it; but if it should turn out to be the case I will do all I can to assist my hon. Friend in amending the Act.

TURKEY IN ASIA—NAVIGATION OF THE TIGRIS.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can give any information as to a recent communication from the Turkish Embassy, stating that

> "Menahim Salih Effendi, a merchant of Bagdad, has been authorised to establish, without monopoly, a navigation service on the Tigris;"

and, whether that navigation will now be free to vessels other than those under the Ottoman flag?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government are aware of the announcement quoted by the hon. Member respecting a concession for the navigation of the Tigris recently granted by the Porte to a merchant at Bagdad.

The concession does not, however, appear to relate to the question of the navigation of that river by vessels under a foreign flag. I may add that Her Majesty's Government are desirous, in the interest of the Provinces of Asiatic Turkey, that the Euphrates and Tigris should be opened to navigation by vessels under all flags; but the principle of the free navigation of rivers, established by the additional Act of the Treaty of Vienna, applies only to rivers which flow through the territories of different States.

JAMAICA—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the vacancies in the Legislative Council of Jamaica, occasioned by the resignation of all the non-official members, have been or are intended to be filled up; whether a memorial has been received at the Colonial Office from Jamaica expressing intense dissatisfaction with the present system of Crown Government, and praying for the restoration of representative Government; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will consider the expediency of modifying the present composition of the Legislative Council by introducing a fair proportion of members chosen by popular election?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The vacancies in the Legislative Council of Jamaica have not been filled up, nor is it intended to fill them up at present. No Memorial such as that described in the Question has recently been received at the Colonial Office. Her Majesty's Government are considering the expediency of modifying the present composition of the Legislative Council; but they will not come to any decision until after they have received the Report of the Commissioners who are now on the spot inquiring into the finances and administration of Jamaica.

LAW AND POLICE — THE PUBLIC THOROUGHFARES (METROPOLIS).

COLONEL MAKINS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he is prepared, by legislation or otherwise, to strengthen the hands of the Metropolitan Police in preventing the obstruction of public thoroughfares by persons who frequent them for immoral purposes?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he was in communication with the Commissioners of Police and the Police Magistrates on this very important subject. There were some difficulties in the present state of the law, which, as interpreted by some of the magistrates, required that some individual should complain that he himself was annoyed in the matter, and that general annoyance of the public would not be sufficient. He was making inquiries how far this view was maintained, and if it were maintained it was desirable that the law should be altered. He might mention that a Bill, founded upon the Report of the House of Lords Committee with reference to the protection of women, would shortly be introduced into the House of Lords, which would, to a certain extent, deal with the question, and if necessary a clause would be inserted to carry out the views of the hon. and gallant Member.

EGYPT—SALE OF THE EGYPTIAN DOMAIN LANDS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is proposed to sell the Domain lands in Egypt, acquired by usurpation and otherwise by the late Khedive and his family, without making provision for the security of the cultivators of the soil?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A scheme has been proposed for the sale of the Domain Lands, which are hypothecated as security for the Rothschild Loan. It is at present incomplete; but its provisions contemplate the disposal of the lands for the liquidation of the loan under conditions which will afford facilities for payment, and enable the cultivators of the soil to become the proprietors of their holdings on moderate terms. The scheme is still under consideration. We have no official information of any sales having taken place; but, if that is the case, the sales must have been effected under the power contained in the Decree of January 30, 1879, whereby the whole or any part of the land may be sold by the Commissioners, subject to the conditions of the Loan Contract, and of regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

STATE OF IRELAND—MIGRATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, having regard to the Return of the Irish Migratory Agricultural Labourers lately issued, Her Majesty's Government will cause inquiry to be made in the districts of the South of Scotland and North of England, where these people have usually been employed, in order to ascertain whether the recent decrease in their numbers is due to decrease of demand for their services, or decrease of supply; and, if the former, whether the decrease of demand is likely to be permanent or temporary; and, whether it is necessary or desirable artificially to stimulate the emigration of this class of people?

MR. TREVELYAN: As the Irish Office is the only Department which hitherto has made inquiry into this matter, perhaps my hon. Friend will allow me to answer this Question. The Irish Government has made careful inquiry lately, and is satisfied that the proportion of migratory agricultural labourers from a district is a proof of the poverty of the district and the inability of the holdings, from their small size or other circumstances, to support the people. I do not quite catch the meaning of the last paragraph; but the information obtained has only confirmed the Irish Government in their belief that they are right in assisting people to emigrate who are unable to live in comfort in Ireland. I fancy the Local Government Board is the Department which would have the greatest facility for conducting the inquiry which the hon. Member suggests; but the view of the Irish Government with regard to the duty of assisting emigration could not be altered by anything which that inquiry could produce.

In reply to a further Question by Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL,

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would make inquiries of the Local Government Board upon the subject.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ANTRIM CO. SUB-COMMISSION.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether three Assistant Commissioners from the counties of Galway, Dublin, and Wicklow respectively have been lately appointed to the county Antrim Sub-Commission; and, whether it is a fact that these gentlemen have had no previous experience or knowledge of the Ulster custom?

MR. TREVELYAN: I referred this Question to the Land Commissioners, and have received from them the following reply:—

> "The residences of three of the Assistant Commissioners on the Antrim Sub-Commission are respectively in the counties Dublin, Galway, and Wicklow. The Land Commissioners allocated the different Assistant Commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to different districts according to the best of their judgment and discretion; and having done so, after much care and consideration, they must decline to discuss or meet complaints made against particular Assistant Commissioners."

LAW AND JUSTICE (INDIA)—TRIAL OF EUROPEANS BY NATIVE JUDGES.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is in contemplation by the Government of India to change the existing Law relating to the trial of Europeans in India; and, if so, whether he would guarantee that no sanction would be given to such a proposal by Her Majesty's Government until this House has had an opportunity of discussing the propriety of such a measure?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Government of India has now in contemplation a change in the law relating to the trial of Europeans in certain cases; and the late Secretary of State, at the request of that Government, sanctioned the introduction into the Indian Legislative Council of a Bill to carry out this change. Under the existing Criminal Code, outside the Presidency towns no European can be sentenced by a Sessions Judge to more than 12 months' imprisonment, nor by a first-class magistrate to more than three months' imprisonment; the Sessions Judge and the first-class magistrate being European British subjects. The Government of India has recommended that these limited powers of jurisdiction should be extended to certain selected Natives in the Government service. The actual proposal is that, if the Government appoints a Native to be a Judge of a Sessions Court or a district magistrate, he shall, *ex officio*, have the same jurisdiction over Europeans, as if he were himself an European; and that the local governments shall be authorized to confer similar magisterial powers upon selected members of the covenanted Civil Service of the Native Civil Service—constituted under the statutory Rules made under 33 *Vict.*, c. 3—and of the non-regulation commissions, and upon cantonment magistrates who are already exercising first-class magisterial powers, and who are, in the opinion of Government, fit to be intrusted with these further powers. It may be as well to state that for the last 20 years there have been Native Judges of the High Court with jurisdiction and powers precisely the same as those of Europeans; and that for 30 years there have been in the Presidency towns Native magistrates who have constantly and satisfactorily exercised criminal jurisdiction over Europeans in those towns. The Procedure Code gives to every European British subject, who considers himself unlawfully detained in custody, the right to apply to the High Court for an order to bring him up before that Court. In reply to the concluding sentence of the hon. Member's Question, I may say that, as Her Majesty's Government does not wish unnecessarily to delay the accomplishment of these reforms, it is not intended to submit the question to the House of Commons.

SOUTH AFRICA—BASUTOLAND.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Government will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence relative to the affairs of Basutoland between General Gordon, late Commandant General at the Cape, and the Governor or Ministers of the Cape Colony?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that he would lay the Correspondence on this subject on the Table of the House to-morrow.

ARABI PASHA—CONDITIONS OF DETENTION AT CEYLON.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Arabi Pacha and the other Egyptians who have been banished from Egypt, and who are now in Ceylon, are retained there as prisoners; and, if so, by what Law?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; Arabi Pasha is not retained as a prisoner, but remains in Ceylon in accordance with a solemn undertaking in writing, which was signed by himself, and witnessed by his European counsel, to the effect that he would remove to any locality indicated by the Egyptian Government, and there remain until invited to change his abode.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked by what means the authorities in Ceylon could enforce this order on the part of the Egyptian Government?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he must ask the hon. Gentleman to give him Notice of that Question.

INLAND NAVIGATION (IRELAND)—SLUICES ON THE SHANNON.

Colonel NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the sluices on the Shannon are now completed and in a fit state to prevent the neighbouring lands from being submerged by the summer floods?

Mr. COURTNEY: Yes, Sir; the sluices in question have been completed; but some minor works still remain to be done, having been retarded by the unfavourable season. There is no reason to doubt that they will be in working order before the time of the summer floods.

ORDER—ALTERATION OF QUESTIONS—THE KILMAINHAM "AGREEMENT."

Mr. KENNARD asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, when addressing an audience at Sheffield lately, he stated that the Right Hon. gentleman the Member for Bradford had not specifically declined to agree with the Prime Minister as to the policy of negotiating terms of agreement with the members of the Irish Party then confined at Kilmainham? The hon. Gentleman said he wished to substitute the word "arrangement" for the word "agreement," appearing on the Notice Paper.

Mr. MUNDELLA: The hon. Member has put one Question on the Notice Paper and has now substituted for it another and entirely different Question, which he now proposes to alter. I made no statement at all resembling the one first put on the Paper. With respect to the substituted Question, I did not use the language employed by the hon. Member. What I did say was a mere statement of opinion on the question which I formed, like any other Member of the House, from hearing the debates on the subject.

ENGLAND AND MEXICO—DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION.

Mr. PULESTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any, and, if so, what steps have been taken to provide for a Consular or Diplomatic representative of this Country in Mexico?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I regret that I am unable at present to add anything to the statement made by my Predecessor on the 31st of October last, in reply to a Question by the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), to the effect that Her Majesty's Government would be very glad to renew relations with Mexico, but that the difficulties in the way were considerable. The question continues, however, to receive the close attention of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. PULESTON asked whether it was the fact that Representatives of this country had been sent to Mexico?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE asked the hon. Member to give Notice of the Question.

THE NAVAL AND MILITARY ESTIMATES.

Mr. PULESTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government will arrange to have the Naval and Military Estimates taken at an early period of the Session?

Mr. COURTNEY: I am as anxious as my hon. Friend can be that the Estimates should be brought forward at the earliest possible date; but he must know that my influence for this end is extremely limited.

Mr. PULESTON said, in consequence of the answer of the Secretary to the Treasury, he wished to give Notice that he should repeat the Question to the noble Marquess at the head of the Government on Thursday.

POST OFFICE—LETTERS FOR INDIA.

Mr. KENNARD asked the Acting Postmaster General, Whether Indian letters could henceforward share the privilege accorded to Continental letters every night, of being posted at Charing Cross and Cannon Street in late boxes, seeing that Indian and Continental letters are conveyed in the same trains and boats so far as England is concerned?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I fear that the privilege the hon. Member refers to cannot be extended to Indian letters. The foreign letters so dealt with are sorted in the train on the way to Dover; but it is considered that, looking to the great bulk and importance of the Indian weekly mail, and the limited time between London and Dover, it would not be advisable to adopt this arrangement with regard to letters to the East.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE GOVERNMENT MEASURES.

Lord JOHN MANNERS asked the Secretary of State for War, If any, and, if so, which, of the Bills named in the Queen's Speech are intended to be introduced into the House of Lords?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: We do not think that any advantage would accrue—for reasons which, probably, it would not be necessary for me to explain now in detail—in introducing any of the measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech into the House of Lords, except the Scotch University Education Bill. There will, however, shortly be several other Bills introduced into that House which are not mentioned in the Queen's Speech, but which deal with subjects of considerable importance. Among them are those relating to the Law as to Contempt of Court, to the amendment of the Law relating to Medical Matters, to Sea Fisheries, Naval Discipline, the amendment of the Judicature Act, and to the Protection of Young Girls.

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE—SIR AUGUSTUS PAGET.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the report is correct that has appeared in the newspapers that Sir Augustus Paget is about to be relieved of his functions as Ambassador at Rome, and to be placed on the Retired List with a pension of £1,500 per annum; and, whether, if so, this is in consequence of ill-health or of advanced age?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Select Committee of this House, in their Report of May 18, 1871, made several recommendations. One, which was unanimously agreed to, was to the following effect:—

> "That the duration of the appointments of the Heads of Missions should not exceed five years, without conferring any claim for employment for the whole period; and that, while the Secretary of State should have it in his power to re-appoint any such Head to the same or another Mission, if he think fit, it should be his duty to consider, at the expiration of each period of five years, whether such re-appointment is, or is not, for the public service."

The matter was carefully considered by the Foreign Office and the Treasury; and the following Regulation was accordingly adopted in 1872:—

> "The duration of the appointments of Heads of Missions at Foreign Courts shall not exceed, though it may be less than, five years; and at the expiration of five years the question of re-appointment, though in that case not involving fresh credentials, or of transfer to another Mission, shall be open for consideration."

At the lapse of five years from that time the appointment of the majority of the Heads of Missions was renewed by the late Government. One Ambassador and one Minister were not re-appointed under this provision. In 1879 Lord Salisbury added a further provision—that members of the Diplomatic Service, on attaining the age of 70 years, should be retired on the pension for which their services may qualify them. In 1881 Sir Augustus Paget, who had then been for 14 years the Representative of Her Majesty in Italy, and for five years Her Majesty's Ambassador at Rome, was offered the Embassy at St. Petersburg, which he declined on the ground of ill-health. His appointment at Rome was continued; but he was informed that it could only be provisional. At the end of last year the term of appointment expired for several Heads of Missions. Some were re-appointed for a specified shorter term, and one was informed that his appointment would terminate. Sir Augustus Paget was privately informed that his appointment would terminate at the end of April; but, at his request, it was extended to the end of June next. His Excellency will be entitled to a pension while *en disponibilité*.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the five years' rule was intended to be enforced in the cases of Lord Lyons, who had been Minister at Paris since 1867; Lord Ampthill, who had been Minister at Berlin since 1871; Sir Henry Elliot, at Vienna since 1877; Sir John Lumley, at Brussels since 1868; and Sir John Stuart, at The Hague since October, 1877; or whether the application of the rule was to be limited to the case of Sir Augustus Paget?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he must have Notice of that Question.

MR. RYLANDS asked whether the direct effect of the rule would not be to charge the Pension List with £1,700 a-year?

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the noble Lord had not answered the latter portion of the Question.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that when the hon. Members had read his answer, they would see that the Questions they put were replied to therein.

KEW GARDENS—EXTENSION OF HOURS OF OPENING.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Chief Commissioner of Works, Whether he has been able to see his way to any concession to meet the widespread desire for the earlier opening of Kew Gardens to the public?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I have been in communication with the Director of Kew Gardens on this subject, and the hon. Member will be pleased to hear that Sir Joseph Hooker has found himself able to propose that the Royal Gardens at Kew shall be opened one hour earlier than has hitherto been the case, and that this can be done without interfering with the important work carried on there. The Gardens, therefore, from the beginning of the next financial year, will be opened at noon instead of at 1 o'clock.

ARMY—THE BRIGADE OF GUARDS.

MR. HERBERT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, considering the frequent changes of the quarters of the Brigade of Guards entails great expense to the troops themselves, and a considerable expenditure of public money, the change now imminent after only three months and a half in their present quarters is desirable in the interests of the Service?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: It has always been the custom for the battalions of the Guards to exchange quarters in London and its vicinity every six months in order to give each battalion a fair share of the better barracks and a turn at Windsor, and it happens that, owing to the war, some of the battalions have not been the six months at their present station. The General Commanding the Guards, however, did not recommend any alterations in the half-yearly changes on this account, which entail but a trifling expense. The battalion in Ireland does not move. Arrangements are being considered by which these changes of quarters will only be carried out once a year.

THE DANUBE CONFERENCE—EXCLUSIVE RIGHT OF RUSSIA OVER THE KILIA MOUTH.

BARON **HENRY DE WORMS** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the English Government have supported Russia in demanding the exclusive right over the Kilia mouth of the Danube, in violation of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, and of the Vienna Protocol of the same year?

LORD **EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: I must refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave on Friday last to the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), to the effect that, as the Plenipotentiaries have bound themselves to preserve secrecy as to the proceedings of the Conference, I am precluded from giving any information on the subject. I may, however, inform the House that the report to which the hon. Member refers has reached Her Majesty's Government from no other source.

MR. **O'DONNELL**: Is the noble Lord aware that the Roumanian Government have published their instructions to their Representatives, from which a very definite conclusion may be drawn as to the action of Her Majesty's Government?

LORD **EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: The hon. Member is always so well informed on questions of foreign politics that it is not for me to contradict what he says.

PUBLIC HEALTH—LEAD POISONING.

MR. **BURT** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether a further Report on Lead Poisoning has recently been presented to him by Mr. Redgrave, Inspector of Factories; and, if so, whether he will lay it upon the Table of the House?

The Marquess of Hartington

SIR **WILLIAM HARCOURT**, in reply, said, that this Report was in the printer's hands, and would be ready, he hoped, very soon.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY—ISLE OF WIGHT.

SIR **R. ASSHETON CROSS** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to Notice given on Thursday last by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies for leave to bring in a Bill to probibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in the Isle of Wight; and, whether such Notice, relating to piecemeal legislation, was given on behalf of the Government, or with the sanction of the Government?

SIR **WILLIAM HARCOURT**, in reply, said, he must remind the right hon. Gentleman that his hon. Friend (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) was the sole Member for the Isle of Wight, and that it was only through him that the views of the constituency could be represented. He had brought in the Bill as Member for the Isle of Wight. He (Sir William Harcourt) had no wish to leave the right hon. Gentleman under a misapprehension as to what the views of the Government might be; because, after the course which they had taken with reference to Irish and Welsh Sunday closing, and also with reference to the Bill introduced last Session as to Sunday closing in Cornwall, he did not wish the right hon. Gentleman to suppose that the Government objected to the general principle of piecemeal legislation on this subject. On the contrary, it was a question, no doubt, of areas; for the Government had always held that it was essentially a matter upon which localities ought to judge for themselves.

LICENSING LAWS—LOCAL OPTION.

SIR **WILFRID LAWSON** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What steps the Government propose to take for giving effect to the Resolution which has been adopted and reaffirmed by this House, to the effect that the inhabitants of localities should be empowered to restrain the issue or renewal of licences in their respective districts?

SIR **WILLIAM HARCOURT**: The hon. Member for Carlisle wants to know a little too much a little too soon. The only answer I can give upon that subject is that when the Government bring forward measures with reference to local government, they propose to deal with the question of licensing as a question of local government.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman refer to the Bill for London or a Bill for the whole country?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It is premature to refer to the Bill for London. I have spoken generally. The Bill for London is a part of the proposal which the Government have to make on the subject of local government, and all I can tell my hon. Friend for the present is that the Government do regard this question of licensing as essentially a question of local government.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—UNION RATING.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the Bill of which notice has been given to provide for Union Rating in Ireland, the Government will also make provision for the election of guardians by ballot?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government propose to introduce into the Bill provisions for the election of Guardians by ballot.

THE PRESS LAWS (INDIA).

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, What was the "confidential communication" for the publication of which Mr. Grant Duff punished a Madras newspaper by the withdrawal of the Government advertising, and on what ground was it classed with "confidential communications?"

MR. J. K. CROSS: The document in question is a personal account of a tour by the Governor of Madras, and, being a confidential Memorandum, came necessarily under the Resolution of 1865.

THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE—ROUMANIA AND BULGARIA.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that Roumania and Bulgaria have protested against the policy supported by Her Majesty's Government at the Danubian Conference?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I must refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave to him on Friday respecting the secrecy of the proceedings of the Conference. I may, however, add that at the earliest moment consistently with the proceedings of the Conference it is intended to give full information to the House.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL.

MR. DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the countries adjoining the west and south-west borders of the Transvaal are not in a peaceable condition; whether any steps have been taken, or will be taken, to arrest and punish the English deserters who took part with the marauding force of the Boers in the attacks on the chiefs Montsioa and Mankoroane; whether the Government of the Transvaal have, in accordance with Article 19 of the Transvaal Convention, done

> "their utmost to prevent its inhabitants from making encroachments upon lands lying beyond the said State;"

and, if not, whether they will be held responsible, in respect of restoration of cattle, or of compensation to the despoiled chieftains, for the depredations committed by Transvaal subjects assembled on Transvaal territory; and, whether Her Majesty's Government are prepared and intend to impress upon the Government of the Transvaal that no breach of the 19th Article of the Transvaal Convention will, under any circumstances, be permitted or overlooked?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: In answer to the first part of the Question, I cannot say that the countries adjoining the west and south-west borders of the Transvaal are now in a peaceable condition. As to the second, I can only repeat what I have already stated on several occasions—that the proposals made to the Cape Government, the Transvaal Government, and the Orange Free State, to join in organizing a mounted police force to act temporarily in the disturbed district, fell through by no fault of Her Majesty's Government, but by the fact that the Transvaal Orange Free State refused to join. But I may add, for the information of the hon. Gentleman, that we are about to make fresh proposals to the Cape Government on a somewhat different basis, and we hope that they will be accepted. With respect to the third and fourth Questions, I can only say that they do not refer to matters of fact, but really to matters of opinion and policy; and I must refer my hon. Friend to the Papers which are laid on the Table of the House to-night, and to the debate which, I understand, will take place on those Papers.

STATE OF IRELAND—DISTRESS IN CO. CLARE.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any further official Reports as to distres in the county Clare have been received by the Irish Local Government Board; and, if so, whether he will lay those Reports upon the Table of the House?

MR. TREVELYAN: Further official Reports as to distress in the county of Clare have been received by the Local Government Board. They show that there is considerable distress in particular localities; but there is no reason to think that adequate relief cannot be afforded through the administration of the Poor Law. The Reports were made for the information of the Government, and I cannot undertake to lay them on the Table of the House.

THE TRANSVAAL LOAN—PAYMENT OF INTEREST.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Who has paid the interest on the Transvaal Loan since the Convention?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: If this Question refers to the Amsterdam or Railway Loan, we have information that the Transvaal Government paid the interest due to the bondholders up to January, 1882; and we presume, as we have heard nothing further about it, that the interest has continued to be paid.

STATE OF IRELAND—DEATHS BY STARVATION.

MR. PARNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary, Whether it is true that more than one person has died of starvation in Ireland since the House adjourned last Session?

MR. TREVELYAN: This is a Question regarding which I feel bound to ask for Notice. But I should be unwilling to convey the idea to the hon. Member that that is owing to my own neglect, because I have never seen any Reports of persons dying of starvation or want about which I have not most carefully inquired; and hitherto I am satisfied that such has not been the case.

SCOTLAND—THE SKYE CROFTERS.

MR. MACFARLANE: I wish to ask the Lord Advocate a Question, of which I have given him private Notice. It is, If he can state whether it is a fact that the three men who were proceeding from Skye to Edinburgh have been arrested in Glasgow, by whom they were arrested, and for what reason was their arrest necessary, as they were voluntarily surrendering themselves to the law? And I wish further to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, with reference to the answer on Friday that only three men had surrendered, whether it is a fact or not that the fourth man has not surrendered because he was on duty as a Coastguardsman?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): In answer to the Question, I have to say that I have information that three of the men were arrested in Glasgow. They were there arrested at the instance of the private parties who were petitioners in the Petition for breach of interdict, under the warrant which the Court gave for their arrest, and they will be brought up to-morrow before the Court to answer to the charge. The arrest has not been by the Government. As regards the last part of the Question, I have heard in an informal way that one of the men is serving somewhere in the Naval Reserve; but I have no official information on that matter.

THE ADDRESS—MR. PARNELL'S AMENDMENT.

In reply to Mr. STUART-WORTLEY,

MR. PARNELL said, that, whenever the discussion on English questions was concluded, he proposed to move the Amendment standing in his name.

SEA FISHERIES BILL.

In reply to Mr. WHITLEY,

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that the Bill, founded upon the Report of the Fisheries Committee, would mainly deal with the regulation of fisheries, and would not, therefore, apply, in regard to most of its provisions, to ordinary seamen. He could not say, however, that some of its provisions would not be extended to them. No doubt the hon. Member was aware that the Report contained a recommendation that the Board of Trade officials should act as arbitrators in disputes with reference to seamen refusing to go to sea—a suggestion which seemed to him to be a very good one.

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE INQUIRIES IN DUBLIN CASTLE.

MR. O'BRIEN gave Notice that on Thursday he would ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether an official shorthand writer was present at the whole or any part of the examinations of witnesses in Dublin Castle by Mr. J. A. Curran, Q.C., under the sixteenth Clause of the Crimes Act; and, if so, whether he will lay upon the Table a transcript of the shorthand writer's notes; and, whether he will state the length of time during which such witnesses were under examination, and, whether it is true that they or any of them were proffered intoxicating drink during their detention at the Castle, or that they or any of them were subjected to threats or improper inducements by the presiding magistrate, or by any police officer in his presence?

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [15th February].—[See page 98.]

Main Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he rose to call attention to the great depression and distress of the agricultural interest. He must say that he was surprised that no mention of that distress was made in Her Majesty's Speech. He felt perfectly satisfied that there was no one in this land who felt more acutely for those who suffered that distress and depression than did Her Majesty. He regretted the Prime Minister was not in his place, and especially regretted the cause of his absence. He was glad to see sitting opposite to him now the noble Lord the present Leader of the House, who must feel as deeply as anyone in that House the great distress afflicting the agricultural community. The noble Lord knew perfectly well how necessary it was that that good feeling which had so long existed should be maintained between the landlord, the tenant, and the labourer. He knew the present condition of those classes, and that of those three classes the labourer had suffered the least during the last seven years. Great sacrifices had been made by the tenant farmers, who maintained their position, which they could not have done but for the ready help given them by the landlords. If it was necessary a year ago to draw attention to the agricultural distress then existing, it was equally, if not more, imperative that the House should give attention to the distress now suffered. For seven years the agriculturists of England had been suffering great privations, and he would venture to say that if something were not done—if some good fortune did not come to the agricultural interests—a calamitous day would come for England when another year had passed. Let them look at the present state of things for a moment. It had been said, and he believed truly, that one-third of the wheat crop had not been got in. It had also been said, though, he believed, with a little exaggeration, that one-third of the crop sown was either rotting in the ground or was in such a condition that it would not come to maturity; and, if that was so, the country would be able to count on only one-third of the ordinary crop of wheat. He did not take quite so gloomy a view of the state of things as that; but, looking at the unfavourable weather during the last four or five months, he thought they could not, under the most favourable circumstances, expect more than half a crop. Sir James Caird, who was well known to that House, had stated in a book which he had published on the question that the consumption of wheat in this country was something like 110,000,000 cwt., of which quantity

55,000,000 cwt. was grown in England, the remaining 55,000,000 cwt. being imported. What was the money value of that? The 110,000,000 cwt. of wheat was valued at £64,375,000. The value of the English crop was £32,187,500, while that of the foreign crop also was £32,187,500. But suppose we had only half a crop this year, how would the figures stand then? The value of the home crop would only be £16,096,875, and the value of the foreign crop would be £48,284,375, and he was thus understating the case, because the increase in importation had been considerable since 1877, the year when Sir James Caird published the book from which he quoted. The enormous amount of money which was thus sent out of the country was a matter for serious consideration. He was glad to see the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) sitting opposite, for last year he followed him, and gave some account of agricultural prices, and he hoped the hon. Member would do so again on this occasion. No doubt some prices had risen, but that was not so with regard to wheat. In the book of Sir James Caird, there was an estimate of the capital employed in the cultivation of the soil of this country by from 560,000 to 580,000 tenant farmers, and the amount was stated to be upward of £400,000,000. The losses sustained by the tenant farmers were fixed by the Prime Minister in a speech he made at Leeds at £130,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) put the losses down at £150,000,000, and Sir James Caird stated them to be £130,000,000. If they took the sum at £150,000,000—and he knew that that was a low figure—they found that the tenants had lost more than one-third of their capital. That was a fact of serious import, and demanded serious consideration. Although the statement he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) made last year with regard to insolvencies among the class referred to might not have been absolutely correct, there were, indeed, he was sorry to say, an enormous number of men who, if called upon at this moment to pay what they owed, would find themselves in a most hopeless condition. But, happily, everyone was anxious to help the tenant, and he was sure he was expressing the feelings of every landlord in that House and in the country when he said there was a strong desire to keep the tenants in possession of their farms if at all possible to do so. The present state of the country was very unfavourable; large districts from one end of England to the other were devastated by floods, ditches were uncleaned, hedges had not been trimmed, and the ground was foul. Why was it that England, which a few years ago was so flourishing, was now in this lamentable condition? The want of capital. Everyone who could save a shilling would endeavour to do so, because he knew that in the present condition of things the money laid out would not be returned. Then, again, none of those appliances so necessary to agriculture were to be found. Little lime was used now; no artificial manure was to be found; and there was now little of that good old farm-yard dressing of former times. What was the reason of this? Why, the absolute want of stock, both of cattle and sheep. The Agricultural Returns showed that there was now a much smaller number of cattle in the country than in 1861 and 1871, hundreds of thousands less, and as to sheep they might compute the reduction by millions. He would repeat that this was a matter for the very serious consideration of the Government. And it was a curious fact, which many persons, perhaps, did not know, that half of the stock they did see did not belong to the tenants. An eminent agriculturist had assured him that there were but three persons in one large parish of about 7,000 acres who had stock of their own; and on making inquiries himself he found that there were nine men who had stock of their own, but only three who had sufficient for their farms. He wished to draw attention to another point. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had stated, in answer to a Question, that there was to be no hope for the slaughter of all cattle at the port of debarkation. Why, that was one of the things that every English agriculturist most required, because, with the present facilities for the importation of fresh meat, the flocks and herds of the British farmer should be protected from the danger of diseases from foreign countries.

Mr. MUNDELLA said, the law was that cattle arriving from any country where disease was supposed to exist should be slaughtered at the port of debarkation. At present all foreign cattle were slaughtered except those arriving from Scandinavia and Canada.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, it might be so at that moment; but it should always be so, as very few countries indeed were ever free of disease. He had no objection to stringent regulations, provided they were fairly carried out; but it could not be gainsaid that the partial stoppage of markets gave a certain class, whom he would not name, the power to purchase at the price they liked. [Mr. MUNDELLA dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head. He held in his hand a proclamation dated Whitehall, by which at one fell swoop as many as 150 markets for the sale of cattle were suppressed, thereby causing a great loss, sometimes as much as £2 or £3 per head to the owners. It was quite true that if markets were stopped in Sussex the cattle of that county might be sent to the Metropolitan market; but it was equally true that once there they had to be sold for what they would fetch. Several pounds a head might be lost by the sale of those cattle in that way. Of taxation the land, as had frequently been pointed out, bore more than its proper share. No one would deny that who looked at the multitude of rates now falling upon it — the poor rate, highway rate, county rate, bridge rate, sanitary rate, education rate, sewers rate, and the voluntary church rate, among others. [*A laugh.*] He was not surprised to hear that laugh; but if a man paid the voluntary church rate, it showed that he had a respect for the old building in which he had been married, in which his children had been christened, and in the shadow of which he hoped to be laid to rest. That expenditure intended for the benefit of the country generally should fall exclusively upon one class of property was a matter which deserved the serious consideration of the Government. Rents had been reduced 25 per cent, but the taxation remained the same, including the Income Tax and Land Tax. The Floods Bill would command general approval provided it embodied a reasonable principle of taxation. In proposing to give compensation for improvements to agricultural tenants, the Government were entering upon a very difficult question, which had hitherto baffled all attempts to deal with it. No one could deny that an outgoing tenant ought to receive from his successor value for what he put into the land; but it was equally incontestable that the landlord ought to have some claim also in the event of a tenant failing to do his duty by the land. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard), although in his country speeches he professed to be as anxious for the interests of the landlord as for those of the tenant, did not quite act as if that were the case. [Mr. J. HOWARD dissented.] What the hon. Member was really anxious for was the interests of large tenants. Landlords, he said, availed themselves of the Law of Distress to keep insolvent tenants on the farm, out of whom they could screw more money than they could out of tenants who could pay their way. Now, that statement had no tangible foundation whatever. A landlord who acted in that way he could only describe as a born fool, because he would certainly lose much more than he gained. The noble Lord (the Marquess of Hartington) observed the other night that no change in local taxation would afford relief to the ratepayers unless accompanied by more economical administration. With that statement he did not entirely agree. The Prisons Act, the placing of a portion of the police on the Consolidated Fund, and other measures of the same kind, had undoubtedly afforded relief to the ratepayers. The payment of 4*s.* per head with regard to lunatics was also a gain to the taxpayer. The grant of £250,000 in respect of main roads, though not what they required, was also some little acknowledgment that it was a question which deserved the serious attention of the Government. Those main roads, which were maintained in former times by the establishment of toll-gates, should be charged on the Consolidated Fund. It was a very cruel thing that at such places as railway stations and roads much frequented, and where the traffic was very great, the great majority of the people using those roads did not contribute anything towards their maintenance. He did not wish to detain the House, but he had one question or two to ask with regard to the recommendations of the Royal Commission. The Commission had sat from the year 1879, and only reported in 1882, and the only recommendation of which the Government had taken any notice was that with regard to unexhausted improvements. Yet there were many other most important recommendations. The Commission recommended that the cost of the maintenance of the indoor poor should be thrown on the Consolidated Fund. That would have been an immense relief; and the fact that the cost of outdoor poor remained with the locality would have been a guarantee that there would be no extravagance in administration. Another recommendation was that a certain portion of the local taxes should be assigned to the local authorities in aid of local expenditure. The noble Lord told them to wait for the County Government Bill; but, wise or prudent as the measures might be which the Government had in contemplation, they were in the future, and did not deal with the present distress; and while they were waiting the people who were interested in such a Bill might perish. Then there was another question. It was said that the rates were to be divided between the owner and the occupier. He, for one, should make very little hesitation about that matter, supposing it was forced upon him; but they must look at it in this way—any tenant going to look at a farm, before he would say what rent he would pay for it, always inquired what were the amount of the local rates and of the tithes. Having satisfied himself as to what the local rates and tithes would come to, he would then proceed to offer what he considered to be a fair rent; and if, therefore, the tithes were put upon the landlords it would make no difference, because the value of the farms would only be increased. The Commission, to whose opinion every consideration was due, had also advised that every facility should be given for the redemption of tithe. That was an important question worthy of the serious consideration of the Government. All those recommendations affected the present occupiers of land; whereas what the Government offered was for the future. He would be the last to deny that the Government proposals would benefit the tenant in the future; he hoped that the Government would deal with the question in a liberal way, and not with the object of gaining a Party advantage. If they dealt with the subject in a fair and liberal spirit, their proposals would meet with the consideration they deserved; otherwise they would assuredly fail. He had sought, in the course of his remarks, to place before the House the present unexampled depression of agriculture; and before he concluded he would read the figures in a Return showing the corn and flour imported into this country during the five months commencing in September in each year. For the three years 1881, 1882, and 1883, the importation of corn and flour into this country had been returned in quarters, and not in cwts. as formerly. In the first five months of the agricultural year 1881, beginning on the 1st of September, 1880, there were 7,026,925 quarters of wheat imported; in the same period in 1882 the quantity was 7,149,986 quarters; and in 1883, in the five months commencing the 1st of September, 1882, there had been imported 8,299,100 quarters. It could not be denied that the prosperity of the agricultural interest was of vital importance to the country; and a remedy for the present depression was a question deserving the most earnest consideration of the Government. He did not say that bounties or protection should be adopted; but something ought to be done to insure the quantity of wheat grown in this country from decreasing. So foolish a thing was never done, in his opinion, as taking off the 1*s.* a-quarter duty on imported corn; it would have been better even if raised to 2*s.* The producer in foreign countries would have paid it, and a considerable sum would have been in hand for the relief of agriculturists from local taxation. They must hope for better times, and that the Almighty Being, in whose hands they were, might grant them favourable weather, the first element towards the removal of that great depression and distress; and he thought they might ask, and had a right to expect, that the Government of this great country should give the greatest—nay, more, the most important—interest that consideration which it deserved, and that relief from those unjust and heavy burdens which now pressed so severely on the real property of this country.

Mr. W. FOWLER said, that the hon. and gallant Baronet had again dilated upon the agricultural distress, and had again failed to point out a remedy. He did not suggest that they should go back to Protection, or that the Malt Tax should be again imposed; the whole burden of his argument was the old story of remitting local taxation. It had been repeatedly said in the House that it was no use to try this remedy, because what was reduced in taxation would go to increase the rent. It must be admitted that they had not yet found anything like a remedy for the distress; but he would most emphatically repeat that if the seasons were against agriculture they ought at least to take care that the laws were not against it also. The fact was that in some of the Midland Counties in England there had been eight consecutive bad seasons; and the loss incurred was probably even greater than the amount stated by the hon. Baronet. In the Report of the Royal Commission several causes were mentioned as tending to create or enhance distress. One was the rise of rents in recent years. He would quote on that head the opinion of Mr. Clay, one of the Commissioners. In his Appendix to the Report he said—

> "Sir James Caird puts the rise of rent in England for the last 18 years at 21 per cent, and in Scotland 26 per cent; but I have no doubt that if we went back 25 years the rise would be 25 per cent for England, and 30 per cent for Scotland. The case is so urgent that nothing less than a reduction of rent of from 20 per cent to 30 per cent will save the present tenantry from ruin."

The hon. and gallant Baronet had said truly enough that there had practically been a reduction of rent during the year of 25 per cent. He fully admitted that there had been a general and even a generous reduction of rents agreed to by the landowners; but it was only for the year, and not for a permanency. It had been stated that one cause of the distress was the increased cost and the inferior quality of agricultural labour; but the fact was that the condition of the agricultural labourer up to very recent times had been a disgrace to the Empire. The English agricultural labourer had been miserably paid and worse housed for centuries, and it was the farmers' own fault if the labourer had sought for more remunerative labour in the towns, despairing of making a reasonable living on the land. The result was, undoubtedly, that agricultural labour had become scarce and dear. It had been stated that another cause for the distress was the increased price of stock, but that would surely tell in favour of the farmer who had a good stock. It told against the man who was short of capital, and he was glad to hear from the hon. Baronet so clear an admission of the necessity of more capital if they were to have a real recovery. Since this subject had been discussed last year two events had occurred—the Report of the Royal Commission had been presented and the Settled Land Act had been passed. He would refer to some of their suggestions. He doubted whether, even if the recommendation of the Commission that the cost of maintaining the indoor poor should be thrown upon the Consolidated Fund should be adopted, much relief would be given to tenants, although it might amount to a large gift to the landowners. For his part, he could not see any reason why a present should be made to landowners as if they were coming to Parliament for assistance *in formâ pauperum.* The cost of maintaining the police and the lunatics, half the indoor poor rate, the school board rate, and the sanitary rate might amount to some 1*s.* 1*d.* on the acre only, whereas the loss which had been sustained on the average by the tenant had been estimated at £1 per acre. The Commission had made several useful suggestions with regard to the necessity for rendering the cost of transferring land less, and for preventing adulteration of manures, as well as for bringing in a measure for making the compensation of tenants for unexhausted improvements compulsory. He was afraid that, when the details of the measure about to be introduced by the Government dealing with that subject came to be considered, it would be found that the Bill would involve very difficult and complicated questions. In his opinion, distress for rent would have to be abolished altogether. The Commission further recommended the appointment of a Minister for Agriculture; but, in his opinion, such an appointment would merely end in the creation of another Department of State, and in the introduction of another excellent Gentleman into the Cabinet. He was glad that the Settled Estates Bill, faulty though it might be, had been passed into law. Under the Settled Estates Act, the tenant for life might sell everything except the mansion-house, the park, and the land which was held with the park. Why he should not be allowed to sell the house and the land held with the house, which in many cases were the only things that would enable him to sell the other land at a fair price, it was difficult to understand. That Act, moreover, did not really give freedom to the owner of the land; it did not add to his borrowing powers practically; it gave him a power of selling the land, but it did not give him power over the proceeds of the land when sold. Our present law encouraged accumulation and discouraged dispersion, on what principle he was unable to see; but what they wanted was to have owners who were real and competent owners over the whole country. If they got rid of that system of settlement and had real owners all over the Kingdom, and also gave the tenant proper security for his improvements, they would attract more capital to the land. But no tinkering with local taxation, or any of those small matters, would really meet the great evil of the present time. He believed that the time would come when they would have better seasons, and that those who had really done justice to the soil as owners would be able to take advantage of the improved state of things. But if they once let the land get out of condition and out of heart, it would take a long period to put it right again. He thought that the holding of so much land by embarrassed owners was one of the greatest causes of the existing distress. He believed that, generally speaking, those owners who were able to do justice to the tenants and the labourers were far better off than those who had too much land for their means. He had recently been over an estate of 4,000 acres, where the mansion-house and adjoining buildings were falling into decay. How could they expect a man who had not the means of keeping up his own house to do justice to 4,000 acres of land? It was time they had more freedom in the holding of land—freedom for the owner and freedom for the occupier; and then they might hope once more to see a happy and prosperous state of agriculture.

Sir MASSEY LOPES said, he shared the regret of the hon. and gallant Baronet that the subject of agricultural distress had been altogether omitted from Her Majesty's gracious Speech. They had now had some eight consecutive bad seasons, and he feared that the present one was only too likely to prove worse than any that had preceded it. The distress of agriculture affected all classes of the community; and yet with that distress, so prominent and so patent to all, no sympathy whatever was expressed in Her Majesty's gracious Speech, and no consideration was given to it. That, he thought, was a great and glaring omission that must be felt by every man interested in agriculture, which was, and he hoped ever would be, the most important of all our national interests. In the Speech from the Throne last year there was some comfort and consolation offered to the distressed agriculturists, because the House was then invited to consider what would be the proper extent and the most equitable and provident form in which a contribution should be given from the Imperial Treasury to local taxation. Now, however, they had not even that crumb of comfort left to them; for the whole question of local burdens had been entirely "shunted." Her Majesty's Government were not justified in raising the expectations they excited last year, unless they were in earnest in their endeavours to fulfil them. The noble Marquess the Minister for War told them the other night that it was absolutely necessary that reform should precede relief; that they must settle the question of the reform of local government before they could look for any remission of local taxation. Now, he said emphatically that reform was no necessary preliminary to relief, and that if they were to wait for the reform of local government, their chance of obtaining any relief for local taxation might be deferred till the Greek Kalends. It now appeared that they were not to have a County Board Bill introduced at present, although they were told last year that such a Bill lay all ready in the pigeon-holes of a Government Office. They were, it seemed, to have the experiment first tried of bringing in a Bill for giving local government to the Metropolis, which might not prove to be a very easy matter to deal with. The noble Marquess had referred to the remissions granted in aid of local taxation by the late Government. Those remissions were very acceptable; and, in making them, the late Government only carried out the will and the wishes of the House of Commons, which the previous Ministry had totally neglected and ignored. The amount of remission in taxation was £1,550,000 in England and Wales. In Scotland and Ireland the statistics were so imperfect that it was almost impossible to ascertain the exact amount of remission and relief. But since 1872 the amount of new impositions were £1,700,000 for education, besides £500,000 for highways and £300,000 for sanitary works, in England and Wales, and for those increases they were indebted to the present Government. So that in the last 10 years they had fresh importations amounting to £2,500,000, as against £1,550,000 in remissions, and were, in round numbers, £1,000,000 worse off than before. If, therefore, they had a grievance in 1872, how much more cause was there for it now ? In 1872 agriculture was flourishing, whereas now they were passing through a period of serious depression. Another matter to which he would call attention was the Report of the Royal Commission. On that Commission they had every phase of political opinion and every class represented. It was extraordinary and most remarkable that the Report of this mixed Commission was unanimous. There was only one portion of that Report he would allude to, and that was the recommendation of the Commissioners that personalty should contribute as well as realty to the maintenance of the indoor poor, and that certain locally collected taxes should be handed over to the local authorities in alleviation of their national burdens. It must be remembered that the Royal Commission, in making that recommendation, had only followed in the lines of the Lords' Committee of 1850. One portion of Her Majesty's Speech referred to the question of tenants' improvements. The principle of compensation for improvements had not only been conceded, but, he believed, had been advocated by hon. Members on both sides of the House; but the question was, where were the tenants who had capital to expend in improvements ? There was scarcely enough capital left among them to expend in the ordinary occupations of husbandry. He was of opinion that a tenant farmer ought not to be called upon to expend his capital in permanent improvements. That was the business of the landlord. During the past few years agriculture had entered upon an existence of disastrous depressions, which no legislation, however revolutionary, could remove, for agriculture must ever be a more or less precarious business. The burdens placed upon agriculturists, which were almost intolerable in days gone by, had of late years been more oppressive than ever ; the present mode of assessing the rates was more than monstrous. Agriculturists were not agitating for Protection ; but what they said was that, the Government having accepted the principle of Free Trade, and having removed Protection from the agricultural interest, it was only fair and just that they should remove the exceptional burdens which were imposed on account of the exceptional privileges enjoyed. Having given Free Trade to agriculture, agriculturists had a right to ask for fair taxation.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, he fully admitted the gravity of the situation alluded to by the hon. Baronet (Sir Massey Lopes); but he could not see that the proposals of the hon. Baronet would be a remedy for the evils complained of. Much had been said about concessions of 10 and 20 per cent in rent, and so forth; but nothing had been said about re-valuation. In his opinion, if the condition of the farmers was to be improved, it must be done, not by a small remission of rates, but by a very considerable remission of rent. He saw no good in prolonging the discussion, but he would ask, Why did not the late Government, of which the hon. Baronet was a Member, do more during their six years of Office to remedy the grievances of which he complained ? All they did had been to appoint the Royal Commission, to whose Report the hon. Baronet had alluded. One of the recommendations of that Commission, no doubt, was that personalty should be liable to taxation as well as realty; but, unfortunately, the Report did not tell them how such property was to be rated. If the stock-in-trade of all traders was to be rated the farmer's stock-in-trade would be liable to taxation with the rest, and he doubted whether he would really derive any substantial advantage from disturbing the present system. He was glad that the Government proposed to legislate on the subject of tenants' improvements, and he agreed that a good Tenants' Compensation Bill would be of great service in the future. Of course, no legislation would be of any avail unless they were favoured with more propitious seasons than those they had lately had to encounter; but a liberal and well-considered tenant right measure would enable the tenants to make the best use of favourable weather when it came. He believed such a Bill would lay the foundation of the future prosperity of the agriculturists, and he was glad to find the Government had the energy to introduce one.

Mr. E. W. HARCOURT said, it really seemed as if it were impossible to arrive at the lowest depths to which the unfortunate agricultural interests were doomed to descend. The wet had destroyed their corn, and rotted their cattle, and they were afflicted with foot-and-mouth disease, imported from abroad. One year, two years, three years they might have stood up against; but a seventh bad year brought with it absolute ruin to many. Well, now, how did an enlightened Government propose to assist them in their misfortunes? The farmers were told that the advent of the present Government to power would be in itself sufficient to cover all their misfortunes. What had they done for them? They had already removed the malt tax for them, thereby reducing the value of their barley 30 or 40 per cent, and they had given them a Hares and Rabbits Bill, which was very seldom heard of. If they were really the farmers' friends, they would try to find out what the farmers really wanted. If they asked, they would be told, in the first place, that what the farmers wanted was fine weather. He hoped the farmers would not retort upon them that the Liberals had failed to provide them with that article. They would be told, in the next place, that one thing, at any rate, that was required was protection from foreign disease, which was destroying their flocks, not by slaughtering live stock at the port of debarkation, but by refusing to permit live stock to enter the country. They wanted also relief in the matter of local taxation. They would be told that the farmers wanted to be fairly treated in the matter of rates, and that they did not conceive that that was the case as long as £250,000,000 of real property was made to bear the whole burden, as against £900,000,000 of personal property which paid nothing at all. They would be told that the maintenance of indoor poor, the maintenance of lunatics, the maintenance of main roads, and the cost of education were considered oppressive burdens as long as they were borne by one class of property alone. It was really worth while to consider the matter entirely apart from Party politics. It was worth while to listen to the complaints of, and to give relief to, a class which represented the largest interests in the Kingdom; a class upon which all other classes depended, and the ruin of which would involve the ruin of every other class in the Empire. They found the agricultural classes absolutely true to each other. He said it in the face of the House, and without fear of contradiction, that the owners of the soil had met the occupiers with generosity, and that the occupiers had met the labourers with kindness and consideration. They were far too independent to ask for State aid; all they asked for was that the rates should not be laid on one class alone, and that the stock of the country might not be destroyed by foreign disease. They asked that in the interest of the country at large, and they were willing to submit to inconvenience themselves in order to attain that end. The farmers were quiet and patient under their misfortunes, and they would remain so, if they were convinced that they were suffering under a visitation of Providence, and that all was being done by the Government which an intelligent knowledge could dictate. But they would not remain so if, when they asked for bread, you gave them a stone, and if they thought they were being handed over to the morbid experiments of ignorant politicians, and that they were to be made the sport of a spurious Liberalism. They knew that to own land would not benefit a man when it was becoming a dearer luxury every year, and when every year it was paying a smaller percentage. They knew that to parcel out land in small lots was not the way to attract capital into it; and they knew that to give the regulation of expenditure to those who did not pay the taxes was not the way to induce economy. The farmers were cleverer fellows than some hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House seemed to think. It would not be easy to cheat them into the belief that you were doing great things for them, when you were doing nothing at all. He hoped a wiser spirit might prevail, and that, if the farmers were to be done good to, it would be in a way which the farmers themselves would appreciate.

MR. INDERWICK said, he desired to call the attention of the House to a matter which pressed with considerable severity on farmers, especially in the South of England, and which was almost entirely beyond any control on their part. From various causes the cultivation of corn in the districts of the country to which he referred had become more and more unprofitable, and farmers had consequently been driven to the growth of other crops, and especially of fruit, vegetables, and hops. In this new direction, however, they had found themselves pressed by the impost known as the extraordinary tithe. This matter had already engaged the attention of the House, and had been reported on by a Select Committee. That Committee had reported that the extraordinary tithe was an impediment to agriculture; and it was, moreover, very harassing to the persons who had to pay it. It was, therefore, desirable that the impost should be abolished in some equitable manner. That conclusion had been arrived at not only by the Select Committee, but also by Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture, and in certain Diocesan Conferences composed of men who, in a great measure, received the extraordinary tithe. It might be said that in promoting a new arrangement of that kind they were unsettling the settlement come to in 1836; but the answer to that was, that that settlement was made in view of a state of things which no longer existed, and of one which could not have been contemplated at the time the Act was passed. The remission of duty on foreign hops had relieved the foreign competitor but not the home, who remained burdened by the extraordinary tithe; and as against him, therefore, the foreign growers enjoyed protection. He thought the time had now arrived when some reasonable settlement ought to be come to in the matter, though he was not one of those who desired the question to be settled without regard to the persons who received the tithe; and the farmers were themselves desirous of a reasonable settlement. Great agitation at present prevailed upon the subject, and many of the tithe-payers had given themselves up to what was termed passive resistance—that was to say, they refused to pay the tithes at all; and consequently the tithe-owner, who was frequently the vicar of the parish, was driven to adopt the invidious course of resorting to force to compel payment. Meetings were being held and speeches made which were likely to produce bad feeling between the tithe-owner and the tithe-payer unless the Government made up their minds to settle the question in some form or other. He did not want to trouble the House with any views of his own as to how the subject was to be adjusted. He would only observe that the total amount of the tithe was about £100,000, a sum which surely any person with statesmanlike views would be able to deal with. The real difficulty, however, was that the extraordinary tithe was only a part of the great question of the tithe system, which ought to be dealt with without delay. If it were postponed indefinitely it might be settled in a way which would not be altogether just. He did hope, however, that means would be found before long for arriving at a just and satisfactory settlement.

MR. GREGORY said, he agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Rye (Mr. Inderwick) that the question of extraordinary tithe ought to be placed on a satisfactory footing; but the question was one with which it was not very easy to deal. He was a Member of the Committee referred to, and he was quite willing to adhere to every recommendation which it made. It was most desirable they should do all they could to facilitate agriculture, and to give scope for new products which were more profitable for the capital than those which were at present grown in many places, for corn - growing cereals and other things of that kind had not of late been a profitable occupation. He should be very glad to see established a settlement of the question on equitable terms, and upon the basis of the tithe being paid by the owner of the property. By the law as it stood now the owner of the property was liable for the payment of the tithe, and the payment by the tenant was merely a conventional matter of arrangement. It appeared to him that the principle on which the incidence of taxation might be settled might be a matter of arrangement between the landlord and the tenant; but he thought one thing was most desirable—namely, to keep the tithe-owner, who was generally the vicar of the parish, and the tenant farmer apart in these transactions as far as possible. With regard to the question of the assistance that had been given in the direction of remission, he (Mr. Gregory) ventured to say that in no case had a landlord raised his rents and asked for more from the tenant, because the latter had been relieved. It had all gone for the relief of the tenant; and he thought that if there was something further done in that direction the result would be the same. They might fairly augur well for the future from what had taken place in the past. He agreed with the suggestion that all permanent improvements should be the landlord's, and that it was for him to construct all the necessary works for the proper occupation of the farm, and to assist the tenant in draining, fencing, &c. The tenant was liable for the proper cultivation of the land, and he was bound to keep it in order. If he did not do so, then he was not a fit person to be intrusted with it. He thought that the best means of securing a good relationship between the owner and tenant was to create substantial landlords. On this point he ventured to say that the Settled Land Bill of last Session was as important an Act in that direction as had ever come before the House. He could not help thinking that the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) did not give sufficient credit to the scope and intentions of the Act, and that it deserved a little more consideration than had been accorded to it. He would venture to correct him on one point—namely, that the owner was unable to sell the mansion-house of an estate, that was not altogether correct. He could do so with the consent of the trustees, or by an order of Court. With these exceptions, a tenant for life could sell the whole or any part of his property as if he was an owner in fee simple. It was true that the money realized did not go into his own pocket; but it was applicable to the discharge of encumbrance, or to the purposes of the estate, and, he (Mr. Gregory) ventured to say, for purposes which were most beneficial to it. He thought this was a great benefit, and he knew from his own personal knowledge that the Act was being taken advantage of to a considerable extent by many who owned encumbered estates. Just at present there was a great disinclination to embark capital in estates, partly arising from agricultural depression, bad seasons, and other causes, one amongst them—and a very important one—being the uncertainty of the position in which a landlord might find himself placed with regard to the agitation and legislation with which they were threatened. He should be very glad to see the Government Bill on tenants' improvements brought in at the earliest opportunity; and he should be glad if the effect of it was to give justice to the tenant, and to put an end to wild and extravagant ideas which could never be carried out. This, he hoped, would bring solvent purchasers of land into the market. Capital could then be laid out upon it, and proper encouragement given to occupiers. In this way, he thought, a great deal of land which was now running out of condition could be brought into good order, and a happy and flourishing agriculture promoted. That, however, could only be done by a wise and statesmanlike measure, giving with the benefits contemplated to the occupier a proper degree of security to those who might embark their capital in the land.

Mr. DUCKHAM said, that on the opening of Parliament last year, the agriculturists were led to believe that some very essential measures would be granted by the Government, among them Bills relating to local self-government and relief of local charges. Following that was a paragraph upon Ireland, and then the reform of the local government of London. This year London government took the precedence, and local government in the country was to be dealt with if time would permit. Not a word respecting local taxation and other measures that they had confidently hoped to see brought forward—they were all passed over, with the exception of compensation for tenants' improvements. Although the country was suffering from calamitous seasons and distress amongst all engaged in agriculture, such as he (Mr. Duckham), had never known before, and which was most seriously aggravated by the introduction and spread of foot-and-mouth disease, no mention was made of these matters in the Speech. He thought the time was come to press upon the Government the necessity of altering the existing law so as to prohibit the importation of live stock into this country from countries where diseases were known to exist. What the English farmer wanted was to have the cattle from those countries slaughtered at the port of embarkation and not debarkation. The present system had proved utterly ineffectual to guard their herds and flocks from the introduction of those diseases from foreign countries which had proved so disastrous to the farmers of this country. In addition to the distress caused by the dreadful continuous seasons of disastrous weather, they had year by year the markets and fairs and all public sales periodically closed throughout the Kingdom, to the serious inconvenience and distress of all concerned in agriculture. Surely, it was not too much to ask that measures should be taken to insure the slaughter of animals, in countries where disease existed, at the port of embarkation, and have their carcases sent to their dead meat market. That this was perfectly practicable was last week proved by a cargo of 5,000 carcases of sheep arriving in good condition from New Zealand. The farmers of England did not want a return to Protection; but whilst they had to compete with all the world with their produce, they did want their herds and flocks protected from insidious diseases, and to have wise measures carried into effect for that purpose. As it was at present, the same men were employed to attend the diseased cattle in the lairs at Deptford as in the lairs attached to the Islington markets. What, he asked, would be the effects produced in the minds of the inhabitants of this great Metropolis if a vessel sailed up the Thames with a large number of passengers suffering with small-pox? What would be the effect if the same nurses who were employed in the Small-Pox Hospital were daily to go from thence to St. Bartholomew's Hospital to attend the sick there? Yet they were perfectly parallel cases. He knew that the men were disinfected before going from Deptford to Islington; but he spoke advisedly when he said that it was a mere delusion to suppose that it could be effectual. Farmers had been told that they should not rely on growing corn; that they should make the produce of the land walk to market in the shape of meat, and during the past eight years there had been an enormous area of land laid down to permanent pasture. There were now 1,643,663 acres more permanent pasture than in 1874, an area equal to the agricultural area of the counties of Beds, Berks, Bucks, and Cambridge. The result was 598,110 acres less corn grown, 318,000 less cattle, and 5,994,173 less sheep. It was clear that something must be wrong in the present system, or such a state of things could not exist. He believed that capital had been driven from the cultivation of the land by want of security, over-preservation of game, the constant introduction of contagious diseases, excessive rents fostered by an arbitrary and cruel Law of Distress, and the imposition of an excessive burden of local taxation. Lord John Russell, when arguing for the repeal of the Corn Laws, said that, on its taking place, a re-adjustment of local taxation must follow; but instead of the promised re-adjustment, burden after burden had been imposed; they had had the police, the disturnpiked roads, the education rate, and various other impositions placed upon them, all of which were national in their object and should have been treated as such. He considered the wealth of the country should contribute to the relief of its poverty. The question of the unjust bearing of local taxation was not by any means confined to the agriculturist. It was severely felt by the urban ratepayers; and particularly that class who, from their hard-earned savings, had purchased small plots of land, and erected cottages, frequently with borrowed capital, and as soon as they had done so the tax collector demanded a rate often equal to the cost of a week's maintenance of their families. He (Mr. Duckham) said the farmers of England had borne their burdens and what they felt their wrongs patiently; they had not been violent in their demands, and they now trusted that their appeal for better regulations, whereby their property would not be wasted, and whereby the excessive burdens under which they laboured would be relieved, would not be made in vain. He could not close his remarks without expressing his sense of the earnest manner in which the Privy Council had carried into effect the provisions of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act. Its failure only proved the necessity for greater powers being vested in them.

MR. MARUM wished to say a few words on the present condition of agriculture in no spirit of hostility to the landlords. The surface of Ireland contained about 20,000,000 acres, of which 15,000,000 were arable and grass lands. About the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws there were some 9,000,000 acres under rotation of crops, and 6,000,000 under grass. The stock upon these 6,000,000 acres was under 2,500,000 of fat cattle, and something less of sheep. In 1868 the sheep ran up to 5,000,000, and there was also a considerable increase in cattle. But in 1883 the cattle had increased about 1,000,000, and the sheep were under 3,000,000, and owing to the presence of rot amongst them the number would fall very far short of that figure this year. There were 10,000,000 acres in pasturage, and scarcely 3,000,000 under rotation of crops. These figures showed a great decay of scientific agriculture. Persons who did not understand the matter very commonly encouraged the mistaken idea that it was well to have as much of the land as possible in grass; but there could be no doubt that in any country mixed husbandry led to better results than a purely pastoral system. The present depression would probably prove ruinous to all the small farmers of the country. What was the cause of the cessation of scientific husbandry there? The cause was to be found in the fact that they were handicapped under universal Free Trade. They had a rugged soil, and a climate that was most precarious, and they laboured under a great necessity for manual labour; whilst on the Continent, against which they had to contend, the soil was most fertile and the climate was magnificent. The consequence was that, so far as cereals were concerned, the Irish farmer was so handicapped that he was thrown entirely out of the market, and it was utterly impossible for him to enter it if he did not breed cattle under the existing universal Free Trade prices. He did not advocate a return to Protection, for he believed such a thing in Ireland would be ruinous. He was merely stating what he considered were the causes of the present state of depression, and showing that that depression was due, not only to the bad seasons, but to Free Trade prices under which the farmer laboured. To meet these evils various strong remedies had been proposed, in none of which he had much faith. One was emigration; but how would it materially improve the prospects of men without capital? The tenant farmers were really reduced to a condition that they could not afford to pay any rent unless through circumstances which were external to their own resources, and in Ireland they had no commerce. In England commerce existed, and was a valuable adjunct to agriculture, supporting a large portion of the population; but in Ireland agriculture was the entire means of subsistence. If he went into history he might show that the commerce of Ireland had been systematically interfered with by England, and upon that ground he considered that Ireland had a claim upon the Imperial purse. He was convinced, that under the present Free Trade conditions, there would always be a certain amount of periodical famine, and a certain portion of the population constantly being thrown upon public assistance in Ireland, and that the country would constantly be appealing to the public Exchequer for assistance. The Poor Law relief system had been suggested as a remedy for this; but he looked upon such a remedy with grave suspicion. If the surplus population were to be thus maintained an 18*s.* rate would be necessary, and the money would ultimately come from the pockets of the tenants. Adverting again to the suggested remedy of emigration, he might remark that he should oppose any such system which would take people out to a strange country, give them a miserable pittance of £5, and then send them adrift. That was what had been offered. He objected to it for that reason; and, in the second place, because such a system had the effect of taking from the country all the young and fresh and enterprizing young people, and leaving behind only those who were unable to work, and who ought to be assisted in their age by the younger members of their family. What they would prefer was that the population of Ireland should be given employment in the development of the industrial resources of the country. If they were to have a system of emigration, however, let it be one that should be large and general in its scope. If the Government would propose a scheme of emigration, purchasing some millions of acres of fertile land in some salubrious country, and give a free passage and certain tracts of land to those of the farming class and their families who would embrace the opportunity of leaving Ireland—establish some sort of colonization scheme, in fact—he could promise them that it would receive the careful consideration of the Irish Representatives. At any rate, whatever the cause and whatever the remedy, the state of agriculture was now such as to make it imperatively necessary not to sacrifice it to the inferior interests of that country. If the causes of Irish distress received due attention there would be no clamouring for separation; on the contrary, it would be found that a large proportion of Irishmen appreciated the fact that in England there was more civil and religious liberty than in any country they could ally themselves with. Could they be surprised, however, looking at the condition of agriculture—which was the sole industry in Ireland—looking at the fact that not only was no relief given to it, but that no mention even was made of it in the Queen's Speech, and looking at the divided and antagonistic interests which existed between the two peoples, that the people of Ireland asked for Home Rule, for something which would relieve them from connection with a country which sacrificed her to Imperial interests, which were almost entirely commercial, and could they wonder that under such circumstances they should be desirous of taking the government of the country entirely into their own hands? Under all the circumstances, therefore, it was not to be wondered at that the people of Ireland were sullen and discontented ; and he had never known, in his long experience of the Irish people, moderate public opinion more discontented and sullen than it was at the present time.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that, although the debate had been somewhat gloomy, he was quite sure the country would appreciate any discussion as to the causes of the present agricultural and commercial depression. His hon. Friend had complained that there had not been more measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech for the benefit of agriculture. For his own part, he had no doubt that the Government were acting wisely in confining itself to measures which it had a reasonable prospect of passing. It was for the Representatives of the people, rather than the Government, to take up the question, invite discussion, and try to find out what were the causes of the distress that prevailed, and what were the genuine remedies. The discussion throughout the debate that evening had been confined to agricultural distress, as if no other industry was suffering. He ventured to say that there was very little to choose between the condition of agriculture and manufactures. No one could take up the newspaper without seeing evidence that capital was being profitlessly employed by those engaged in the manufacturing industries, and that they had been suffering silently for years. He asked himself this question—What were the great causes of this general depression?—and he answered, undoubtedly it had been the want of sunshine and bad seasons which had been the first and main cause. He fully admitted that the foundation of our prosperity was the successful condition of agriculture. When it was not prosperous no other industry was healthy. But the question he wished to ask was this. So far as the distress was preventable, had Parliament done its duty? He unhesitatingly said it had come far short of it. It had been urged in vain that the Land Laws should be altered, the laws affecting settled property modernized, and obstructions to free sale and cultivation removed. They had passed the Agricultural Holdings Act in such a form that it had been looked upon as the greatest sham ever offered to the people of this country ; and gentlemen identified with it were insisting that it should be made real and operative. He confessed he was suspicious of measures for the agricultural interest proposed by Her Majesty's Opposition. For a long period in that House and the country they had asked for the repeal of the Malt Tax in the interest of agriculture; and, now that it had been repealed, the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. E. W. Harcourt) came forward to say it had reduced the price of the better class of barley; and that might be true, because the former fictitious value could not be maintained. Subventions from the Consolidated Fund in relief of local burdens would be fallacious as a panacea for the distress of farmers, for it would be taken advantage of by landlords to raise their rents; and commerce was so dependent upon agriculture, the two were so identified, that he should be sorry to see the farmers misled. If the advice of Cobden and Stuart Mill had been followed in a serious spirit before the distress came there would have been infinitely less suffering. Landlords returned 10 or 20 per cent of their rents, but they maintained the exorbitant rents nominally, hoping to exact them, and thus the farmers had their capital wasted before they came into close quarters with the landlords. It was said, since the passing of the Settled Land Bill, owners willing to sell could find no buyers; but if the measure had been passed some years ago, buyers would have been found at good prices. He confessed to having a deep interest in the farmers of this country. He was largely engaged in manufacturing in the East of England, and he knew those interests were profitless unless agriculture was in a state of prosperity. He was, therefore, anxious that something should be done for agriculture. The landlord ought to take over a share of the difficulties, and the necessities of the case would oblige them to offer to their tenants such facilities as would give the intelligent farmer an opportunity of recovering his position. It was from the operation of the Land Act of last Session, supplemented by other measures, that the farmer must expect prosperity. He hoped the agricultural interest would speak out in that direction, so as to find some practical remedies, instead of advocating such proposals as a reversal of Free Trade policy. As to the tithe, he regarded it as a burden, not upon the farmer, but upon the land. It was a sort of second rent-charge, and if the farmers were relieved from the payment of it they would be called upon to pay an increase of rent to a corresponding extent directly to their landlords. The real question to consider was whether the amount paid in tithes was appropriated in the best form, in order to meet the national necessities. In his opinion the farmers were entitled to ask that there should be some re-adjustment of the system of tithes; and he believed that at no very distant date some proposition would be submitted to Parliament on the subject. If farmers were to have relief of public burdens, it must be by economical expenditure. He could only marvel that hon. Members, especially those on the other side of the House, could assist in voting such large sums of money for the Army and Navy and for enterprizes abroad, while they themselves had to come to Parliament as beggars willing to accept a few pounds almost in any form. Parliament ought to be courageous in checking the ruinous public expenditure in which we had been engaged of late years, for it was only in this way that the public burdens could be lightened. He believed that local burdens were heavier in the towns of the North than in the agricultural districts. In his own borough they had a poor rate of 4*s.* 7*d.* in the pound, and yet they did not begrudge the education rate, because it was regarded as the wisest possible expenditure. What they did begrudge was the taxation for prisons and gaols. He would ask the Government to look into the licence question, and see if there was not there a large useless expenditure. When landlords spoke of reducing rents, he ventured to say that in the North of England owners of property were suffering far more than the owners of land during this depression. In the towns of the textile industries he did not hesitate to say that rents had gone down 40 and 50 per cent.

Mr. BIDDELL said, that he thanked the Government for their promise of introducing a Bill for the payment of agricultural improvements, though he feared that, under the present state of things, disimprovements would prevail. At the same time, he thought that an Act might be so drawn that, while just to all parties, it would be generally beneficial. But there was some danger of their going too far. It was always argued that the landlord should pay for such improvements; but it would eventually be found it was the incoming tenant who paid for all. Sagacious land agents first bound the incoming tenant to pay the outgoer's valuation, which would include those improvements. In that way it might lead to entry valuations—which in the Eastern Counties were already very heavy—being run up to a most crushing extent. Some philosophers would say, let the parties make their own agreements; but it should be recollected that it was custom they wanted to improve; for on that much of their agricultural law depended, and custom established hundreds of years since were no longer adapted to deal equitably with modern farming proceedings. Corn-growing might be considered irrespective of the personal interests of either landlords or tenants. Was it the nation's interest that its decline, as in late years, should continue? Year after year were they to become more dependent upon foreign supplies; and that with the comparative decline of their Navy? France had already nearly an equal Navy to their own. Suppose they found themselves at war with her, and another Naval Power—say Italy—could they then maintain a free course for their bread supplies? If not, would there not be great danger of their being starved into an ignominious peace? The hon. Members for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) and Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) intimated that reductions of rent would meet the case. He (Mr. Biddell) argued against such an idea. What was most wanted was some measure which would render it more profitable to cultivate the land as arable, than allowing it to relapse into pasture, or, as some persons called it, prairie land. He himself had let land at such a rent as it was worth to feed, reducing it from 30*s.* to 10*s.* per acre. When they paid their butcher's bills let hon. Members be aware that the high prices charged arose from the distressed farmers having sold off their sheep, which, from want of capital, they could not replace. It might be said—"Let them give way to men of adequate capital." All very well; but the House had so treated the land that capitalists would have nothing to do with it. If any hon. Members opposite wished to show the farmers how capital could be safely put into the land, he would undertake to find them thousands of acres of land to operate upon. Alluding to the remarks of the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth), he (Mr. Biddell) thanked him for the admission as to the depression, for the last few years, of the manufacturing interests. It was clear, then, that what was called Free Trade did not bring them at all times prosperity. He hoped the time was near when they would be able to give that subject their impartial consideration, for the general infatuation for an abstract idea—for at present it was nothing else—had prevented them doing so hitherto. For his part, if the hon. Member for Bradford would propose a small import duty on woollen manufactures, for which his constituents were famous, he (Mr. Biddell) would second it. The hon. Member had intimated that the farmers should be thankful for the repeal of the Malt Tax. He (Mr. Biddell) asked why; for the Government had only changed its name and place of collection. There now existed a greater tax between him, as a barley grower, and his customers, the beer drinkers, than there was before. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire had intimated that the Conservatives wished to relieve their local burdens by putting a tax upon stock-in-trade. He (Mr. Biddell) repudiated any such idea; what he wished to see was local, and he might say Imperial taxation, based upon, and be assessed according to, the means of those from whom they were collected. That such was not the case he would show by citing the works of the hon. Member, which were probably rated upon £500 or £600 a-year. A farmer's profits near by, assessed upon a like basis, could not be compared to those of the iron works, and yet they contributed equally. Again, in regard to labour, the iron works used up 10 times the labour the farmer did. Yet, in the case of old age, or from disablement by accident, when any of those workmen required pecuniary assistance, the farmer contributed equally with the owner of the iron works. The Cabinet, in discussing this subject, seemed to him (Mr. Biddell) like doctors, who, instead of considering how best to uphold and maintain their patient in this world, discussed how he could best be buried. Instead of considering how best the farmers could be enabled to continue in their operations, Government had spent its time in considering in what way they had better leave. But, in conclusion, he would remark that whatever their measure might be it would have his most impartial consideration.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, there could be no doubt of the reality and urgency of the present agricultural distress. The time was ripe for consideration of county government and local taxation. One of the great advantages to be obtained would be uniformity of assessment among the Unions in every county. In London they had this great benefit. The only part of the Empire in which there was established by legislation a uniformity of assessment was in the 32 Unions of the Metropolitan district. What was wanted in the country was one and the same basis for local and Imperial taxation, and he regretted on that account that the County Government Bill was not a leading part of the programme of the Government, because he regarded the development of local government as the key to many of the problems which the Opposition were trying to solve in other ways. He thought that the last speaker (Mr. Biddell) had pointed to a most important branch of the subject, and he should have been exceedingly glad if the Government had been able to see their way to introduce a Bill dealing with county government and taxation. That question was really much more urgent than that of a Municipality for London, which only concerned the Metropolitan population. The proceedings of that House would have been of a far more satisfactory and substantial character were such a Bill to be introduced. He could not but fear that there was a reluctance in some quarters to extend fully and fairly the electorate in the counties. In the boroughs every elector had a vote for the local government, and if that principle were extended to the counties it would give the greatest satisfaction. He found that, according to what had been laid down by Sir John Lambert, the total amount of the poor rate in the rural sanitary districts was a little over £3,000,000 sterling, and that the average charge upon the rural sanitary districts for poor rate, county rate, police rate, highway rate, and school board rate was 2*s*. 7*d*. in the pound. It would not be possible. therefore, for the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) to say that charges of that sort were excessive. The question, however, whether the area of charge should not be widened was deserving of the attention of Parliament. Before he sat down he would refer to the depression of agriculture. If hon. Members were disposed to complain that no sympathetic allusion had been made to the subject in the Speech from the Throne, he thought they should remember that such an allusion had been made at the close of last Session with reference to the past harvest. As the hon. and gallant Baronet who had brought forward the subject (Sir Walter B. Bartelot) had said, there could be no doubt that our requirements for foreign corn would be less by £9,000,000. It therefore appeared to him that the allusion of Her Majesty in the Speech at the close of last Session to the improved prospects of agriculture was absolutely true. The hon. and gallant Baronet had also said that there had been a great reduction of rent. That was no doubt true, but there had previously been a great rise in rent. Sir James Caird had mentioned as one of the causes of the existing agricultural depression the undue rise in rents which had taken place within the last 20 years, and that from 1867 to 1877 that rise had been no less than 11½ per cent. As to the measure for the prevention of floods, it should not be forgotten that attempts last year to deal with the subject were met with obstructive, or at least dilatory, tactics on the part of hon. Members who sat on both sides of the House.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL said, that they must put on one side the bad seasons, to which the distress in agriculture was undoubtedly mainly due, and consider whether there was anything in the law, as it existed at the present time, which injuriously affected the persons engaged in agriculture, or which pressed upon agriculture itself. This they had to consider with reference to three classes—the landlords, the tenants, and the labourers. The hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) had said that very little had been said about the Settled Estates Act, thereby inferring that hon. Gentlemen on that (the Conservative) side of the House were dissatisfied with it. He (Mr. Staveley Hill) most strongly denied that such was the case. If the hon. Member had been there at the time when the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) was discussing that Act, he would have heard that it was looked upon on that side of the House as very beneficial; indeed, one of the most beneficial Acts that had been passed. It was scarcely charged against the present system that rents were excessive; and, certainly, no rents could possibly continue which made land difficult to hold for agricultural purposes. It was generally felt, also, that it was neither for the benefit of the owner himself, still less for the tenant, and least of all for the general public, the consumers of the produce of the soil, that any man should continue in that ownership when he had not the means to hold it either for the benefit of himself or of others. The hon. Member for Bradford had regretted that this Act had not come into operation at an earlier date, as it might have enabled those who had accumulated capital in trade to dispossess the present owners and become themselves landed proprietors by purchase. He was afraid that in that case the purchasers would be still more dissatisfied than the original owners. It was not necessary to say much about the agricultural labourers, as there was not in the country any working man who was in a better position. He had better wages, relatively, than any other working man; and on many estates he had been put in possession of an improved cottage and an improved garden. There was not a farmer who had not found out that if he wanted to keep a good labourer he had to give him a good cottage and a good garden, and he would be loth to leave. To come then to the question of the law as it affected tenants, with reference to the passage in Her Majesty's gracious Speech which announced that the tenant was to have compensation for unexhausted improvements, the hon. Member for Bradford had characterized the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875 as sham or bogus legislation; but, instead of its being so, he (Mr. Staveley Hill) believed that that Act was a much needed and most useful measure; for, among other things, it substituted for custom, which it was difficult to ascertain, something that was fixed and definite, according to which, in the absence of any written agreement, the outgoing tenant should be compensated for his unexhausted improvements. In connection with that question, it must be remembered that it was a very difficult one. In assessing the compensation to be paid to an outgoing tenant, it was necessary to guard against fraud on his part, nothing being easier than for him to produce vouchers for manuring and other operations which he had never carried out, and we must guard also against crippling the incoming tenant by making too large an assessment. One Amendment, however, he was prepared to adopt as to the Act of 1875, for he thought that when they had adopted what they considered the very best system of compensation for the outgoing tenant, they should say to every tenant, "You ought always to have the advantage of that," no matter whether there was an agreement between the landlord and tenant or not. Upon another question—that of contagious diseases—it had been suggested that infected animals should be slaughtered at the port of embarkation; but that was not the law under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878. That Act provided for the slaughter of animals at the port or wharf of disembarkation; and the Privy Council could go no further than that. He could not, therefore, see how the embarkation of infected animals could be prevented—only, indeed, by insisting upon a quarantine at the port of embarkation—while he was ready to admit that their slaughter upon their arrival here was not altogether effective as a preventive of the spread of disease. Every precaution, however, should be taken by means of proper disinfection against drovers and others conveying infection in their clothes. He was glad to hear the hon. Member for Bradford admit that trade and agriculture were so closely connected that the misfortunes which affected the one affected the other. What they wanted was a good home market; but he did not see how they could have that unless trade was prosperous, and trade could never prosper until they had a free exit for their manufactures, which at present had to encounter prohibitory tariffs abroad. The most recent Report on Trade and Commerce announced that the tariffs of all the countries of Europe were being maintained, and most of those countries were actually increasing their tariffs. He believed that the protective system of foreign countries, by closing their markets to our manufactures, was at the bottom of our agricultural as well as of our trading difficulties. We had had a trial of Free Trade for nearly 40 years, and were as far as ever from the result hoped for by Mr. Cobden. The time had, therefore, in his opinion, arrived when it was necessary to say that unless other countries relaxed their tariff this country would retaliate by increasing its tariff. In that view, it was desirable to bring together the Mother Country and the Colonies under a system of mutual tariff relations which would induce them to lower their tariffs upon our manufactures, by placing duties on the produce of foreign countries which those Colonies could supply.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he had no intention of detaining the House with comments on the present unfortunate condition of the agricultural interest. That condition was, he thought, admitted on all hands; and the great object for the House to consider was, what legislation might take place; what steps the House might take in endeavouring, as far as possible, to relieve the depression from which that interest suffered. He thanked Her Majesty's Government for having undertaken to deal with the question, and wished to impress upon the House the necessity for dealing with it, and dealing with it quickly, no less in the interests of the landlord than in that of the tenant farmer. If, as was the case, the capital of the tenant farmer had been gradually melting away, the rents of the landlords had been gradually falling off, and that state of things could not continue. The longer delay in putting the condition of agriculture on a just footing, the greater would be the difficulty of the raising it out of its depressed condition. He had listened with great interest to the speech of the hon. and gallant Member who had introduced this subject to the House (Sir Walter B. Barttelot); and he had been surprised to find that, although he had dwelt upon the difficulties of the present situation, he had had no practical suggestion to offer as a remedy for the state of affairs. He did not think that any shifting of local taxation would be of real use or benefit to the cause of agriculture; because, although by that process they might nominally reduce these burdens, the money must be paid out of a common fund, to which the farmers and others must contribute. So far as he had looked into the question of local subsidies, it seemed to him farmers had been relieved of 1*s*. by the payment out of another pocket of 1*s*. 3*d*. Notwithstanding the subsidies to the police, which had taken place in Scotland as well as in England, the people in Scotland were paying little less for police now than they did 20 years ago. It was quite true, as had been said, that deterioration was setting in, and the condition of the country getting worse and worse, and what they had to consider was how far legislation could remedy this state of matters. Reference had been made to one cause in addition to the bad seasons, and that was that the amount of capital applied to the cultivation of the soil was much less than formerly, and was getting less year by year, and what had become of the capital? No small part of it had been absorbed by the landlords in unduly high and excessive rents, and for this they were indebted, to a very large extent, to the existence of the Law of Distraint. There was no doubt whatever that that law presented a temptation to the landlord to take a tenant with insufficient capital, and so increased the number of competitors for a farm; and as increased competition meant higher prices, farmers had in this way been called upon to pay higher rents than were the fair market price. The first thing towards redress, therefore, in his opinion, would be the total abolition of the Law of Distraint. That would produce a considerable fall in rents, and remove one grievance of which farmers justly complained. With regard to the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken (Mr. Staveley Hill), he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) entirely repudiated, for himself and for the Scotch tenant farmers, the idea of a return to Protection, or "Fair Trade," which was the same thing in disguise. If they were going to have a duty upon corn, they must have a duty on all kinds of seeds; and if the farmers were going to get across store cattle, they would have to feed them upon taxed seed, and there would be no profit in that direction. Some hon. Members had said they must take care not to overburden the incoming tenant. He presumed the outgoing tenant was only to be compensated for such improvements as had increased the value of the holding, and it would be a great advantage to the incoming tenant to get the farm in good condition, although he paid a considerable sum for it. With regard to the Bill promised by the Government, if the House had made up its mind to give compensation for improvements, there would be no great difficulty in establishing the principles on which it ought to be done. The principles to be embodied were—(1) That the tenant farmer be compensated fully for such increased value as he may have given to his holding; (2) that the value of the improvements is the increased value of the holding to his successor, due to his improvements; and (3) that the amount of increased value be settled by arbitration. Of course, he was willing that corresponding compensation should be given to the landlord in case of deterioration, and he should give stringent powers to the landlord to interfere when deterioration was going on. If those principles were conceded, there would be no great difficulty in framing a satisfactory Bill. But if they took the basis of expenditure by the tenant, the principle adopted in the Agricultural Holdings Act, they would be landed in a maze. Such a measure would be a satisfactory neither to the landlord nor to the tenant, because there would be great uncertainty and scope for fraud. He thought the principle of basing the compensation on the increased value of the improvements was the only one which was at once practical and would secure justice and fairness to all parties. He strongly recommended the Government, if they were not prepared to bring in a Bill to carry out fully the demands of the tenant farmers, not to introduce a Bill at all; because a Bill which did not go far enough would create disturbance without conferring benefit. If the Agricultural Holdings Act had been made compulsory at the time it was passed, he thought the state of matters would not be nearly so bad to-day as it was. They could not expect farmers to expend their capital and energy until they were quite certain they would reap the full fruits of the application of that capital and that energy. If the Government were going to bring in a Bill, it ought to be a comprehensive Bill, and one that would go far to settle the question for many years to come—a measure which would be sufficiently broad to inspire confidence in the farmer and stimulate him to renewed exertions, and, at the same time, attract outside capital to farming. It would be far better for the landlords of England to accede, fully and freely, an adequate measure of compensation, than to go about it in a niggardly way, trying with how little they could put off the tenants' just demands. Farmers, under such circumstances, would not be encouraged to make the effort which was necessary to compete with the greatly reduced prices of all cereals due to the increased facilities of transport from abroad. He hoped the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), if he replied, would indicate when the Bill would be introduced, because it could not be introduced a day too soon, in the interests not only of agriculture, but of the country.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, that he trusted he might be allowed to trespass on the patience of the House in order to make a few observations. Before speaking to the question, however, he desired to make a personal explanation. Some few weeks ago, when addressing a meeting in the country, he quoted from a speech he had seen reported in a local paper, representing the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard) as having recommended tenant farmers, with regard to agitation, to take a leaf out of the book of the Irish tenant farmers. Since quoting that speech he had, in a personal interview, been assured by the hon. Member that he had been misreported, and that he said and meant exactly the contrary to that which had been attributed to him. Under these circumstances, he (Sir William Hart Dyke) took that, the earliest, opportunity of setting the matter right by withdrawing every word he had said in reference to the misreported observation of the hon. Member. The Queen's Speech was an able document in one sense, for in it the Government avoided some dangerous questions, and skated over the thin ice with marvellous dexterity. The complaints which had been made from that side of the House of the almost total absence of any reference to agricultural matters in that Speech had been more than justified; and he thought the agricultural interest had good cause of complaint against Her Majesty's Government on that subject, seeing the many professions which they had made. A miserable paragraph of a line and a quarter referring to compensation for unexhausted improvements, as to which, perhaps, hon. Members on both sides of the House had given pledges which they would not have given if they had had the opportunity of going into the question more fully than they had done. No doubt, as an abstract proposition, it was right and fair that the tenant should have absolute security for the capital he invested in his holding; but the very representative Committee which sat upon this subject last Session found that it was surrounded with difficulties. He, however, would say that, so far as he and his Friends were concerned, the Bill of the Government would receive fair and candid consideration. So long as the Bill dealt fairly and justly with the question of improvements, and so long as it sought to encourage the development of capital, it would receive his support; but if, as was hinted in some quarters, and by the hon. Gentleman who last sat down (Mr. J. W. Barclay), this Bill was designed to hand over to the tenant farmer a tenant right which he did not now possess, and for which nothing was to be paid in return, and to hand it to him at the expense of the landlord, such a proposal would meet with his strenuous opposition, and that of his Friends also. If the tenant were given a fictitious interest which did not now exist, there would spring up an unhealthy competition for land, with the inevitable consequence of an increase in rent. A measure in that direction would be no boon to tenant farmers. There was all the more reason for disappointment that the subject of local burdens was not mentioned in the Queen's Speech, because, last year, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in reply to an influential deputation, manifested a disposition to deal with the matter in a broad and generous spirit. It was almost like laughing at tenant farmers to promise them that they should have absolute security and compensation for the capital they might invest in the soil, while they were left pressed down by the weight of grievous local burdens unredressed; in that way perpetuating this hydra-headed monster, which devoured the capital which might otherwise be placed upon the soil. It was like putting the cart before the horse to deal with the question in this manner. The difficulties of the farmers were aggravated by the position in which they stood with regard to sheep and cattle, and their liability to have their flocks and herds subjected to the ravages of disease. But they were determined, in season and out of season, to keep pegging away at this question of local burdens until they got some redress. Indeed, from the experience of the past two years, it seemed as if the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) had only to be pressed hard enough, and often enough, to be able to secure absolute immunity from the importation of those terrible diseases which created so much disaster to the agricultural community. Looking at the prices of beef at New York and in this country, we ought to use our utmost endeavours to prevent the possibility of the importation of those diseases. He could not agree with those who said that the sole cure for agricultural ills was a radical change in the Land Laws; and he would remind hon. Members who held that opinion that by the Settled Estates Act of last year all tenants for life were now rendered, in fact, real owners of their estate as regards improvements of all kinds, and could apply capital instead of income for the benefit of their property. He believed that the Act had done more good to the landed interest generally than any Act which had been passed during the present century. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire had talked about large remissions of rent, and not rates, being necessary; but he would remind the hon. Gentleman that considerable remissions of rent had been made and were still going on, and that many landlords were reduced to a fourth or a sixth of their former incomes; and, more than that, landlords had learnt that it was necessary to deal in as liberal a spirit as possible with their tenants. No doubt, also, landlords were now much more inclined to take a good tenant at a less rent than to take an indifferent tenant at a higher rent. He looked upon the state of affairs which had been indicated on all sides of the House, as regarded the present state of agriculture, as far too grave a question to be squabbled about in any Party sense whatever. He felt sure that the Government would meet with every consideration from hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House in dealing with that very difficult problem; and, as far as he was concerned, he would give a candid examination to their measure whenever it appeared, hoping that they would deal with the matter in a fair, just, and equitable spirit.

Mr. GOSCHEN desired to say one or two words with reference to the subject of local taxation. Earlier in the evening the hon. Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) had complained that the Government had done nothing in regard to that subject, and had made no promise in the Speech from the Throne. He also complained that there were in the Speech from the Throne no expressions of sympathy with the sufferings of the agricultural interest. He (Mr. Goschen) confessed that he should think it more probable that the agricultural interest would look to measures mentioned in the Speech rather than to apparent words of sympathy. If he were a farmer, he would not mind the absence of eloquent expressions of sympathy, if he found in Her Majesty's Speech that a subject which had so long exercised the mind of the agricultural interest, and to which so large a portion of the agricultural interest attached very considerable importance, was at last to be dealt with. They had in the Queen's Speech an announcement that a Bill was to be proposed of very considerable importance—namely, regulating compensation for unexhausted improvements; and he trusted that hon. Members opposite would not do the Government the injustice of saying that they had neglected the agricultural interest when they numbered among the measures which were to be proposed—and, he trusted, carried —during the Session one of such great importance. The hon. Member for South Devon attached, in his view, too great importance to the question of the relief of local taxation. He had not heard from hon. Gentlemen opposite any answer to the question put to them as to how many shillings per acre they expected to be saved to the tenant and the landlord by relief from local taxation. The sum of £1,500,000 had been given, as was said by the hon. Member for South Devon, in relief of local taxation during the late Administration. What portion of that relief had gone to the aid of the agricultural interest? He should like to ask, of how many shillings or how many pence per acre had the farmer been relieved by the measures which had been passed in the direction of subventions? If the complaint against the present Government was that they had not proceeded further on the lines traced out for them by their Predecessors, surely it was fair to ask what had been the result of the subventions already granted. No doubt, hon. Gentlemen opposite were entitled to set off against the relief given any additional burdens which had been placed on landed property; but he wanted to know how much per acre would the relief have been to the farmer, or to the farmer and the owner together, if there had been no such set-off? Would it have been 1*s*. an acre; and, if so, would that have dealt in any substantial or satisfactory way with the grievances alleged, and with the suffering which undoubtedly existed? But, more than that, what had been the consequence to the farmer and the owner of that relief? And how had the money been raised by which that relief was given to the agricultural interest? Why, by additions to the Income Tax; and he put to hon. Gentleman opposite, to the farmers, and to the landowners, this question—How much of that additional Income Tax had been paid by the farmers and by the landowners themselves? Again, the country was entitled to be acquainted with the views held by Members who pressed so strongly for the relief of local taxation as to what ought to be the ultimate measure of that relief. How many shillings per acre did they wish to be relieved of, or could they be relieved of, by proceeding further in the direction of subventions; and in what way did they think it would be best to obtain the sum that would be given to the agricultural interest? That was a question not of Party, but of equity. He was not protesting against the demand for relief; but if he was protesting at all, he was protesting against the form in which that relief was asked for at the present moment; and he wished to know what the programme was of those who saw the chief remedies for agriculture in the diminution of local taxation. How many millions could they be relieved of, and what proportion would that bear to the rent that was paid by the farmer? It was perfectly possible that there was a fair claim for some relief and some readjustment; but, holding this view, he could not agree with the hon. Member for South Devon that they should not consider in that question of relief the subject of reform in local government. The noble Marquess who led the House told them those two subjects ought to proceed together, and that one of the first questions was the constitution of the body which would administer the funds. He trusted that, notwithstanding the great pressure of Public Business, time might soon be found to deal with that most important question; and that as soon as they had County Government established on broad and permanent lines, the whole subject of local taxation might be taken up, not on the, to his mind, false system of mere Government subventions, but in a much broader way. The entire system of their local finance would have to be considered, and it would be best done when they had bodies to whom they might not only intrust the distribution of those funds, but who might be interested in the legislation for raising those funds. He trusted the reply would not be made to him that he was indifferent to the claims of the agricultural interest. He merely hoped their claims would be examined in an equitable spirit, and that it would be dealt with in a proper way, not merely giving relief from the Consolidated Fund to a certain class, and then taxing that certain class almost in the same proportion, in order to make up the deficit in the Consolidated Fund. He now turned to a rather difficult and abstruse argument, and he did not know that the House would be obliged to him for introducing the topic. Still, it was one of considerable importance. He had asked himself, and many statisticians and economists had asked themselves, whether a portion of the agricultural depression—not the larger part, which all admitted to be due to the seasons, but whether some part of it—was not due to the fact that there was a fall in the price of almost all farm produce except cattle, sheep, butter, cheese, and commodities of that kind? His point was this—that, as the result of inquiries that were now being made, it appeared that there was—what could scarcely be denied—a considerable appreciation in the value of gold; and that that appreciation in the value of gold had had a general effect on the prices of almost all commodities, unless there were very special counteracting circumstances. The economists argued in this way. They said that through the demonetization of silver in Germany, and the resumption of specie payments in America, and other causes, some £200,000,000 of gold had been absorbed that would not otherwise have been absorbed; and, therefore, they came to the conclusion that, *à priori* it would be likely that the value of gold would increase, and that there would be a fall in prices of commodities. The next process was to examine the prices of commodities, and see whether experience justified that conclusion. Whether they took iron, cotton, wool, leather, or wheat, the same rule was found to extend over the whole range of commodities—the sovereign had appreciated in price, and would command a greater quantity of commodities, or, in other words, they had to give a greater quantity of commodities for the same amount of gold. The reason why he had introduced the subject was that, if that were so, then the farmer who raised a certain quantity of barley, oats, or whatever it might be, received for them a smaller price in gold; while, on the other hand, his debts for rent, payable in gold, remained unchanged; and, on the other hand, unless at the same time the price of wages had fallen, the farmer must pay the same price for his labour. If that were so—and he trusted that the House would see that he did not wish to dogmatize; he only put it forward as a matter which all politicians and all interested in commerce, in agriculture, and in all the transactions of this country, ought to bear in mind—the one natural result from this would be that rents must fall; that if produce from the land sold for a smaller price, that which should be paid for the occupation of land should be a smaller sum also; at least, nominally—that was to say, a less sum in gold; but the landlord, who would receive a given amount of sovereigns from the fall of the prices of all articles, would be able to command a greater amount of commodities for the same amount of rent. The argument he had submitted could only be met in one way—namely, by a denial of a general fall in prices. That, he believed, would be very difficult to substantiate. He noted the fact that the fall in prices had not extended to cattle, sheep, butter, and cheese—in fact, to all that comprised the produce of grazing farms—because in this particular industry the fearful havoc there had been amongst the flocks had counteracted the tendencies of natural causes, and had prevented the fall in the prices of this particular industry, which otherwise was fairly universal. There would, no doubt, be a number of other causes; but he submitted this one for the consideration of the House and the public—that if, as was undoubted, there had been a greatly enhanced demand for circulation through the flow of gold into the United States, Germany, and other countries, the natural consequence was that prices must fall. In short, just as the discovery of gold had resulted in a great flow of that metal into this country, creating temporary prosperity, enhancement of prices, increased manufactures, and appearance of wealth, so a diminution in the supply relatively to the demand must produce the opposite consequences. Hon. Members might say that this was no consolation to the agricultural interest; but it was their duty to look these facts in the face. If they were true, they might strengthen the case of the agricultural interest for the relief of taxation. Having a conviction that some process of the kind he had described was going on, he thought it right to state his views frankly to the House, and to invite hon. Members on both sides to think out the great problems that attached themselves to this question, and which went far beyond the subject on which they were more immediately engaged—namely, its effect on the agricultural interest. The Government received the whole of the taxes of the country in gold; its contracts were in gold; it had to pay interest on the Debt in gold. Salaries remained stationary, and the outgoings of the Exchequer were almost unaffected, except so far as purchases were concerned, by the causes to which he had alluded. But this was not so with those who had to pay the taxes. It was a matter most deserving the attention of economists, and those who were responsible for the finance of the State, whether the burden of taxation on all classes was not being heightened and the difficulties of agriculturists aggravated by the causes to which he had alluded. They might, perhaps, see in them a partial explanation of that depression which had alarmed the country so much, apart from other more visible and certain causes. It might be that the effect was merely temporary, as was the case on the discovery of gold, and that prices would right themselves, and thus matters settle down; but it might be that important changes were pending in ther elations between debtor and creditor, and that those who were receiving fixed amounts, like landlords and others, might see a difficulty in being able to maintain the contracts into which they had entered. He was profoundly grateful to the House for having listened to his abstruse argument.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he scarcely expected to hear the severe depression from which they were suffering accounted for by an able and ingenious argument as to the universal fall in prices owing to the appreciation in the value of gold. The right hon. Gentleman had informed them that there had been a universal fall of prices in almost all commodities except cattle, sheep, butter, cheese, and other articles of that kind; and this he accounted for by the severe losses among cattle and sheep upon grazing farms. In reply to that argument he had to observe that, unless he was totally misinformed, there were more cattle and sheep—taking the country through—produced upon arable farms than upon grazing farms; and, further, he ventured to think that the right hon. Gentleman had omitted from his calculations altogether one of the most serious items in connection with the increased prices of these particular articles—namely, that the competition in cattle with American and other foreign countries had almost entirely ceased and passed away. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would find, however able his arguments and however brilliant his theories, the practical result of the whole matter to be this—that the price of cattle and sheep was as high as it was because the competition had almost disappeared, and also because of the severe losses in consequence of contagious diseases. There could be no doubt about the extreme gravity of the present position, nor did he think that the case had been one whit over-stated in any of the speeches to which he had listened. He shared in the astonishment that had been expressed at no reference being made to the subject in the gracious Speech from the Throne, and that Her Majesty's Ministers were the only people in the United Kingdom who appeared to be totally unconscious of the deplorable and unhappy state of things. He was not unmindful, however, of the measures that were mentioned in the Speech, and which had been referred to by his right hon. Friend. He believed that the Tenants' Compensation and the Floods Prevention Bills both dealt with subjects that were deserving of attention at the present time, and he could assure the Government that they would both receive the most careful consideration at their hands. If the proposals of the Government were based on just and equitable principles, the Conservative Party would be just as anxious to see them carried into effect as the Government itself. But he wished to guard himself very distinctly against its being understood that he regarded even a measure giving compensation to agricultural tenants for their improvements as a specific or a remedy in any material degree whatever for agricultural distress. Those who entertained such expectations were doomed to bitter disappointment. A clear proof of that statement lay in the fact that it was precisely in those parts of the country where compensation was most fully secured already, and where, encouraged by that security, the largest amount of capital had been sunk in the land by the tenant, that losses had been heaviest, and that the agricultural depression had been most severe. The Opposition had always supported the principle of compensation, because they believed it was right, just, and expedient, and because they were convinced it was in the interest of both parties concerned. But it was to other measures that they must look for any permanent relief of agricultural depression; and the Government had it in their power to do something to that end. Agricultural depression had been traced by some authorities mainly to four causes. The first was the succession of bad seasons; the second, foreign competition; the third, the increased cost of production; and the fourth, the loss which had occurred amongst the stock of the country, which was a very material part of the property of the tenant farmer. He would first mention the increased cost of production. No complaint had been more common or more often heard by the Agricultural Commission than that of the great increase of burdens on the land. He held most strongly that land at any time was unfairly taxed in comparison with other descriptions of property. It was most unjust that it should be so, especially when the agriculture of the country was struggling for its very existence. He could not answer the question of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), how much the relief claimed would amount to. No doubt, figures would be given on that subject in the course of the debate. He was not satisfied with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on that subject. The relief ought not to be limited to the maintenance of the indoor poor, as defined in the Report, but should be extended to all objects of national interest which were partially or wholly charged now upon the local rates. Upon the losses of stock he was able to speak with emphasis at the present time. These losses had extended now to Ireland and Scotland also. Those countries had hitherto been absolutely free from disease. He wished to remind them of the history of these unfortunate outbreaks. In the nine months from January to October, 1880, there was absolutely no foot-and-mouth disease in the country. But, in the latter month, or in September, 1880—he was not sure which—unfortunately, three cargoes of diseased animals from France were landed alive at Deptford, and almost immediately after the disease appeared in the London dairies. It then spread with great rapidity over the country; they had never been free from it since; and as long as the present system of importing diseased animals continued there was no chance of getting rid of the disease. What they wanted the Government to do was to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission on this point without any unnecessary delay. That recommendation was—

> "That the landing of foreign live animals should not be permitted from any country as to which the Privy Council is not perfectly satisfied is thoroughly free from infectious disease."

That recommendation was proposed not only in the interests of agriculture, but in those of all classes of the community. It was recommended not by Tories or Representatives of the agricultural interest alone sitting on that Commission, but by one eminent Professor of Political Economy, and by more than one Gentleman of Liberal, and one, indeed, of extreme Radical opinions. He would ask the House to remember that they had tried the old system now for a very considerable time; they had gone on insisting on landing live cattle even from countries in which they knew disease to exist. As a result the price of meat had been getting higher and higher, and had now reached an extravagant figure, far higher than any agriculturist would wish to see it in the future. If they would only do all that they could to encourage the production of meat at home, then, at no distant date, they would find they had conferred a benefit on the agriculturists of this country; they would have done something to permanently decrease the price of meat. He had pointed out two ways in which it appeared to him Her Majesty's Government might, at all events, do something, even if it be not very much, to give some relief to the agricultural interest at the present time. Of course, he was perfectly aware that if the bad seasons continued they would be nothing like adequate to deal with such a position of affairs. In that case they should either be content to witness the practical collapse of the greatest industry in the country, or provide some means of relief far more immediate and definite in character than anything contained in the recommendation of the Report of the Agricultural Commission. He would remind the House that when there was such great depression in Ireland the Government came forward at once to the assistance of agriculture in that country. He was convinced that England would never suffer for a moment the greatest industry which she possessed to be permanently injured or destroyed; but if these seasons were to continue, they should approach perilously near to that position. As the capital of the tenant farmer and the landlords grew less and less every day, he saw no reason why the Government could not do what he asked them to do—that was, to take into serious consideration, with a view to putting it into practical operation, the advisability of establishing some system of Government loans, by which money could be advanced, in the same way as had been done in Ireland, for the purpose of keeping the soil in cultivation, and arresting that great deterioration of the land which, if allowed to spread, would effect an incalculable loss on the wealth of the country. There remained one other cause of agricultural depression with which he should like to deal—namely, foreign competition. The great difficulty he always found in connection with that question had been to form an accurate estimate of the probable character of that competition in the future, and not only in the future, but even from year to year. The earlier evidence given before the Royal Commission on this point was of a character which might be described as absolutely alarming. Last year the price of wheat, wherever the sample was a good one, was all that they could desire; this year it was absolutely ruinous; and the prospect for the coming year was—what? He defied any human being to tell. But if it became evident that wheat could no longer be grown at a profit, it would not be long before Parliament would be asked—however the proposal might be received, and however much it might be opposed by men like the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth)—to entertain some measure of a protective character; and when that demand was made it would not be on behalf of the agricultural classes alone, but all classes of the community. The main causes of the agricultural depression suggested by the hon. Member were bad Land Laws, a sham Agricultural Holdings Act, and the exorbitant rents paid at present. The hon. Member offered an instance of the serious mistakes which might be made, even by men of genius, when they were dealing with subjects with which they were not acquainted; and he could not help thinking that the hon. Member had not been at much pains to make himself acquainted with the most recent information, otherwise he would never have delivered the speech which he had that night made in the House of Commons. The Report of the Royal Commission had been very much canvassed; and the appointment of the Commission had been canvassed still more at the time. Some said the Commission would never do any good; others that its recommendations would be futile. But the chief value he attached to the labours of the Commission was that they would be able to explode the several fallacies so popular at the time, and which had been set forth by the hon. Member that night. When the hon. Member talked of bad Land Laws being one of the causes of the agricultural depression, he would like to read a few words of the Report, which were a fair expression of the evidence given before the Commission—

> "Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the causes of agricultural depression, or

as to remedies which may be suggested for it, it will be observed that there prevails complete uniformity of conviction as to the great extent and intensity of the distress which has fallen upon the agricultural community. Owners and occupiers have alike suffered from it. No description of estate or tenure has been exempted. The owner in fee and the life-tenant, the occupant whether of large or small holding, whether under lease, or custom, or agreement, or the provisions of the Agricultural Holdings Act—all without distinction have been involved in a general calamity. It is important that this should be clearly understood, so that undue stress may not be laid upon suggestions for legislative changes, which, whether expedient or not, have no direct or immediate connection with the distress of the present time."

Another cause was said to be the exorbitant rent that had been asked. But the Report did not bear out the opinions of the hon. Member, for the Commissioners said that the evidence satisfied them that the practice of demanding exorbitant rents was exceptional, especially on large estates. He had himself had a good deal of experience in letting farms of late years, and he had found that the landlord had little or nothing whatever to do or say with regard to the rent; the tenant fixed it, and the landlord was obliged to take whatever the tenant offered. He agreed that trade was unfortunately suffering as well as agriculture; but why was it suffering? Because our markets had been failing us. There were two markets—the home and the foreign—of which the latter had failed because of the hostile, and sometimes prohibitory, tariffs imposed on English manufactures by foreign countries; and the former had failed because agriculture had been grievously depressed. The hon. Member opposite admitted that it was partly in consequence of a succession of extremely bad harvests that trade was suffering so much; but he would ask the hon. Member what he thought would be the position of trade in this country if there were to be no harvests at all. And he might depend upon it that there would be no harvests in the future unless it should pay to produce them. He commended that point to the consideration of those Gentlemen opposite whom he was disposed to call extremely bigoted Freetraders. No one wished to undervalue the benefits that had been derived from Free Trade in the past, and he should not dream of any return to Protection except as the lesser of two evils. His advocacy of Protection would depend on the character of the future competition into which we might be called upon to enter. Trade was suffering, and would continue to suffer, as long as agriculture should continue to be depressed; and agriculture never would recover its former position, or anything like it, until corn in this country could once more be grown at a profit; and if ever it became clear that in consequence of foreign competition corn would remain permanently so low as to prevent its cultivation at a profit, then he, for one, would not hesitate to propose their return to Protection, as the least unfortunate alternative. That was not his object, however, on that occasion; but he had ventured to indicate some of the causes of the agricultural depression existing at the present time and some of the remedies which it was in the power of the Government to put into operation, and which they should put into operation without a moment's delay. He hoped that the appeals which had been made to the Government by hon. Members on both sides of the House would not be without effect upon them. Agriculturists had claimed no more than they were entitled to as a matter of justice and right; and he could assure the Government that until those claims were met in the manner to which they were justly entitled, they would, in pursuance of the duty owing to their constituents, be pressed upon the Government in season and out of season until the appeal was responded to.

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, I shall occupy the attention of the House but for a very short time, while I address myself to one branch only of the subject which has been discussed at such length to-night—namely, that of the importation of foreign cattle. I should like, at the outset, to be permitted to assure hon. Members opposite that sympathy with farmers and with landlords, in the present depression of agriculture, is not confined to one side of the House. The commercial and manufacturing interests of the country can have no hope of recovering their former elasticity until such time as the agricultural interest itself is in a better condition and our home trade has greatly improved. It is impossible that the loss of £50,000,000 a-year can go on year after year in one of our most important branches of industry without it being felt by all other branches of industry, and my own opinion is, that if we even had only two or three years of agricultural prosperity, the general trade of the country would be enormously improved. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Chaplin) made a statement at the outset of his remarks, in answer to my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), which entirely took me by surprise. My right hon. Friend, in his interesting and able speech, into which, however, I do not propose to follow him, spoke of the effect of the depreciation of the value of gold upon agricultural prices except cattle, cheese, and butter. But the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) says that one cause of this is that foreign competition has ceased and passed away from this country. He again and again repeated that we have really done with foreign competition, and he was cheered by his Friends when he made that statement. Now, the hon. Member never made a greater mistake. The importation of live animals during the past year is the largest of any year for the last 15 years in the history of the country with the exception of one year.

MR. CHAPLIN: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to explain? What I intended to convey to the House was this—that foreign competition in meat had almost entirely disappeared at the prices at which it was conducted a few years ago.

MR. MUNDELLA: Oh, the prices! That is another question altogether.

MR. CHAPLIN: But that is the whole question.

MR. MUNDELLA: No doubt, the price of meat has very largely increased in this country. The price of mutton is unquestionably high, and the price of beef is higher than it has been for many years. But the arguments of the hon. Gentleman applied to the importation of foreign cattle. What is it that he proposes to do? He insists that it is the duty of the Government, without an hour's delay——

MR. CHAPLIN: Without unnecessary delay.

MR. MUNDELLA: Then, "without unnecessary delay." I took down the words of the hon. Gentleman at the time; but I am willing to substitute his present words, "without unnecessary delay." He insists that it is the duty of the Government, without unnecessary delay, to prohibit the importation of live foreign animals into this country. Now, what effect would that have on the meat supply of the country? In the year 1881, the number of live foreign animals imported was 1,278,891, and the total value £8,025,000. In 1882, the number imported was 1,483,761, and the total value £9,272,000.

MR. CHAPLIN: What was the whole domestic consumption?

MR. MUNDELLA: I am giving the hon. Gentleman the importation; and, if we deduct and abstract that supply from the domestic consumption of the country, it will at once be seen that the prices of meat would be enormously affected and increased. In the opinion of authorities fully competent to judge, it would make a difference of at least 2*d*. or 3*d*. a pound in the price of meat, now sufficiently high, if we were to exclude this supply imported from foreign countries to the value of more than £9,000,000.

MR. CHAPLIN: You would not exclude it from the country?

MR. MUNDELLA: The hon. Member reverts to his old argument when he says that it would come back again in the shape of a greater supply of dead meat. It has been proved by experience that when, through fear of the cattle plague, we totally prohibited the importation of live animals from Belgium and Germany, which were sending us large quantities, the large supplies we had been in the habit of receiving were not replaced by a single cargo of dead meat. That, I think, is an unanswerable argument. Then, again, I am sorry to say that the dead meat trade, so far from increasing, is steadily diminishing. In 1881 we imported 812,000 cwts. of fresh meat, whereas, in 1882, we imported only 460,000 cwts., and the value fell off from £2,163,000 to £1,282,000. That was up to the end of December last year, so that there has been a falling off of nearly £1,000,000 in value in regard to dead meat, and approaching to nearly a corresponding amount in the importation of live cattle. What the hon. Gentleman proposes to do is to cut off the supply of live cattle.

MR. CHAPLIN: From infected countries.

MR. MUNDELLA: Now, when did the hon. Gentleman first use that argument? It has always been understood in the House that one of the greatest boons the Government ever conferred upon the agricultural community was in passing the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act in 1878. And yet hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House speak of that Act as if it was of no value whatever. Certainly that is not the opinion of the Royal Commission.

MR. CHAPLIN: I quoted the recommendation of the Royal Commission.

MR. MUNDELLA: With respect to the recommendation of the Royal Commission, it is quite true that they made the recommendation which the hon. Gentleman has referred to; but I should like to ask how many Representatives of the consumers were upon the Royal Commission? Nay, I will go further. The noble Duke the late Lord President of the Council (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) was the Chairman of that Commission; and instead of recommending that proposal, I believe he voted against it. It is also a fact that several of the most experienced Members of that Commission voted against the paragraph which the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire himself carried in the Commission. Under these circumstances, I cannot accept this recommendation of the Royal Commission, when I know that those who had the responsibility of carrying out the Act, and who may have the responsibility of carrying it out again, are of opinion that no Government dare put in force that recommendation. I make that assertion advisedly. The hon. Gentleman says it is this imported disease that has produced such havoc among our flocks and herds; and he has given a history of recent events in connection with imported disease since the accession of the Government to Office. Now, upon that point, let me state to the House exactly what has happened in respect to these diseases. Since the Act was passed in 1878 there has been no cattle plague. I hope the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) will listen to my statement; because I listened most attentively to his. I say there has been no cattle plague since the passing of the Act of 1878, and no sheep-pox; while the ravages of pleuro-pneumonia, which was the principal disease against which the Act was passed, have steadily decreased. In 1877, there were 2,700 outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia, and 5,000 animals affected. These numbers steadily came down year by year, until, in 1882, there were only 494 outbreaks, and 1,200 animals affected. It is to be hoped that the time will shortly come when I shall be able to say that the animals affected, and that every herd affected, may be slaughtered off at once and the disease wholly stamped out. Indeed, I may venture to say that pleuro-pneumonia, which was the disease in regard to which the Act was mainly passed, has been almost entirely stamped out. I now come to foot-and-mouth disease. The hon. Gentleman says that from January to October, 1880, this country was free from foot-and-mouth disease; but that soon afterwards three diseased cargoes came in and re-introduced it. If the hon. Gentleman will forgive me, I will say that that is not quite the fact. He knows, as well as I do, that from January to October, diseased cargoes were coming in steadily during the whole of the time; and that as many as 13 cargoes, I believe, came in during those nine months. It was not after October, but before that date, that these cargoes were steadily coming in. But during those nine months the country was practically free from disease. The year 1880 was an exceptionally good year, for I find that in the whole of the 12 months the total number of animals affected by foot-and-mouth disease was only 32,000, and the number of outbreaks 1,461. In the year 1881, there were 4,833 outbreaks, and 183,000 animals affected. Last year, 1882, which was almost as good a year in regard to the number of animals affected as 1880, the number of outbreaks fell from 4,833 to 1,970, and the number of animals affected from 183,000 to 37,920. It must also be remembered that these 37,920 animals are the number affected by foot-and-mouth disease, out of a total of more than 33,000,000 animals, which constitute the flocks and herds of the country. That is the disease which, according to the hon. Gentleman, is playing such havoc among our stock. Now, I will tell him what it is that is really playing havoc. It is a disease which has certainly not been imported, but which has been the direct consequence of the wet seasons which we have had in this country, and which it is not easy to get rid of. We lost in one year nearly 3,000,000 of sheep from the disease known as sheep-fluke. We are still losing them from the same cause, and if we do not get fine weather, I am afraid that the loss will continue to go on. We must have lost millions of sheep owing to fluke, and, as the hon. Gentleman knows, that disease is not an imported disease, although it is one which is prevalent all over Europe. The flocks of this country have suffered from it in common with every other flock in Europe grazing over low lands. Then, is it fair, in the face of these facts, to say that we are suffering from imported disease? The Government have done all in their power to arrest the progress of disease, and the hon. Gentleman has himself admitted that the Privy Council have worked with considerable success; and yet he calls upon us, as some other hon. Gentlemen have done, and particularly my hon. Friend the Member for Herefordshire (Mr. Duckham), to prohibit the importation of foreign cattle, although he knows very well that the Act was not framed for prohibition. Let me read the words of the Act. I am surprised at the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), because, at the time the Act was passed, he, and every Member who sat upon the same Benches, declared indignantly that such a thought as that of prohibition had never entered their heads; on the contrary, they asserted that all they wanted was the greatest possible facility for importation. I have here the Schedule of the Act which applies to foreign animals. It is headed "Foreign animals; slaughter at the port of landing." It goes on to say, "foreign animals only to be landed at a part of the port defined." They are to be landed in such a manner and at such a time, and they are not to be removed alive from the wharf. That is precisely what has been done. We have had the cargo slaughtered wherever we have found disease, or had a suspicion that there was disease. Sometimes before the authorities of the country from which the animals came have known themselves of the existance of disease, we have placed animals from that country under the slaughter provisions of the Act; and, at this moment, there are only two ports in the world that are exempt—Antwerp and the Scandinavian Islands. Cattle from all other ports are slaughtered at the port of debarkation. That is exactly the state of the law, and I am sure that since the Act passed, no one will say that we have been lax in the administration of it. My hon. Friend the Member for Mid Kent (Sir William Hart Dyke) has spoken about the terrible restrictions we have enacted in this country, and has wondered that we did not recoil from them. But I must remind him that we are engaged in administering the Act as we found it, with the aid of the Privy Council, in the best way we are able. We have been assisted, in a way I hope every one who may succeed us will be assisted, by the Department of the Privy Council. I sincerely hope, if it should ever be found advisable to transfer this branch of the Privy Council work, those to whom it may be transferred will continue to have the advice and knowledge of Mr. Lennox Peel, who also assisted the Duke of Richmond and Gordon in carrying out the Act. He has his heart most thoroughly in the work; he has always been desirous of doing all that he can to prevent the introduction or spread of calamitous diseases; and in regard to the Privy Council itself, I do not think it possible for any Department to work more cordially, more promptly, or more heartily together. No one has been absent from his post since October last; but all have been actively engaged in carring out the demands of the country. When the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire speaks of the restrictions imposed by the closing of markets, I would like him to ask his hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) if he thinks that we have done too much in that direction. The result of closing the markets of this country has certainly been satisfactory. When Mr. Clare Sewell Read proposed it, we met him at once, and what has been the result? Norfolk was free entirely until the end of October. On the 9th of December there were 45 outbreaks in that county, and on the 11th of December we applied the Order. The very next week the outbreaks fell to 35, the following week to 28, and the week following to 11, until finally they came down to none. The same thing has happened in Northamptonshire and Suffolk, and I hope that gradually similar results will be produced in other counties. But I must confess that I am not so sanguine about stamping out foot-and-mouth disease as I was at first, and a good many other persons take the same view. I am not sure how far the disease is indigenous. I received a letter from a farmer the other day, telling me it was folly to attempt to stamp out foot-and-mouth disease, and objecting to the restrictions imposed by the Department. We have, however, been guided by the Act, and by the opinion of Mr. Clare Sewell Read and my hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Pell), and have done our best to stamp out the disease. We shall still continue to do so. As I know that this question is very shortly to come on again, when the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire brings forward the Resolution of which he has given Notice, it is perhaps better that I should reserve anything I have to say further upon the question until that time arrives. I will only say now, that the evidence given to us goes to show that breeding is not stopped by foot-and-mouth disease. We have abundant evidence to prove that; and so far from the breeding of cattle having fallen off, the number has actually increased from the year 1867, when it was 4,900,000, to about 6,000,000 now, and there has been an increase during the last year, notwithstanding the very high prices of stock. In 1867, there were 4,900,000 cattle in Great Britain; and in 1873, they reached 5,900,000. The highest they ever reached was 6,000,000. At the end of 1881, they were 5,900,000, and they are about 6,000,000 now; so that it is incorrect to say that there has been a great falling off in cattle. The falling off has been almost entirely in live sheep; but I say that with the terrible disease affecting sheep which I have referred to, you cannot hope to maintain the numbers. We have watched the progress of the disease with great anxiety, and we are only astonished to find that the numbers have stood as well as they have every year, and that they are maintained as they are. I hope I have now said enough to convince the House that Her Majesty's Government are not indifferent to the gravity and importance of these questions. I see the late Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross) in his place, and the right hon. Gentleman will, I am sure, confirm me, when I say that both the present and the late Government were agreed upon one point—namely, that we had no desire to stop the importation of cattle. All that we want is that everybody should send us as many cattle as they are able, but that they should be slaughtered at the port of debarkation. I have only one more word to add. My noble Predecessor (Viscount Sandon), when Vice President of the Council, himself pointed out that hon. Members were mistaken in supposing that the Act was intended to prohibit the sending of live cattle to England. All the Government said was that they might be landed alive, but that they would not be allowed to be taken beyond a certain limit. Every speech delivered on the subject states the same thing. The object is to land the cattle alive, but to slaughter them at the port of debarkation. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire is not content with that, but he wants them to be slaughtered at the port of embarkation. That is a very different thing, and the result would be famine prices for meat. Prices are high enough now, and anything that would increase them, would produce much misery and distress in the great towns of this country.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Sir, there was one portion of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks which I confess I heard with some surprise. It was that part in which he called my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) to account for not being acquainted with the condition of the law. The right hon. Gentleman said it was all very well for my hon. Friend to charge the Government with not having exercised judicially the powers intrusted to them, but that he ought to have known they had no power under the Act of prohibiting the landing of cattle.

Mr. MUNDELLA: They have power under the Act to prohibit the landing of animals suffering from cattle plague. The three conditions are prohibition for cattle plague, slaughter at the port of debarkation for other diseases, and free ingress when the animals are not infected.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Am I to understand that there is no power of prohibition, except for cattle plague?

Mr. MUNDELLA: That is so.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Is there any cattle plague existing in France?

Mr. MUNDELLA: No.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Then, how is it I find an Order of Council, dated the 14th February, 1883, ordering that animals brought from the port of Boulogne shall not be landed in England, Wales, or Scotland. This appears to be at variance with what the right hon. Gentleman has just stated.

MR. MUNDELLA: The reason why the importation of animals from that port is stopped was that the ships engaged in the trade were found to be impregnated with disease, and they were therefore stopped, in order that they might be disinfected. It has been resolved that the trade should be stopped for a month, in order to afford time for the progress of disinfection to be carried out.

MR. J. LOWTHER: In that case, one of two things must have happened—either the right hon. Gentleman was misstating the law when he said that the Government did not possess this power, or the Government have been acting contrary to law.

MR. MUNDELLA: In the event of any emergency arising, the Government have power to prohibit; but the principle of the Act is the slaughter of the animals a tthe port of debarkation, and there must have been a great emergency in order to induce the Government to stop these ships for a month in order that they might be disinfected.

MR. J. LOWTHER: As there appears to be some doubt in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, I will call attention to the powers which the Privy Council do possess. Among them, I find a provision that the Privy Council may, from time to time, make such general or special Orders as they may think fit for prohibiting the landing of animals, or of any other specific kind in regard to cargo, fodder, litter, &c.

MR. MUNDELLA: It was under that provision that a special Order was issued stopping the landing of cargoes from the port of Boulogne for one month.

MR. J. LOWTHER: What did the right hon. Gentleman say in reply to the observations of my hon. Friend? My hon. Friend drew attention to the exercise of these powers. My hon. Friend stated that the disease had been stamped out by the judicious exercise of our powers in 1880, but that it had been re-introduced by importations from abroad.

MR. MUNDELLA: That is not so.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Then, the right hon. Gentleman denies that the cattle disease had been practically stamped out in 1880, and re-introduced by importations from abroad. The right hon. Gentleman talked lightly of the foot-and-mouth disease. The right hon. Gentleman talked very lightly of it indeed. He evidently thinks it has been protective of procreation. [Mr. DODDS: Oh, oh!] I am in the recollection of the House; and if hon. Members of the House who have just entered it, and who have made these disorderly sounds, were not here, I am in the recollection of the House, when I say that the right hon. Gentleman pointedly remarked that so far from foot-and-mouth disease having done very serious injury to the owners of stock, the quantity of stock had considerably increased during the time the disease has prevailed. Now, in proof of the statement made by my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire, that foot-and-mouth disease was practically put down in 1880, and re-introduced under the auspices of the right hon. Gentleman's administration of the law, I will quote an authority which I think he will not gainsay. That authority says that, up to September, 1880, the whole of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland had been, as far as the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council could ascertain, free from foot-and-mouth disease, and the strongest evidence existed that this re-introduction was due to the importation of diseased animals from abroad. Now, who is the authority for this statement—the statement for which the right hon. Gentleman said just now there was not one scintilla of evidence? It was the Report of the Department over which the right hon. Gentleman himself presides.

MR. MUNDELLA: I never said anything to contradict that statement. I was perfectly aware of it, because I made it in the House myself.

MR. J. LOWTHER: The right hon. Gentleman certainly made the statement to which I referred just now; but, leaving the right hon. Gentleman to refresh his memory with the Act of Parliament and the Report of his own Department, together with the Orders in Council, I will, with the permission of the House, refer to one subject which has been touched upon in the course of the debate, and upon which I should like to say a few words, speaking as a private individual, and in no shape or form representing the views of my right hon. Friends near me any more than they would upon such a subject be accepted by me as representing mine. Among the various remedies suggested for agricultural depression, I have remarked that hardly any touch any person except the out-going tenant. The out-going tenant is the person for whom all these reforms are apparently intended. We are told that compensation for unexhausted improvements will be of material benefit as an alleviation of agricultural depression. But who does compensation for unexhausted improvements affect? It affects the out-going tenant if he happens not to be an in-going tenant elsewhere. If he is going to retire wholly from the business of agriculture, no doubt, the transfer of the property of other people into his pocket will be, in his view, a great advantage. But what advantage does compensation for unexhausted improvements confer upon that individual whom I think the House ought to have some regard for—the man who is called the sitting tenant, who has tilled the farm during the whole of his life, who has succeeded members of his own family who have gone before him, and who probably intends to hand his farm over to those who succeed him in a direct line—the man who has no idea of flitting, or of becoming an out-going tenant, in order to attain any of the advantages which have been mentioned? This brings me to this point; unless Parliament is prepared to do something towards placing the business of agriculture in such a position that it can be conducted on fairly reasonable terms, under all ordinary circumstances, and affording a reasonable hope of profit, no discussion on the subject will be of any avail. I have never hesitated to say myself that the idea that a mere reduction of rent would meet this question is one that is not worth one moment's entertainment. The question of rent will settle itself without the action of Parliament. It is settling itself already. But what does this in reality mean—the statement that the agricultural difficulties could be redressed by a re-settlement of rent? It is only following the advice of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to the Egyptians, to "stew in their own juice." It means that the landlords may be preyed upon by the tenants, and the tenants by the labourers, but no other class of the community, under any circumstances, must be called upon to contribute towards the redress of agricultural difficulties. There was one statement in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, which I heard with great satisfaction. It was that statement in which the right hon. Gentleman stated that until agriculture was restored to a healthy condition in this country commercial prosperity could not hope to revive. We have advanced a great deal recently, and we now find that the depression of agriculture is recognized as a matter of national concern. We used to be told that it was only a question for the consumer, and that what happened to the producer of food was of no concern whatever to the great mass of the consumers, who had only themselves, in their capacity of consumers, to care for. We have now advanced so far that the depression of agriculture is recognized as a national concern; and, consequently, I think that I am right in drawing this conclusion—that the whole of the community engaged in other pursuits is interested in the restoration of its prosperity, and is bound to lend a hand to the attainment of that end. If I were to urge that all other classes of the community ought to be prepared to incur certain sacrifices for the purpose of restoring agriculture to prosperity, I should only be re-echoing what has already been stated from the Ministerial Bench. Her Majesty's Government, I dare say, will not be prepared to deny this, that if it could be shown that agriculture cannot be conducted at a profit in this country, without the protection of agricultural produce from ruinous foreign competition, there would be a strong case made out for a demand that all sections of the community should incur a reasonable amount of the burden thereby involved. I might urge that if agriculture were the only interest affected by foreign competition; but is that so? Are there not fellow-sufferers engaged in other pursuits? We know, unfortunately, that Board of Trade Returns and official statistics show us that almost every other interest is suffering to a large extent from this cause. I am not now dwelling upon the loss all other interests suffer from owing to the effect of the dimished purchasing power in the home market due to agricultural depression. I am referring to the direct foreign competition in manufactured articles from abroad. The working men of England are constantly told that the one thing they should insist upon is a cheap loaf. We have all heard enough of the small and the large loaf; but I have no doubt the spectre will be again trotted out by the Treasury Bench. But if the working men of England find their means of purchasing a loaf, be it great or small, vanishing from their view, I think they will not be disposed to pay much attention to stale arguments of that kind. I have recently been visiting the manufacturing districts, and I was astonished to find that numerous manufacturers who were formerly content with only branch establishments in a Continental country are now removing their entire plant and capital and business from this country to other countries, which, in plain English, means that the money which formerly found its way into the pockets of English workmen will now be paid to foreigners. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members say "No!" I was not long ago in one of the manufacturing towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and I saw there empty mills. They were not only unoccupied, but I ascertained that they were empty owing to the fact that the actual machinery had been literally taken out of them, conveyed abroad, and there re-erected, and that the business formerly conducted in the West Riding of Yorkshire will, in future, be conducted in Germany and France. Is the House prepared to say that that is not a matter of national concern? Amongst the items of imported articles I notice a large number of manufactured boots and shoes. I think when the boot closers of Northampton again visit Trafalgar Square—that Majuba Hill, from which it is apparently necessary to quicken the Ministerial conscience—they will have some more solid grievances to urge upon the consideration of Her Majesty's Government than the necessity of abjuring any recognition of the Deity in our proceedings in this House. They will find their means of earning their livelihood rapidly vanishing from within their grasp, and the capital formerly expended in their employment being transferred to other lands. The working classes must consider this point also; they have to contend now in the cosmopolitan labour market with the workmen of other countries, whose standard of comfort is far below their own. Are the workmen of England prepared to meet these competitors on equal terms? Are the English workmen prepared to see their standard of comfort brought down to the standard enjoyed by Continental workmen? Because it will come to that. Not only the standard of comfort of the artizans, but the length of hours must be considered, if we are to hold our own in such an uneven race. It has been my desire to detain the House for as short a time as possible, and, in conclusion, I would like to ask those who advocate Free Trade—the one-sided Free Trade which now prevails—whether they consider any burdens whatsoever in the shape of taxation upon food, or upon those engaged in producing food, are imposts which are immoral in themselves? If so, I should like to ask them how they can justify the imposition of grinding rates and heavy taxation upon land which is devoted solely to the production of food? If the idea of the entire freedom of the food of the people from all taxation is to be insisted upon, we may fairly ask how we are to reconcile the taxation of the food produced at home, and of the producer himself, with the grandiose notion, in favour of foreigners, of the free supply of food and the non-taxation of those engaged in its production? The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council spoke about the price of meat, and it appears to be assumed throughout the course of this debate, as far as I have heard, that the price of meat is so high in this country that we need have no fear in the future of foreign competition in respect to that commodity. Now, I venture to hold, with all submission, a contrary opinion. By the time the British agriculturists shall have succeeded in laying down their land in that permanent pasture which is advocated as, in England and Ireland, most suited to the soil and climate of both countries, some new development of the importation of live and dead meat will have been discovered, which will upset all our calculations and set the farmers by the ears. If the country should once recognize that the business of agriculture or of pasturing cannot be conducted at a reasonable profit in this country, then we must be prepared to have recourse to those remedies which are not newfangled ones, but which have been tried in all countries throughout the globe, for the protection of agriculture as well as of all other threatenened industries. The views I have ventured to give utterance to, it is well known, I have always held myself. Although they have been termed pious opinions, they are certainly, as far as I am concerned, held with consistent piety; and I think it is high time that this question should be viewed by all sections of this House, and by all classes in this country, entirely apart from all those old-fashioned prejudices which have so long prevailed. It may be perfectly true that a certain number of years ago we were able to produce various manufactured articles cheaper than any other country. Other countries had not learnt to develope their own manufactures, and to protect themselves from competition from us. Under these circumstances, the trade of this country advanced by leaps and bounds. But other countries have now learnt to protect themselves and to exclude us from their markets. In the former period to which I have referred, other agencies were at work—such as the development of steam and electricity. To hear some hon. Members talk, it might be imagined that Mr. Cobden was the inventor of steam, and that the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) was the patentee of electricity; for every improvement and development of commerce which has taken place of late years has been attributed to the results of their agitation. I trust that the House will consider these questions seriously, apart from all the prejudice which I know prevails against any mention of protective duties upon articles consumed in this country. On the contrary, I trust that the question will be impartially considered as a whole. I may say that, in connection with this matter, I have been charged with advocating a specific 5*s.* duty on corn; but I wish distinctly to say that I never maintained myself, in any dogmatic manner, the necessity of a 5*s.* duty as against a 6*s.*, a 4*s.*, or any other duty upon corn. Still less have I declared myself against a reasonable sliding scale. In conclusion, I beg to thank the House for allowing me to make these few remarks upon the question. The subject is one which, although, at this moment, the suggestion does not command a very large amount of public support, must soon be seriously considered, and will inevitably force itself upon the attention of Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he wished to ask the noble Marquess opposite, before the debate was adjourned, on what days it would be continued, and what course it was proposed to take with respect to private Members' Notices on Wednesday and Friday, in the event of its not being previously concluded?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, he had, in accordance with what he believed to be the usual practice, already placed on the Paper a Notice that he would, to-morrow, move that Notices of Motion and Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day had been taken for the resumption of the debate upon the Address to Her Majesty. He also proposed following the course adopted on a former occasion, in the event of the debate not being concluded to-morrow, to make the same Motion on Wednesday with respect to the Orders of the Day.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

PARLIAMENTARY OATHS ACT (1866) AMENDMENT BILL.

COMMITTEE. [*Progress* 16*th February.*]

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Question again proposed,

> "That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Parliamentary Oaths."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he was not going to oppose the introduction of the Bill in any way. On the contrary, he congratulated the Government on having at last come to their senses on the matter. The object of the Government had been hitherto to force the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) on the House, against what he believed to be the letter and spirit of the law, and against the findings of more than one Committee. He was sorry to find the Bill brought forward in the absence of the Prime Minister; and he might add, that it was the general opinion that the right hon. Gentleman was staying at Cannes with the view of avoiding taking any part in its introduction. Having read the works of the Prime Minister upon the Irish Church and the Vatican, he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) thought the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman must be very much against the measure. The Government had, however, taken the right course in bringing in a Bill, because they had not, up to that time, endeavoured to alter the law in favour of their supporter, a Gentleman whom they took every step to bring into the House, who had been supported by their Whip, and who had since received the support of the Liberal Party in general—because they had hitherto endeavoured to force Mr. Bradlaugh upon the House, not by altering the law, which would have enabled them to take his seat legitimately, but, as he had before said, against the law and against its representation by the Committee of the House. Before referring to precedents, he would point out that Mr. Bradlaugh, according to his speeches delivered in the country, which he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) had read from time to time, was in error in imputing to that House any blame for preventing his access to it. When Baron Rothschild and Alderman Salomons endeavoured to get into the House, and when it was declared that the law was against their admission, the Liberal Government of the day, which was in favour of their admission, as the present Government was now in favour of the admission of Mr. Bradlaugh, annually introduced a Bill with the view of removing the disabilities under which they, as Jews, laboured. In the case of Mr. Bradlaugh the Government had done nothing of that kind; they had said in effect that "although the Committees have stated that their interpretation of the law is against Mr. Bradlaugh, we insist that you should admit him into this House." Her Majesty's Government wished to introduce a Gentleman who said he did not believe in a Divine Being, and they were now taking the right course in saying—"We will introduce a Bill to sanction this." Therefore, he repeated his congratulations to Her Majesty's Government on coming to their senses with regard to this matter. But why had they not done this before; and why did they allow the House to be exposed to every kind of indignity on the part of the hon. Gentleman and his followers, when it had been decided that he could not come into the House? They had introduced one Bill; but it had been, in some way or other, smuggled out of sight, because they knew they could not carry it at the time. Hon. Members on that side had not hitherto prevented Mr. Bradlaugh coming into the House on the special ground of his views and opinions. They had prevented him, because successive Committees, moved for by the Head of the Government, declared it to be illegal that he should come into the House. The law declared that the Oath should be taken in a particular way, and that persons who did not believe in the existence of a Deity should not be allowed to take the Oath. Mr. Bradlaugh was therefore not entitled to the exemptions of the Affirmation Act, nor was he entitled to take the Oath. Having now put the matter on the right ground, the public should know that the Government wished to legalize the admission of Atheists into the House of Commons. They were now doing that, and, for his part, whatever course he might hereafter take, he repeated that hon. Members on those (the Conservative) Benches had never acted towards Mr. Bradlaugh but in accordance with the law, and not against himself. Let the hon. Member for Bristol (Mr. Morley) now vote for Affirmation, and let him square the question with the Congregationalists; let the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government make terms with the electors of Mid Lothian. The Bill now being brought in placed the question on the right issue; and, that being so, he should offer no opposition to its introduction, because they could vote upon it hereafter as they thought proper, and because the Government were at length brought face to face with public opinion in their endeavours to carry a Bill to legalize the admission of Atheists into Parliament.

MR. CHAPLIN said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) had, in his (Mr. Chaplin's) opinion, given a fair and accurate description of the object of the Bill, and it was in consequence of that description, that he intended to take precisely the opposite course to that which the hon. Gentleman had announced his intention of following on the present occasion. With the permission of the House he would state his reasons for doing so. It was no doubt unusual in that Assembly to oppose the introduction of a Bill, and, under ordinary circumstances, he should not have taken the course indicated. But the circumstances were not then of an ordinary character, and hence his opposition at that stage of the measure. The reason why hon. Members refrained, as a rule, from opposing a Bill on its introduction, was because they were naturally anxious to know what it contained; but, in this case, every Member of the House knew perfectly well the nature of the Bill, and, therefore, there was exactly the same reason for opposing it upon the first, as upon any other occasion. This Bill could only be a Bill for the purpose of facilitating the entrance of Atheists generally into Parliament, and of one hon. Gentleman holding Atheistical opinions in particular. His own view of the matter being extremely simple, he should not detain the House except for a moment in stating it. He asked whether it was desirable or not that the entry of Atheists into Parliament should be facilitated; and as he held a strong opinion that this was the most undesirable thing in the world, he had no hesitation whatever in recording his vote against the introduction of the Bill.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, it was, of course, perfectly legitimate and natural that those hon. Members who objected to the principle of a Bill should, if they pleased, oppose its introduction. But he wished to say, for his own part, that, taking substantially the same view of the matter as that of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff)—namely, that the question which had been before them was the conduct of Mr. Bradlaugh in challenging the Rules and decisions of the House and the findings of its Committees, yet the question of dealing with the matter by a Bill was a new one, and one on which he thought they ought rather to be glad than otherwise to see what were the proposals of the Government. He did not agree with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) in saying that in the present case the House must know all that the Bill contained; for instance, he did not know whether it was to be prospective or retrospective, or whether it was to give to all the right to affirm who chose to do so; and it would, therefore, be gratifying to know what the proposals of the Government on these points really were. But, at the same time, although he did not himself intend to offer any objection to the introduction of the Bill, he renewed the statement made on a former occasion, that he should support his right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) in opposing its second reading. Before, however, they could place themselves in a satisfactory position to sustain a debate, he thought it desirable to hear what were the provisions of the Bill, it being, of course, understood that the fact that many hon. Gentlemen on those Benches offered no opposition at the introductory stage of the measure did not in any degree imply that they were disposed to support it.

Captain AYLMER said, the Bill did not come within the category of Bills ordinarily introduced to the House, and that, therefore, the House might safely depart from its usual practice in regard to it. As a rule, the general purport of such measures only was known; but in this case the circumstances were entirely different. The subject was brought forward in the House on the 15th instant, the day on which Parliament was called together, at a time when Mr. Bradlaugh was telling the people to come "in their thousands" and assist him in breaking down the laws of Parliament. On that day the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) rose in his place, and stated that Mr. Bradlaugh would not break the laws of Parliament if the Government would promise to bring in a Bill. The promise was made, the Bill was brought forward, and, under those circumstances, he felt they were fully justified in opposing it on the first reading. They had already some very sad experiences of the concessions made by the Government to agitation in Ireland and in the Transvaal; and he had no wish to see Parliament making a concession to mob law in this country, as it would be if it passed the present Bill. Knowing the purport of the measure, and, so to speak, hearing the noise of the mob-rabble at the doors of the

House, he said that it would be disgraceful and lowering to the dignity of the House to make the concession demanded of them.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, although hon. Members thought it right to enter a protest against the conduct of the Government by proposing to postpone the question of the introduction of the Bill when it was brought forward at a late hour on Friday night, yet, after all that had been said, he did not think it desirable to oppose the Motion then before the Committee.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: All I have to say is this. The noble Marquess who leads the House at present (the Marquess of Hartington) correctly interpreted what I stated the other day—namely, that I intend to oppose this Bill on the second reading. I believe, when the noble Marquess made that statement, some hon. Friends of mine, who probably did not hear what I said, rather disputed that statement; and, therefore, I think it right to say that what I did state was, that I should oppose this Bill with all the strength I had in my power on the second reading. I think that is the right course to take; and nothing will induce me to believe that this Bill is not brought in for the express purpose of admitting Mr. Bradlaugh to this House, in concession to agitation. I do not care how the Bill is worded. I am afraid that is the real cause; and I am not surprised at the protest made after I left the House the other night by a great number of hon. Friends of mine, whom I can assure I feel as strongly as they can on this matter, although I did not remain to take part in their action. That protest having been made, I hope they will consider it sufficient; and I think we shall be more consulting the dignity of our proceedings, and the importance of the question, if we reserve all we have to say—which is a great deal—on a Bill which I sincerely hope will not be passed by this House.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, no man felt more strongly on this subject than he did. He looked upon it as no question of individual belief; it was a question whether the security of the three Estates of the Realm should be limited to its respective functions, and perform those functions independently. In 1858 Parliament decided that an Oath, or a solemn Affirmation equivalent to an Oath, was necessary. In 1866 the matter was fully ventilated; and Parliament decided that this great Constitutional object would not be adequately secured unless Her Majesty and each Member of each House respectively was bound by Oath, or by the equivalent of an Oath, a solemn Affirmation. That was the question now raised; but in justice to a large number of his hon. Friends, who entertained as grave objection to any invalidation or weakening of the security of the Constitution as he did, he intended to abstain from voting against the first reading of the Bill, because he was sure that by doing so he should appear to be taking an unfair advantage of men opposed to the Bill, who were as honest and far more intelligent than he. He would therefore leave the House.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 184; Noes 53: Majority 131.—(Div. List, No. 7.)

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Attorney General, The Marquess of Hartington, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Solicitor General.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 89.]

EGYPT (CHARGES OF EXPEDITION).

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he had a Motion on the Paper for an Address for a Copy of all Correspondence which has taken place between Her Majesty's Government and the Viceroy of India regarding the payment by India of the extraordinary charges incurred by that Government on account of the recent operations in Egypt, the Correspondence to date from the first intimation by Her Majesty's Government that it would be probable troops from India would be required. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) would know, from discussions which had taken place last Session, that many of the Papers in question were of great importance. Would the noble Marquess give them to him as he had put them down in his Notice; or, if he would promise to consider the matter, and make a proposal at some future time, he (Mr. Onslow) would be glad to accept such proposal. He trusted that at any rate the noble Marquess would inform the House what information he could give them before the Indian Budget was taken.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he could not at the present moment agree to the production of Papers on the subject, either in the proposed, or any modified shape. As soon as the debate on the Address terminated, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would make a statement respecting the Supplementary Vote of Credit for the expenses of the war in Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman would be able to state what were the exact proposals of the Government, and until that statement was made it would be impossible to say what steps could be taken for the production of Papers.

Mr. ONSLOW said, that last Session the noble Marquess promised to produce some of these Papers.

MOTIONS.

OYSTER AND MUSSEL FISHERIES ORDERS CONFIRMATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. John Holms, Bill to confirm certain Orders made by the Board of Trade under "The Sea Fisheries Act, 1868," relating to Hamford Water, Hunstanton, and Shepherd's Port (le Strange), and Swansea, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. John Holms and Mr. Chamberlain.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 87.]

PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed, to whom shall be referred all Petitions presented to the House, with the exception of such as relate to Private Bills; and that such Committee do classify and prepare abstracts of the same, in such form and manner as shall appear to them best suited to convey to the House all requisite information respecting their contents, and do report the same from time to time to the House; and that the reports of the Committee do set forth the number of signatures to each Petition only in respect to those signatures to which addresses are affixed:—And that such Committee have power to direct the printing *in extenso* of such Petitions, or of such parts of Petitions, as shall appear to require it:—And that such Committee have power to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House:—And that the Committee do consist of Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. O'Conor, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Reginald Yorke, Mr. Charles Dalrymple, Viscount Newport, Mr. Mulholland, Marquess of Tavistock, Mr. Charles Tennant, Marquess of Stafford, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy, Mr. Lowther, and Colonel Digby:—That three be the quorum.

Ordered, That every Member presenting a Petition to this House do affix his name at the beginning thereof.—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

SETTLED LAND ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Borlase, Bill to amend "The Settled Land Act, 1882," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Borlase, Mr. William Fowler, Mr. James Howard, and Mr. Hopwood.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 88.]

PRIVATE LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William Corbet, Bill to alter and amend the Law relating to Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland, and to make other and more suitable provision for paying patients, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Blake, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Richard Power.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 90.]

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Broadhurst, Bill to amend "The Factory and Workshop Act, 1878," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Broadhurst, Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Burt, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, and Mr. Rowley Hill.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 91.]

WASTE LANDS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Captain Aylmer, Bill to improve and redeem Waste Lands in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Captain Aylmer, Mr. Tottenham, and Mr. Henry Thomson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 92.]

KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS (HOUSE OF COMMONS).

Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House:—Mr. Maurice Brooks, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Henry Edwards, Sir Edmund Filmer, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Guest, Mr. Duff, Lord Kensington, Mr. Monk, Mr. Muntz, Captain O'Shea, Mr. Richard Power, Lord Henry Thynne, and Sir Henry Wolff:—Three to be the quorum.—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

MUNICIPAL BOROUGHS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. William Fowler, Bill to amend the Law with respect to the division of Municipal Boroughs into Wards, and the determination of the number of Councillors in a Borough, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Rylands, and Mr. Henry H. Fowler.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 93.]

REGISTRATION OF FIRMS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Barron, Bill for the Registration of Firms and of persons carrying on business under names or styles other than their own, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Barran, Mr. Norwood, and Mr. Monk.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 94.]

House adjourned at a quarter
after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 20th February, 1883.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table: The same was ordered to be *printed*. (No. 2.)

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, that yesterday he moved for the production of a

> "Copy of Rule 72. of the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland; Copy of letter, dated 8th November 1882, from the Earl of Longford to the Lord President of the Council (on appeal from a decision of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), respecting the appointment of a sister of mercy as teacher in a national school open to non-Catholic children; Copy of any reply thereto."

He found in the Minutes of yesterday's proceedings that he had withdrawn his Motion, and some newspapers stated it was not pressed. As a matter of fact, the Motion was agreed to, with certain additions. He had had no intention whatever of withdrawing it, and he had not the slightest idea of receding in the smallest point from the position he had taken upon the matter.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the question was one merely of the form of the Motion. It was understood to be withdrawn for the day, in order that the terms might be enlarged. If the noble Earl would propose the Motion as he (Lord Carlingford) had just submitted it to him it would be agreed to, and the noble Earl would secure all the information he desired.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he would move for the Papers in the form suggested by the Lord Privy Seal.

Moved for—

> "Copy of Rule 72. of the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland:
>
> "Copy of letter, dated 8th November 1882, from the Earl of Longford to the Lord President of the Council (on appeal from a decision of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) respecting the appointment of a sister of mercy as teacher in a national school open to non-Catholic children:
>
> "Copy of Correspondence between the Earl of Longford, the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and the Irish Government on the same subject."—(*The Earl of Longford.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

INDIA—LOCAL GOVERNMENT—CRIMINAL PROCEDURE AMENDMENT BILL.

QUESTIONS.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: My Lords, seeing my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India in his place, I wish to ask him whether he will produce the Papers and Correspondence relating to the scheme for the extension of Local Government in India, and which has been proposed by the Governor General in Council, and also the Papers relating to the Criminal Procedure Bill, which has been introduced by the legal member of the Council? I also wish to ask whether these matters were submitted to the Council for India in England, and sanctioned before they were proceeded with in India?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, there will be no objection to produce the Correspondence and Papers relating to the two subjects referred to by the noble Viscount. The scheme relating to the jurisdiction of Native magistrates over Europeans was formally sanctioned by the late Secretary of State in Council. With regard to the other matter, the noble Viscount would see what has been done when the Papers are produced.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: How soon will the Papers be laid upon the Table?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I cannot give an answer this evening upon that subject, as I have not had time to look into the Papers; but there shall be no unnecessary delay in producing them.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I wish to ask whether these measures are going forward in India?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I shall be glad if the noble Marquess will give me Notice of the Question, as I replied to the Questions of the noble Viscount after receiving private Notice from him.

REGENCY OF TUNIS.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

EARL DE LA WARR, who rose to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the rights of British subjects in the Regency of Tunis under the capitulations will be affected by the proposed Treaty between France and the Bey of Tunis; and whether Her Majesty's Government can state what course they intend to pursue? said, that he was very desirous of bringing the subject as early as possible before their Lordships, having had good reason to believe that statements which had appeared in the public Press were given upon good authority—to the effect that in June and July of last year communications were carried on between France and the British Government, and with other countries of Europe, with reference to the position of France in the Regency of Tunis, and that M. Cambon, the French resident Minister at Tunis, went to Paris to negotiate the terms of a Treaty between France and the Bey of Tunis, which was afterwards signed. The noble Earl opposite said, in November, that he could not give an opportunity then for bringing the question forward. It almost seemed that their Lordships' House was threatened with the *clôture*, which could hardly be said to be necessary. Now, after the signing of this Treaty as alleged, in September, when M. Duclerc was Prime Minister of France, it appeared that communications were addressed by the French Government to the Great Powers, informing them that it was in contemplation to abolish the Consular Courts existing in virtue of the Capitulations, and to establish French tribunals in Tunis. He contended that this was a most important matter for their Lordships and the country generally to consider, and it would be well to know how far the negotiations had proceeded and what would be the future course of the Government in regard to them. As their Lordships were aware, the rights of British subjects under the Capitulations were two-fold, judicial and commercial. They had existed for 200 years or more; and under them a British subject was entitled to have his cause determined in the Consular Court, which existed under a series of special Orders in Council, the last of which was of very recent date, he believed since the French had occupied Tunis. Now, it was not difficult to understand that British interests would be materially affected by the abolition of the Consular Court; and even if French Courts were established in their place, there would be a great difference to a British subject if he were to be tried by French law in a French Court instead of by English law and by an English tribunal. Other countries would also be much affected by the proposed change, especially Italy, which had a large Colony in Tunis, and which had from the first protested against the violation of international rights by the French annexation of Tunis. But if Her Majesty's Government should tacitly consent, as he could hardly think possible, to give up these judicial rights so long established, and to hand over 10,000 British subjects to French Courts of Justice, there was a further question which was of vast importance to this country in a commercial point of view. Under the Capitulations we had Treaties with the Bey of Tunis of the utmost importance. By the last Treaty no article of British produce or manufacture was excluded from the Regency of Tunis, and no duty could exceed the rate of 8 per cent *ad valorem*. To mention one instance of the value of this Treaty to British interests, cotton goods of British manufacture came annually into Tunis amounting in value to about £1,000,000. He would ask their Lordships to consider the difference that would follow if these Treaties should cease to exist, and a French Tariff were imposed. We had had some experience of French Commercial Treaties and French Tariffs, and he believed it was a fact that English trade with Algeria had almost ceased in consequence of the high duties which were levied upon English goods, the specific duties now levied by France amounting to from 50 to 80 per cent. If the Capitulations were abolished English trade might effectually be stopped in Tunis. He begged to ask whether Her Majesty's Government proposed to surrender the Capitulations as reported, and how far the interests of British subjects would be affected by it? He begged also to move for Papers and Correspondence on the subject.

Moved, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for papers and correspondence respecting the rights of British subjects in the Regency of Tunis under the capitulations, in connexion with the proposed Treaty between France and the Bey of Tunis.—(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, we have received no proposal, nor am I aware of any, with respect to the abolition of the Capitulations in Tunis. In answer to an inquiry, we have informed the French Government that we are ready to give a favourable consideration to any alteration in the modes of Consular jurisdiction that would be satisfactory to all nationalities. I believe a similar answer has been given by most countries to whom the application was made. I saw the other day that in the United States a Bill had passed the Legislature of that country for the purpose of enabling its Government to do so. I wish to add that we have accompanied our communication with the assurance that we shall reserve all the rights and privileges, commercial and other, which British subjects enjoy under any Treaty that now exists with the Bey. The Papers will be presented; but at this early stage of the negotiations I cannot say when that will be done, and I would rather a Motion for them should not be made at present.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

LAND LAWS (IRELAND).

OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of BELMORE said, with respect to a Notice which had been given by his noble Friend (Lord Waveney), he understood that his noble Friend's Motion referred to certain resolutions passed at a tenant right conference at Belfast. His noble Friend had, however, indicated those Resolutions merely as Nos. 1 and 2. He believed that they had not been laid before the House, although, probably, they were in the hands of the Government. Five or six Resolutions had been passed at the Conference, and he thought the noble Lord ought to recite those he intended to call attention to at length. He did not know what Her Majesty's Government meant to do with respect to those Resolutions; but, in any case, he should feel bound to give them a decided opposition.

Lord WAVENEY said, that the resolutions as to which he proposed to suggest legislation were only two. The first was to the effect that when a judicial rent had been fixed it should be payable from the gale day after the application; and the next was that the rent payable by leaseholders should come under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 20th February, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Ordered*—Corn Sales*; Sites for Places of Worship, &c. (Ireland)*; Marriage (Hours of Solemnization)*; Infectious Diseases Notification*.
Second Reading—Trade Marks [70] [House counted out].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PARLIAMENT—STANDING ORDERS AND SELECTION COMMITTEES.

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY, who had upon the Paper Notices for the nomination of the Select Committee on Standing Orders and the Committee of Selection, said, he had put the Notices on the Paper for the appointment of new Committees in the usual course. But he now found that several Notices of Amendment had been given; and as it was desirable that a little more time should be allowed, he proposed to defer the nomination of both of these Committees until Thursday next.

Nomination *deferred* accordingly.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—NOTICES OF MOTION. &c.

MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Notices of Motion and the 1st Order of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Address to Her Majesty."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, that the Parliamentary Oaths Bill, which was not yet printed, or in the hands of hon. Members, stood in the Orders of the Day for Monday next. It stood last in the Orders; but he concluded that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) did not intend to relegate the second reading of the Bill to so late an hour that it could not be reported in the daily Press, for the subject was one upon which the country ought to have full information. He hoped the noble Marquess would not preclude those who entertained strong feelings on the subject-matter of the Bill from being able, after seeing it, to prepare Petitions to the House. He would ask the noble Marquess whether it was his intention to press on the second reading of the Bill on Monday next; and, if not, to what day the Order would be postponed? He begged to remind the noble Marquess that on Friday last, in answer to a Question from himself (Mr. Newdegate), he stated that it was not his intention to take the second reading until the Standing Committees had been appointed. He hoped the noble Marquess would forgive his reminding him of that announcement, and he would conclude with the Question, when would the second reading of the Parliamentary Oaths Bill be proposed for the consideration of the House?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I think the hon. Gentleman has not quite accurately represented what I stated the other night. I did not say this Bill would not be proceeded with until the Standing Committees had been appointed. What I did say was that the desire of the Government was to make the greatest progress with the next stages of those Bills which would be referred to the Standing Committees; but probably we should not ask the House to read the Parliamentary Oaths Bill a second time until we had made some progress with other measures. In reply to the hon. Gentleman's Question, I would just state that the Bill has only been formally set down for Monday; but we have no intention whatever of asking the House to proceed with it on that day. I cannot positively say when the second reading will be taken, but ample notice will be given.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Will the noble Marquess give us an assurance that the Bill will be taken as the First Order of the Day?—because a measure of that importance ought not to be put off till a late hour.

Mr. TOMLINSON asked whether the remarks of the noble Marquess would apply to the Bankruptcy Bill? He thought ample time should be given to hon. Members to study the Bill before the second reading.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he hoped the Bankruptcy Bill would be in the hands of Members either to-morrow or on Thursday. Under the circumstances, and if there should be an opportunity, he would go on with the second reading on Monday. ["Oh!"]

Mr. TOMLINSON said, in that case he should move that the second reading be not taken before Monday fortnight.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Perhaps the noble Lord will answer my appeal that the Parliamentary Oaths Bill should be made the First Order of the Day?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The appeal of the right hon. Gentleman appears to me to be substantially a reasonable one; but it will be inconvenient at this moment, when we are unable to form any opinion as to the conduct of Public Business, to give an absolute promise. I will consider the appeal by the right hon. Gentleman, and endeavour to make the best arrangement in my power.

Motion *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

NAVY—NAVAL PROMOTION—SERVICE AT ALEXANDRIA.

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, having in view the fact that either the commander or senior lieutenant, and the senior sub-lieutenant of each ship which took part in the bombardment of the Alexandrian forts, have received a step of rank for services rendered on that occasion, the senior midshipmen of each ship will also be considered for advancement when they shall have passed the necessary examination?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, a midshipman cannot be promoted to sub-lieutenant until he has passed the necessary examination; he is then promoted in the usual course. It is thus impossible to confer special promotion on young officers of that rank; but I need not assure my right hon. Friend that good service done by them is recorded in their favour, and one or two midshipmen were included in the list of those who received honours at the end of the Egyptian campaign.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL BOERS.

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the report that the Cape Ministry have lent two cannon to the Transvaal Boers; and, if so, whether there is any truth in the statement?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that, on inquiry, they found it was true that the Cape Ministry had lent two guns to the Transvaal Government; but he understood it was to carry on war within their own territory against Mapoch and the rebel Chiefs, and not, as the Question implied, to the Boers carrying on an irregular war in the South-West.

MR. GORST asked whether the war with Mapoch had received the sanction of the British Resident?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY was understood to say that under the terms of the Convention there was to be a previous mediation; but he did not apprehend that the Resident was to give his sanction.

ARMY—THE ROYAL BARRACKS, DUBLIN.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any representation has been made to the Military authorities respecting the unsanitary condition of the Royal Barracks in Dublin; whether the complaints made were well founded; and, what steps have been taken to remedy the defects complained of?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, on the 30th of November, 1882, the Lord Lieutenant drew the attention of the War Office to rumours that cases of typhoid fever among the troops in Dublin were attributable to the unsanitary condition of the Royal Barracks. A full inquiry was at once made, and it was found that there had been two cases of typhoid fever at the Royal Barracks. The principal medical officer considered them as part of a general outbreak of typhoid fever in Dublin, rather than the result of any special defect in the Royal Barracks. No positive sanitary defects could be found in the barrack drains; but steps were taken to secure more perfect ventilation.

DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE VALLEY OF THE BARROW.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Government intend to take any and, if so, what steps with a view to dealing with the distress and the destruction of property caused in the Valley of the Barrow by preventable floods?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the question of the drainage of the Barrow has engaged the attention of Government. The first step necessary for practical purposes is the completion of surveys, plans, and estimates for a drainage system; this has been undertaken upon payment of half of the cost by those locally interested, Government providing the rest. As soon as this survey is complete we shall be in a position to consider what further steps should be taken. One of the difficulties of dealing with the case is a legal one; and this would be removed by a Bill which I hope to bring in this Session. This Bill is, however, of general application, and its introduction does not imply any conclusion in respect of the Barrow.

WAYS AND MEANS—INLAND REVENUE—INCOME TAX ASSESSMENTS, &c.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will lay upon the Table a Return for Ireland similar to that for England and Wales (No. 360 of 1881), relating to the Property and Income Tax Assessments, Poor Rate, &c. for the year 1873-4, and for succeeding years, as far as can be given?

MR. COURTNEY: If the hon. Member will move for the Return he desires it shall be given, so far as possible, in the same form as the Return for England and Wales presented in 1881.

EXCISE—DISTILLERS AND THEIR EMPLOYES.

Mr. MELDON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether under the Excise regulations distillers are permitted to supply spirits to their employés without payment of any Duty; and, if so, what quantity of spirits can be thus supplied to each person; whether there is any restriction as to the ages of persons to whom such spirits can be supplied, or any rule which prevents new whiskey being supplied; whether there is any objection to give a Return of the quantity of spirits supplied under such a regulation; and, whether a similar privilege is granted to other manufactures of intoxicating liquors?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, any distiller is allowed at his request to give his workmen a dram once or twice a-day in the lock-up spirit store without restriction as to the age of the persons so supplied, or as to the quality of the spirits. The Excise authorities have no knowledge of the amount so consumed, as it is included in the waste, for which a statutory allowance of duty is made. In the case of beer no such privilege is granted, because it is not necessary; beer not being locked up during its manufacture. The Board of Inland Revenue would be glad to withdraw this privilege from distillers, were it not for fear that a worse evil might arise in the form of thefts of spirits while in course of manufacture.

Mr. MELDON gave Notice that on going into Supply he would call attention to that subject.

IRISH NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, What is the reason for the immense increase of the cost of the last volume of the Fac-similes of Irish National Manuscripts, which must narrow the circle of readers, and prevent the volume having any real circulation; and, when it is expected that the publication will be completed?

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the price of the last volume of the Fac-similes of Irish National MS. amounts to five guineas; whether the price of previous volumes was only two guineas; whether the price of similar Scotch volumes was only one guinea; and, whether he will take care that the future publications of the series are not at a price which prohibits circulation?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, besides making inquiries, I have myself looked at the volumes to which the right hon. Members for Dublin and Cambridge Universities refer. There has been a constant tendency to produce each successive volume of these publications in increased bulk, and in a more elaborate style. The simpler work of the earlier Irish and of the English and Scotch volumes, besides being in itself less costly, could be done at the Ordnance Survey Office. Thus it was possible to fix their prices at the low figures named in the second Question. But the elaborate coloured work of the third Irish volume surpassed the resources of the Ordnance Survey Office, and the Stationery Office had, therefore, to undertake the work, which it executed by ordinary trade contract. The price of that volume remained, however, at £2 2*s.*; and the consequence was that the Exchequer incurred a heavy loss, while all the available copies of the work were bought up, and are now being offered for sale, I am told, at £8 to £10 a copy. The price of the fourth volume was fixed in the regular manner so as to cover the cost of production, without any charges for authorship. Viewed in this way, it is, therefore, not excessive; and the fact that 120 out of 550 copies have been sold in two months shows that the price is by no means prohibitory for the class who purchase such works. I have also to inform the right hon. and learned Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson) that the second section of part four is in hand; but I cannot say when it will be published. I think it is certainly open to question whether this series should be produced in so sumptuous a fashion; and I will make further inquiries with a view of ascertaining whether it is not expedient to return to the simpler style of the earlier volumes.

Mr. GIBSON gave Notice that, in consequence of the answer he had just received, he would call attention to that subject on going into Supply.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) —LEGISLATION.

Mr. MELDON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government propose to introduce a Bill during the present Session to amend the Law relating to the Registration of Voters in Ireland on the lines of the measure which passed the House of Commons in the first Session of this Parliament, and which was rejected on the Second Reading by the House of Peers on the ground of the late period same was passed by this House; and, if so, when such introduction will take place?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government propose to introduce a Bill on the same lines as that which passed the House of Commons in 1880. The Bill will be introduced whenever there is a prospect of pressing it forward.

SCOTLAND—THE GLENDALE CROFTERS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, with reference to the Glendale crofters arrested in Glasgow on Friday, Whether the private parties at whose instance they were arrested communicated with the Crown authorities before taking them into custody; whether the prison authorities at Edinburgh, to which city they were conveyed, refused to accept their custody; whether they were thereupon lodged in the Ship Hotel, Edinburgh, and confined there for several days in charge of the messenger at arms who apprehended them; and, under what Law it is competent thus privately to confine prisoners, civil or criminal, for days together, in a city containing a public prison?

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH asked the Lord Advocate, What steps Government intend to take in consequence of the apprehension, on their journey to Edinburgh, of three Glendale crofters, in their beds in Glasgow, at six o'clock in the morning of Friday 16th February, in face of the promise (accepted by the special Government Commissioner to Skye) of these crofters to attend before the Supreme Court of Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): In answer to the Question of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), I have to say that the agents for the petitioners in the petition and complaint for breach of interdict, in a letter addressed to the Crown Agent on 15th February, stated that they observed from the newspapers that three of the crofters against whom warrants were issued were on their way to Edinburgh, and requested to know if the Crown authorities would have them in charge and bring them before the First Division of the Court on Tuesday next—that is, to-day—adding that they would have the petition and complaint in the roll on that morning. To this letter a reply was sent, stating that they—the petitioners' agents—held the warrant of the Court of Session, which, if it required to be executed, should be executed by officers at their instance, and on their employment, not by the criminal authorities, and that it was for them—the petitioners' agents—to judge whether there was any necessity to execute the warrant, as the men had intimated that they would appear voluntarily at the bar. I understand it to be the fact that the prison authorities in Edinburgh refused to undertake the custody of the men, as the warrant contained no mention of incarceration, and also that the men thereafter were in the Ship Hotel under the charge of the messenger-at-arms, who apprehended them. I infer that the men were thus detained in transit to the Court, because it was not sitting last week. As the detention was not at the instance of the Crown authorities, and as the men are in the hands of competent advisers, I do not feel called upon to offer any opinion as to its legality. With reference to the Question of the hon. Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Mackintosh), the Government do not intend to take any steps in consequence of the apprehension of the crofters, which was at the instance of private parties, under a warrant granted to them by the Supreme Court. My information does not bear out, but on the contrary negatives, the suggestion in the latter part of this Question, that anything passed with the gentleman there mentioned expressing or implying that upon the crofters coming from Skye, as they did, the warrant referred to would not be executed.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE ASSASSINATIONS—MAGISTERIAL INQUIRY AT KILMAINHAM.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he had given Notice of a Question similar to one which was put yesterday to the

Chief Secretary for Ireland by his right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote). He should not ask this Question on the present occasion were it not that he thought it must be satisfactory to the Government to have another opportunity of offering an explanation as to the employment, either directly or indirectly, of such dubious instruments as Sheridan. His Question was, Whether one Sheridan, described by James Carey in the course of the inquiry at Kilmainham Court House on Saturday as having acted as intermediary between the Irish Invincibles and their allies in London, is one of the men mentioned in the negotiations that led to the release of the suspects from Kilmainham Gaol last Spring, and of whom the honourable Member for the city of Cork, before his release, said—

> "He hoped to make use of and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation, as he knew all its details in the West;"

and, with regard to whom the Member for Bradford said in this House, on 15th May—

> "It gave me a sort of insight into what had been happening, which I had not before, that a man (Sheridan) whom I knew, in as far as I had any possibility of knowing was engaged in these outrages, was so far under the influence of the honourable Member for the city of Cork, that upon his release he would get the assistance of that man to put down the very things he had been provoking?"

Mr. TREVELYAN: When I am asked a Question in the House I always answer that Question, and I do not make it an opportunity for offering explanations as to matters which are not before us. I answered the Question yesterday to all intents and purposes. As regards the Question put to-day, I consider it is both reasonable and civil that the first part should be addressed to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and the last part to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster).

Major DICKSON asked the Government whether they had any prospect of bringing Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Brennan, the late Secretary of the Land League, to justice; and whether the Government had any further information in connection with the Land League and the assassinations in Ireland?

Mr. GOSCHEN was about to interpose, when——

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT (interrupting) said: Perhaps my right hon. Friend will allow me to reply. I happen to be the person responsible in this matter, and I must make an appeal to the House to support me in declining to answer these Questions. If any hon. Gentlemen think that the Government are not anxiously desirous to put the law in force in every possible way against these culprits, I think they ought to take some means of expressing their opinion. If they do not, I must ask the House not to practically aid in defeating the ends of justice by these Questions.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—CETYWAYO.

Mr. DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received any corroboration of the intelligence telegraphed from Durban to the "Times" last week, to the effect that Cetywayo has "eaten up" all the crops of Umfanabendhlela, one of the deposed chieftains who was opposed to his restoration; and, whether he has heard of any intention being expressed by Cetywayo of sending a deputation to England to claim back Dunnsland?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that no confirmation of the report referred to had been received, and if it were true he thought the Government would have heard of it.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—SLAVERY ON THE NIGER.

Mr. DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have taken, or intend to take, any steps to prove or disprove the truth of the statement made by an arrested slave dealer to a superintendent of police in the Gold Coast Constabulary, and published in the official Correspondence, relating to a horrible murder committed on the West Coast of Africa, according to which statement it is the custom of missionaries, as well as the invariable custom of other British subjects on the Niger, to purchase and employ slaves, and, in many cases, to so cruelly illtreat them as to call forth the remonstrances even of the slave dealers; and, whether, having regard to the aforesaid atrocious murder, and to the Report of the Commissioner as to the impunity with which such outrages are at present committed, the Government will take steps for the emancipation of slaves owned by British subjects, and for the better protection of the natives, as well as for the more certain detection and more adequate punishment of such crimes?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that these Questions ought to be addressed to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, because the districts on the Niger, where the events referred to took place, were entirely outside of British jurisdiction. No doubt it was true that certain British subjects in the outlying districts of the Niger had been in the habit of purchasing and employing slaves; but whenever evidence to that effect had been produced, and they had been brought within British jurisdiction, they had been prosecuted and punished. As for taking steps for emancipating slaves held by British subjects, of course, directly slaves came within the British territory they were *ipso facto* free; but the British Government had no authority to advance upon territory where they had no jurisdiction. An Order in Council was under consideration to enable the British Consul on the West Coast of Africa more efficiently to punish persons guilty of these crimes. As soon as the Order in Council was passed it would be laid on the Table.

THE EGYPTIAN WAR—DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENSES, &c.

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to charge any part of the Egyptian War expenses on the Revenues of India; and, if so, what part?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I may say, in reply to the Question of the hon. Member, that as soon as the Committee of Supply is set up, the Supplementary Estimates will be presented to the House by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who will take the earliest opportunity of making a statement to the House on the subject of the war in Egypt; and, as these Estimates will fully explain the intentions of the Government with regard to the Indian expenditure, I think it will be better not to anticipate that statement.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether a large amount of Military and other Stores, amounting to nearly £2,000,000, and provided by the late Government out of the Vote of Six Millions, were consumed in the late Egyptian Campaign, and not included in the £4,500,000 estimated cost of the Military operations?

MR. BRAND: This Question was referred to the War Office this morning, and I have not had time to make full inquiries. But I may say that the military stores required to replace those consumed in the Egyptian campaign have been provided for out of the Supplementary Estimates.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether the Government would declare the total amount of stores consumed in the Egyptian campaign?

MR. BRAND: Will the hon. Gentleman give me Notice of that Question?

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ASSISTANT LAND COMMISSIONERS.

MR. M'COAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state the grounds on which the twenty-seven Assistant Land Commissioners recently appointed were selected, by whom they were recommended, and whether the choice made was to any, and what, extent influenced by the Chief Commissioner?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to select from among the candidates for Assistant Land Commissionerships those whose practical knowledge and experience of farming would enable them to act skilfully in the difficult cases brought before them, and whose integrity of purpose and impartiality would make their decisions respected by all parties coming before them. ["Oh!"] Well, that is what the Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to do; hon. Members may not think he has succeeded. The Land Commissioners, among other persons, were consulted as to the qualifications of the candidates; but the appointments were made solely by the Viceroy.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND).

Mr. BLAKE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of the Government to insert in this year's Estimates a sum in aid of the formation of fishery piers and harbours on the Irish Coast?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, next year's Estimates for New Piers and Harbours in Ireland will amount to £13,000, and of this, £4,000 will be available for those minor works in which, I believe, the hon. Member is specially interested.

Mr. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he intends introducing a measure during the present Session to add to that portion of the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund employed for advancing loans to sea coast fishermen the sum in the hands of the "Trustees to aid the Sea and Coast Fisheries of Ireland?"

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, it has been agreed between the Irish Government and the Trustees to aid Sea and Coast Fisheries in Ireland that the fund in the hands of the Trustees should be transferred to the Government, to be applied for loans for fishery purposes in like manner as the Reproductive Loan Fund is applied. It is not, however, proposed to merge the two funds into one; on the contrary, it is intended to apply the Sea and Coast Fisheries Fund for the use of the maritime counties which are excluded from the benefit of the Reproductive Loan Fund. A draft Bill is at present under consideration at the Treasury, and will be proceeded with in due time.

POST OFFICE—DUBLIN MAIL PACKETS.

Mr. O'SHEA asked the Acting Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been attracted to the report of a statement make last week by the Chairman of the London and North Western Railway Company, to the effect that his Board had ordered the construction of two steamers similar to those at present plying between the North Wall, Dublin, and Holyhead; and, if so, whether the conditions of the new postal contract will allow the London and North Western Railway Company to impose on passengers the discomfort of conveyance in packets of a type inferior to those now in the service of the City of Dublin Company?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, I have reason to know that the London and North-Western Railway, on the announcement that their tender for the conveyance of mails between Dublin and Holyhead had been accepted, gave orders for the construction of two vessels of greater length in beam and speed than the two best of their North Wall steamers, and all four of their vessels on that line are believed to be equal to the conditions of the proposed postal contract. There is no reason to suppose that the conditions under which the Company will conduct their passenger service will be inferior to the present service.

THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—STANDING COMMITTEES.

Mr. RAIKES asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can state what steps Her Majesty's Government will recommend this House to take in order to give effect to the Standing Order of last Session relating to the institution of Grand Committees?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am glad to say that the Standing Orders of last Session did not throw upon the Government the duty and responsibility of giving effect to the provisions relating to the institution of Grand Committees. All that the Government can do in the matter appears to be to endeavour to obtain the sanction of the House, as early as possible, to the second reading of the Bills of the class which the Standing Orders of last Session provide shall be referred to the Grand Committees. The right hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) has given Notice to-day that on Thursday he will move the appointment of the Committee of Selection. I need not remind the House that that is a duty which has always been discharged by an independent Member, and has never been undertaken or interfered with in any way by the Government. I think, under present circumstances, it is still desirable that it should remain altogether outside the influence of the Government. I may, perhaps, add to this statement, that I was quite ready to answer the Question of the right hon. Gentleman yesterday, but for a misapprehension as to the form of the inquiry. I was aware that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford had given Notice that to-day he would move for the appointment of the Committee of Selection; but not observing it on the Notice Paper, and seeing that it had apparently disappeared from among the Notices, I thought that some change had taken place in his intention with regard to the matter. But I subsequently found that it is not usual for Motions relating to Private Business to appear daily in the Votes, and I thought it would be more convenient that the House should have full Notice of the time at which the right hon. Gentleman intended to make the Motion. I now understand that the right hon. Gentleman intends to make it at the time of Private Business on Thursday next.

MR. RAIKES: Are the Government really not prepared to frame any Regulations for the procedure of these Standing or Grand Committees, and to lay such Regulations before the House?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Are the Government prepared to accede to the suggestion that there should be an increase in the number of Members of the Committee of Selection?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am not under the impression that the Government ever undertook the responsibility of framing Rules of Procedure for the Standing Committees. I believe it has been always understood that that will be the duty of the Standing Committees themselves. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), I think it would be premature to anticipate the judgment of the House, because, as I have already stated, it is the desire of the Government to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the House, and to interfere as little as possible in it.

MR. RAIKES: I beg leave to put a Question to the Speaker on the subject. I wish to know whether, Sir, you can advise the House whether it would be competent for the Standing Committees to frame Regulations for their own procedure, seeing that they might in some respects conflict with each other, and might also be contrary to the general practice of the House?

MR. SPEAKER: If the right hon. Gentleman will refer to the Standing Order No. 223, he will see it is there stated that—

> "The procedure in such Committees"—that is, Standing Committees—"shall be the same as in Select Committees, unless the House shall otherwise order."

MR. RAIKES: That being so, I again venture to appeal to the noble Lord, and to ask him if he thinks it is desirable to leave it to a private Member of the House to obtain from the House sanction for any Regulations for the procedure of these Grand Committees, or whether the Government ought not to take the responsibility of recommending such Regulations to the House?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The fact is that I did not apprehend precisely the point which the right hon. Gentleman desired to address to me, and I think he had better give me Notice of any further Question.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

ADJOURNED DEBATE. [FOURTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [15th February]—[See page 98.]

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. GORST, in rising to move the following Amendment:—In paragraph 10, line 4, to leave out from the word "upheld" to the end of the paragraph, in order to insert the words—

> "And we venture to express our earnest hope that the change of policy which has produced these results will be maintained, and that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's Rule, by concessions to lawless agitation; and that the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country will continue to be met by unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive,"

said, he hoped Her Majesty's Government would receive this Amendment in the same friendly spirit in which it had been conceived. Captious critics might say that the expression as to a change of policy implied some censure on the past conduct of the Government; but they had passed the severest censure on their own policy by the sudden and abrupt change which that policy underwent immediately after the murders in the Phœnix Park; and the expressions in his Amendment were less strong than the language of the Chief Secretary with regard to his former Colleagues. It might be said that the confidence expressed in his Amendment was tempered by a certain amount of anxiety as to the future conduct of the Government; but when they looked at the revelations which had recently taken place in the Kilmainham Court House, and saw the kind of associates the Government were at one time prepared to take into their confidence, in order to procure the pacification of Ireland, the House would admit that a little anxiety on the subject was not altogether misplaced. About Easter of last year the state of Ireland was in a position in which it was impossible to be left any longer. Agrarian outrages were proved to have increased not only in number, but also in atrocity; there were hardly any of the perpetrators whom the representatives of the law succeeded in bringing before a Court of Justice, and of those who had been brought before a Court of Justice there was scarcely one against whom a conviction had been obtained. The general terms in which the Chief Secretary had addressed his constituents in Scotland shortly before the re-assembling of Parliament had been referred to the other day by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who asked for an explanation, which had not yet been given, of the right hon. Gentleman's account of the disorganized state in which he and Lord Spencer found Ireland when they went there last year. They were as follows:—

> "When we went to Ireland in last May we found society profoundly disorganized; we found the best elements in it depressed and the worst triumphant; and how should it be otherwise when, instead of the law being a terror to evil-doers, evil-doers were a terror to all well-conducted persons?"

He would quote the specific words in his speech—

> "There is no country in the world which would not go from bad to worse so long as crime remained unpunished in proportion as it was disgraceful; and that was the case in Ireland. There were 17 agrarian murders in 1881, and no convictions; and during the first six months of 1882 there were 18, besides the massacre of the Joyce family, and there was no one punished; and no one would be punished under the old system if his guilt were as clear as the day."

He thought no language that had ever been used in that House, on that (the Opposition) side of the House, nor the language used in the Amendment now before them, was anything like the condemnation of the Government's policy before the change in question that was conveyed in the words used by the present Chief Secretary in that address to his constituents. When the Government came to see at Easter last that things could not go on as they were then doing in Ireland, that some new departure would have to be made in Irish policy, there were two distinct alternative policies before them—first, the policy of attempting by additional legislation to strengthen the law so as to procure convictions. That was the policy which they had reason to believe was enforced upon his Colleagues by the late Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E. Forster). There was, however, a second alternative policy, which, unfortunately, for a time found favour with a majority of the Cabinet—the policy of employing those people who had been instrumental in the getting up of outrages in the task of putting them down. That was the policy which it was generally believed had been enforced upon the Cabinet by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain). A difference of opinion soon made itself apparent in the conduct of public affairs. The hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) began his negotiations with the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade on the 8th of April; and by the 28th of April, a short while after the re-assembling after the Easter Recess, the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen) put a Question to the Government as to whether they were prepared to release the "suspects." The then Chief Secretary stated that, if allowed to answer the Question, his answer would have been that there were three conditions upon the occurrence of any one of which he would be prepared to release the "suspects"—first, that Ireland should be quiet; second, that there should be a Bill carried strengthening the power of the law; and, third, that there should be an assurance given to Her Majesty's Government by the "suspects" in Kilmainham Gaol that they would not break the law. The Chief Secretary had the imprudence to communicate the substance of that answer to the hon. Member for Clare, and it found its way to the Prime Minister, who disapproved it. The 2nd of May came, and, instead of the answer being given by the Chief Secretary, it was given by the Prime Minister himself, for the reason that his Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary had resigned. The Prime Minister then stated to the House the second of the two policies which the Government might have pursued. He told the House that the "suspects" were released; that the Government did not intend to renew the Peace Preservation Act; and that all they intended was to bring in a Bill to strengthen the ordinary law in the administration of justice, which measure was to be postponed until the Rules of Procedure were passed. He was happy to say the right hon. Member for Bradford gave the hon. Member for Clare the answer which he thought should be given to the Question whether the Government would release the "suspects" or not. The right hon. Member for Bradford, on May 15 in the last Session, gave the following account of the transaction:—

> "I told him I thought we could release the 'suspects' whenever Ireland became quiet; or when the Government got a fresh Bill passed; or obtained from them without any conditions whatever an assurance that they would not break the law. . . . I did not ask them to assist in keeping the law, but simply not to break it. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister did not approve of my giving that answer, and the consequence was that the Question was not answered by me, but by him."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 789.)

On the 4th of May the late Chief Secretary was able to state to the House the reasons that had induced him to resign, and those reasons were that the Government had adopted the policy of the President of the Board of Trade—the policy of releasing the "suspects" and postponing further legislation for strengthening the law in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman gave his reasons on that occasion in the reverse order to that in which he had previously given them. He said there had been a hope held out in that House that if the Government settled the question of the arrears upon a certain basis, then the Party below the Gangway would cease to obstruct the law. He thought that the House was now in possession of a well-defined contrast between the two policies which had been conflicting in the Cabinet for some little time, and in which that of releasing the "suspects" and delaying an alteration in the law had, unfortunately, gained the upper hand. The right hon. Gentleman also implied that the support of the Home Rule Party had been purchased, because he said—

> "The price paid will be a weakening of the powers of Government, not of this Government merely, but of any Government, to perform its first duty of giving protection to life, liberty, and property, and doing it without any arrangements with those who threaten to defy the law."—(*Ibid.* 116.)

The attitude taken by the Prime Minister upon this matter he had never been able to understand. He knew that, somehow or other, the support of the "suspects" in using their influence for the re-establishment of law and order was acquired; he knew from the language of the right hon. Member for Bradford that it was acquired by purchase, and that a price was paid for it, and he had always supposed that the price was the Arrears Bill. But he knew, also, that the Prime Minister had never liked to have the matter discussed in that way. He (Mr. Gorst) had, therefore, avoided, in speaking in the right hon. Gentleman's presence, the use of the word "Treaty," and in the right hon. Gentleman's absence now he would not use that word. His belief was that the Prime Minister, on the occasion when these arrangements were made and this price was paid, was in reality a dupe; and that there existed at that time a sort of "inner circle" within the Cabinet, very much in the same way that the "inner circle" of the "Invincibles" existed in the Land League. And he believed, too, that the "inner circle" of the Cabinet had also its "Number 1." He was willing to believe, until the contrary was proved, that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), who was the head of the Land League, was ignorant of the designs and machinations of the "inner circle" of the "Invincibles;" and until the contrary was proved he was willing also to believe that the Prime Minister was equally ignorant and equally innocent of the machinations of the "inner circle" of his Cabinet. It was a remarkable coincidence that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was the primary object of both these organizations. One organization aimed at his physical assassination, and by the providence of God he escaped their wiles; the other organization aimed at his political assassination; and both of them were so far successful as to drive him by their action out of the Cabinet. He hoped, however, that his political reputation had not suffered. If there could be a doubt or a difference of opinion as to the mode in which the support upon which the Government relied had been obtained, there could be no difference of opinion, and there could be no doubt, as to the character of that support itself. The late Chief Secretary placed before his Colleagues a Memorandum on the 30th of April, two days before his resignation, in which he said that the substance of what was promised by the hon. Member for the City of Cork was that the conspiracy which had been used to get up "Boycotting" and outrages would be now used to put them down. He also gave his Colleagues the most distinct advice as to the character of Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Sheridan was brought forward as an illustration of the kind of assistance which the hon. Member for the City of Cork would be able to give to Her Majesty's Government. What the hon. Member was to do was to secure the assistance of Mr. Sheridan. The Cabinet were warned what the character of Mr. Sheridan was. This was the language of the Memorandum—

> "This man Sheridan is a released suspect, against whom we have for some time had a fresh warrant, and who under disguises has hitherto eluded the police, coming backwards and forwards from Egan to the outrage-mongers in the West. I did not feel myself sufficiently master of the situation to tell him (Mr. O'Shea) what I thought of this confidence; but I could not do more than tell others what he had told me."

Those were the people who perpetrated the Lough Mask murders and exterminated the Joyce family at Maamtrasna. The Chief Secretary on the 15th of May said—

> "It gave me a sort of insight into what had been happening which I did not possess before —that a man, whom I knew, so far as I had any possibility of knowing, was engaged in these outrages, was so far under the influence of the Member for the City of Cork that, upon his release, he would get the assistance of that man to put down the very state of things which he had been promoting."—(*Ibid.* 791.)

Such was the effect produced upon the Chief Secretary by the mention of this man Sheridan as a person who was to give his support to the Government and that they were going to receive his assistance that he said—

> "I was very sorry I had had anything to do with the matter, and I determined that from that moment I would have nothing more to do with it."

Again, he (Mr. Gorst) was willing to believe that the hon. Member for the City of Cork was the dupe of Mr. Sheridan. The country and the House of Commons were listening with some anxiety for the explanation which the hon. Member might think fit to give. Until he heard that explanation, or until the hon. Member refused or neglected to make any disclaimer, he was ready and willing to believe that he was the dupe of this man Sheridan and did know his true character. But the House and the country had a right to a disclaimer and an explanation from another person besides the hon. Member for the City of Cork—he meant the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, who had accepted the assistance of this man Sheridan, the assassin of his Colleague. In his usual exaggerated and random way the Home Secretary said that he accepted assistance from everybody in the cause of law and order in Ireland. "What even of Mr. Sheridan?" said someone, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman replied at once—"Yes; I know nothing of Mr. Sheridan." There he had exposed to the House his inaccuracy, because a fortnight before he had had the Memorandum from his Colleague the Member for Bradford, telling him all about Mr. Sheridan. "I know nothing about Mr. Sheridan," he said, "I have not heard of him in my life." There he wrote himself down "incompetent Home Secretary," for Mr. Sheridan had been going about in disguises between England and Ireland, and a warrant was out against him in the hands of the police, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman ought to have known as much about such a matter in England as the Chief Secretary did in Ireland. And then the right hon. and learned Gentleman further said—

> "If he is likely, whoever he may be, to be found ranging himself on the side of peace in Ireland, I am very glad to hear of him—I am very glad to hear of any man who has taken any part—whatever part it may have been."

—even in the attempt to assassinate his Colleague—

"In causing disturbance and disorder in Ireland, that he is ready to take part on the side of peace and order."—(*Ibid.* 855.)

He was quite willing to extend to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the same charity that he had shown to the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and to believe that he did not then know what he knew now. Now, the Home Secretary knew that Sheridan visited the "Invincibles," in Dublin disguised as a priest, and calling himself "Father Murphy;" and he knew now that he had been out in the Phœnix Park looking for Mr. Forster in order to make his acquaintance.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I am sorry to interrupt the hon. and learned Member, but perhaps it will come from me rather better than from anyone else. When he states that my right hon. and learned Friend knows these things, although they have been stated in Court, there is no proof of them, and we only have our own idea as to their truth.

MR. GORST observed, that when a witness was called for the Crown in a Court of Justice the Advisers of the Crown must believe the evidence he was going to give. It was open to the Home Secretary to make inquiries and to inform himself whether Mr. Sheridan was present with the "Invincibles" in Dublin disguised as a priest, and to inform himself whether he was out in the Phœnix Park looking for Mr. Forster in order to make his acquaintance, and whether he said that he would see about sending arms to the "Invincibles" when he got back to England, and whether he made preparations in the country for the "removal" of Mr. Clifford Lloyd and others. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman found that that was the part taken by Mr. Sheridan in the affairs of Ireland, let him say that if he had known it on the 15th or 16th of May, when he made his speech in the House and insisted on welcoming Mr. Sheridan, he would have repudiated him with indignation. The policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had been rejected by the Cabinet, and the policy of releasing the "suspects," who had got up outrage and disorder, deliberately accepted. He should like to call the attention of the House to this—that in the dreadful crime which was committed in the Phœnix Park there was nothing new. It was true that the victims were more illustrious than any who had previously fallen in Ireland; both were known and respected by large numbers in this House, and one of them—Lord Frederick Cavendish—was, he might say, beloved by everyone in the House. That was why they were so much more horrified by the murders in the Park than by any which had previously occurred in the recent history of Ireland; but there were humbler men who had lost their lives in precisely the same way, and from precisely the same causes; and the death of those humbler men ought to have produced as great an impression on those who were responsible for the government of Ireland as that of the victims of the Phœnix Park murders. He would remind the House of the murder of the Huddys, and of Martin Rogers on the 3rd of December, 1881—a poor feeble lad with only one arm, whose helplessness, as the Judge said, ought to have been his protection. He had come down from Dublin to serve writs, and he was battered to death with stones by five men in the presence of a large number of people, not one of whom interfered to save the poor lad, and only one of whom ventured to give information to the police. This humble lad lost his life in the same way, and from precisely the same causes, as Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish; and in the sight of God his life was as precious as theirs, and his blood should cry to the Government with as much force as theirs. However, the effect of the tragedy that took place on the 6th of May was that on the 8th of May the Government abruptly, suddenly, and completely changed their Irish policy. They abandoned that of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, which they had previously adopted, and they took up that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, which they had previously denounced. Instead of postponing any measures for strengthening the law in Ireland, as they had determined to do, until after the Procedure Resolutions had been adopted, they immediately brought in a Bill unexampled in its severity in the whole history of the country—a Bill far more severe than that of the right hon. Member for Bradford—and they passed it into law. It was that determination on the part of the Government to enforce the administration of the law and to punish offenders which had led to the improvement in the social condition of Ireland that was referred to in Her Majesty's gracious Speech; that was the reason why agrarian crime had sensibly diminished, and why the law everywhere had been upheld. It was for the continuance of that firm determination to maintain the law, and to trust to its maintenance for the pacification of the country, instead of to the assistance of agitators and the disaffected, that he proposed his Amendment. Now, he observed that whenever Liberal Ministers addressed themselves to the discussion of the state of Ireland they seemed to regard agrarian outrages as a kind of disease or plague which ensued from no causes whatever, and for which there was no remedy, the fact being that an increase of agrarian outrage in Ireland invariably accompanied the advent of a Liberal Ministry to power. The same phenomenon had been repeated over and over again. There were inflammatory speeches, there were concessions to lawless agitation. There were measures passed which the Government called remedial measures, and all the time the number of agrarian outrages had increased week by week, month by month. Then came the reaction, and next followed coercive Acts for the repression of outrage, more severe than had ever been adopted before. The late Mr. Butt, as long ago as 1871, exactly described the Liberal theory of Irish government by the Liberal Ministry. Addressing a meeting at Glasgow on the 14th of November, 1871, he said—

> "If we have any grievance to bring before the English Ministry," he ought to have said Liberal Ministry, "and Parliament, we are actually to get up another insurrection in order to get justice. This is the lesson we are taught. A few years more and some other grievance will arise. Are we again to awaken the slumbering friendship of Mr. Gladstone, or some future Gladstone, by a second insurrection?"

In the years 1866, 1867, and 1868, which were years of a Conservative Administration, the number of agrarian crimes in Ireland was 87, 123, and 160 respectively. In 1869, the first year of the Liberal Administration, the numbers sprung up to 767; and in January and February of 1870 the numbers were 267, and 271, each month being considerably in excess of either of the years of the Conservative Administration. In 1870 the Peace Preservation Act was brought in, and it was succeeded by the Protection of Life and Property Act in 1871, and those Acts remained in force until the end of the Conservative Government. In 1880 precisely the same phenomenon was repeated from precisely the same causes. In January, 1881, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford came to the House and gave a most extraordinary account of the increase in agrarian crime. He said that, exclusive of threatening letters, 719 crimes, out of a total of 1,253 for the entire year, occurred in the three months of October, November, and December, 1880—that was to say, that two-thirds of the total agrarian outrages occurred in the last quarter of the year, and 58 per cent of those were exclusive of threatening letters. And he observed that the outrages in December had been as numerous as those in the months of October and November preceding. There, again, they had a Liberal Government pursuing its old policy. Then came the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, the Land Bill, and the Arrears Bill until the same result followed. The state of Ireland became intolerable, and then the Government came down to the House and again brought forward coercive measures, those of 1881 and 1882, the strongest yet applied to the country. Why, the Government talked of agrarian outrages in Ireland as if they were entirely unconnected with their policy. There had been two occasions in the memory of everyone then present in which the advent of a Liberal Administration to power had been followed immediately by increase of outrage, consequent on the measures that had been passed and the remedial legislation that had been promised. He did not believe that any persons in any position, except noblemen and gentlemen of high connection and official position, could have possibly survived two disastrous failures. He believed that any professional man who had given such signal proofs of his incompetency would be ruined for life; that if a village cow doctor had made errors in the treatment of a virulent disease calling for such painful and drastic measures he would be hunted out of the place by an indignant populace. He believed it was only those who possessed the commanding positions of the Heads of the great Liberal Party, who could twice excite the worst passions of the Irish people by profligate promises and unequal legislation, and could then repress the people whom they had themselves stimulated into pacification by coercive measures, which were a disgrace to our reputation as a free people. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In paragraph 10, line 4, to leave out from the word "upheld," to the end of the paragraph, in order to insert the words "and we venture to express our earnest hope that the change of policy which has produced these results will be maintained, and that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's Rule, by concessions to lawless agitation; and that the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country will continue to be met by unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive,"—(*Mr. Gorst,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Although it is my duty to follow the hon. and learned Gentleman, I can assure the House—and, as we are speaking here to a larger audience even than this House, I can assure the country—that in dealing with these grave matters I will not endeavour to imitate the spirit or the tone of the speech which we have just heard. I do not pretend to be a judge of matters of taste; but there are some things which are even higher than matters of taste. I should have thought that a man who claims to be a member of the English Bar would have known that he had no right in a speech to found himself upon the evidence in a trial which is not concluded. That is a thing which, not only by the Office I hold, but by the Profession to which I am proud to belong, I feel myself absolutely precluded from entering upon. [*Laughter.*] Yes; that is a lesson which the hon. and learned Gentleman should also learn. As to matters of taste, it is proverbial that these are not to be disputed upon. And whether it is becoming the dignity of this Assembly that one of its Members should compare the Government of the Queen—charged, as they are, at this time with responsibilities, the burden of which many can understand—that he should compare them to a band of assassins, that I must leave to the taste and judgment, not only of the House of Commons, but of any society of English gentlemen. As for what the hon. and learned Gentleman has been pleased to say of myself personally, I can assure him it is one of the smallest of the burdens I have to bear, though those burdens are not light. The hon. and learned Gentleman thought fit to charge me with having deliberately, and with knowledge, accepted as an associate a man who I knew was engaged in attempts to assassinate one of my Colleagues. [MR. GORST: No.] My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford, with an indignation which is natural to his warm and generous heart, gave himself the unnecessary trouble to get up and repudiate such an aspersion as that. I do not care to waste the time of the House by defending myself against charges of that description. [MR. GORST: I never made them.] It does so happen that both last year and the year before, from accidental circumstances, the charge of two Irish Bills fell into my hands; and the House is as well able to judge as I am whether the course that I have pursued in these matters deserves the imputations that have been cast upon it by the hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. and learned Gentleman has been pleased to say that I am an incompetent Home Secretary. Well, I am afraid that is the nearest approach to accuracy and truth made by him in his whole speech. It is a very grave misfortune to the country at this moment to have an incompetent Home Secretary. But I think the hon. and learned Gentleman should have drawn the proper conclusion from his statement, and have brought forward a Motion for the removal from the Councils of the Queen of a Home Secretary whom he declares to be incompetent. I pass now from the taunts of the hon. and learned Gentleman, which are not, I think, worthy of my attention, or the attention of the House, to something more deserving to occupy our time. The hon. and learned Gentleman, with that accuracy which characterizes him, says that this Motion is a Motion intended to be friendly to the Government. I think that struck the note of the character of his speech. He approves the recent policy of the Government, since May 8, but condemns all their policy before that date, and then stands forth as the champion of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. That is the most remarkable inconsistency I ever knew. He stated at the end of his speech that any professional man would deserve to be dismissed for incompetence under whose hands the condition of Ireland became what it was before last Easter. Now, to whom does he address this remark? [An hon. MEMBER: To the Government.] Yes, certainly. The hon. and learned Gentleman says all the faults we committed resulted from our not following the advice of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford; although up to last April his was the advice that we followed. ["No, no!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite say "No, no!" but they know better. That is because, I suppose, they accept the hon. and learned Gentleman's account of those Cabinet secrets with which he is so well acquainted. There have been times, it appears, when we were very much exercised upon the subject. Cabinet secrets have got out, and really the acquaintance which the hon. and learned Gentleman professes as to what goes on in the Cabinet leads me to think, somehow or other, that the hon. and learned Member must possess a Cabinet key. He has given us an account of what goes on in the interior of the Cabinet. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In the inner circle.] Yes; in the inner circle. I am glad to see the good taste of the noble Lord, whom, I am bound to say, so far from receiving any assistance in those measures for restoring peace to Ireland, we always found our strongest and most constant opponent. In 1881, when my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford brought in his Bill for protecting life and property in Ireland — [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I offered my support to the Government.] Very much like the support of the hon. and learned Member opposite, and in the same spirit. In 1881 the noble Lord said — "Do not let us have any of this severe legislation;" and on the second reading of the Bill he said — "Do not let it be retrospective, and let it expire in April, 1882," by which means the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends would have been released earlier than was actually the case. It fell to my lot afterwards to introduce the Peace Preservation Bill in Ireland, and my most constant, vehement, and effective opponent was the noble Lord. And when that Bill, which was intended to restore peace and tranquillity, was proposed for a third reading, the noble Lord said that he was there "to give it a parting kick." That was the sort of assistance we received in our endeavour to restore peace and tranquillity in Ireland. And it is from those Gentlemen these taunts come and by whom these attacks are made. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that there was a change of policy. He approves the present conduct of the Government and disapproves of what it was under the administration of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. We, of course, are responsible for both policies. One is my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford, who was responsible for the policy up to last April, and is not responsible for it since, and the other is my right hon. Friend the present Chief Secretary, who is not responsible for the policy before last April, and is responsible for the present policy. But as regards the rest of the Government we are responsible for both policies, and we have no desire to dissociate ourselves from that responsibility. I wish that to be clearly understood. There was one other thing that was true in the hon. and learned Gentleman's speech besides his remark as to my incompetence, and that was his observation that the state of Ireland in last April was such that it could not be allowed to continue. That I believe to be true; and it was in that belief that we found it absolutely necessary to proceed on lines different from those which we had followed up to that time. The measures taken before April to stop crime in Ireland had, I admit, failed. That I frankly and entirely admit. It is too notorious to admit of a moment's doubt on the subject. Whatever was the cause of the failure of the law, I accept the responsibility of the Government for it altogether. There were two causes of failure under the system that had been pursued up to last April. The first was an administrative failure, the other was a legislative failure. The administrative cause of failure was the deficient organization of the Irish police; and all the circumstances which have since come to our knowledge convince us that that was one of the main reasons why we could not effectually stop crime. The responsibility for that deficiency, if accepted by the Government, must equally be shared by the preceding Government. When we remember the accounts given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), and by Lord Beaconsfield, of the condition of Ireland when they left Office, we may think it a very serious administrative misfortune that the organization of the Irish police should have been as defective as it was. Both Governments may, I think, accept the responsibility for not putting that Force earlier on a proper footing. If you call that a change of policy, I give the hon. and learned Member the benefit of it. What Lord Spencer has been able to do, what my right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) has been able to do, in the suppression of crime in Ireland, has been aided by the services of a man who deserves the recognition of this House and the gratitude of the country—Mr. Jenkinson, the head of the Criminal Department in Ireland. It horrifies one to think what the condition of the police in Ireland must have been when armed gangs of 15 or 20 men could go about with impunity in the presence of the police. That was the reason why up to April the repression of crime was not so efficient as it ought to have been. I will now pass to the second reason, which was that, when it was obvious that measures must be taken to repress crime, the most appropriate method of legislation was not adopted. If you like to blame us for that, we must be blamed; but the blame must be shared by the whole House, for nobody proposed any other remedy. It was assumed, in fact, that the Protection of Person and Property Bill was an appropriate remedy, and that if we only had the summary power of arrest it would be sufficient to put down crime. My right hon. Friend who had charge of that measure said—" We can discover the persons who commit these crimes—these village ruffians; we know them; we can put them in prison; we can put down crime." That turned out not to be so. The men were shut up; more men were shut up time after time; yet crime went on increasing. It was never suggested—nor did it occur to anybody—that that measure would have failed so completely as it did in suppressing crime. The consequence was that the shutting up of these people did not sensibly diminish crime. On the contrary, the more people were shut up, the more crime increased. But from what quarter did the first proposal to release the "suspects" come? If I am not mistaken, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay) was the first to put down on the Paper a Motion for the release of the "suspects." [Sir JOHN HAY: And to suspend Jury trial.] That was his proposal. It shows that, in his opinion, the method adopted was one not calculated to succeed. Well, Sir, was my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford of a different opinion? Not at all. He thought that a different legislative method must be adopted. It was one of his own conditions. We all thought so. We all thought there was no chance of suppressing this crime, or dealing with it successfully by the Act as it then existed. We were all agreed about it. Talk of Parties in the Cabinet! The Bill was all prepared. I do not say it was exactly. [*Ironical cheers.*] I hope I have done nothing in this House to disentitle me to its credit. The Bill was substantially the one which I had the duty of conducting through this House, though it was different in some material particulars. [*Ironical cheers.*] If hon. Gentlemen will have the patience to wait till I have done, I will tell them to the best of my recollection what they were. I think the Alien Clauses and the Search Clauses were increased in severity; but, generally speaking, it would be an accurate statement to say that before the resignation of my right hon. Friend, and before the murders in the Phœnix Park, the Government had resolved that they must try a different method of procedure. There was nothing to condemn, I think, in that. We had tried one experiment, with the general concurrence of the House. It did not succeed, and the Government thought proper to try another experiment, which has very well answered the expectations of those who are responsible for it. Then, as I expected, we have had the old story of the "Kilmainham compact;" and though the Resolution does not say a word about it, I knew as soon as I saw it on the Paper that its only object was to bring out the "Kilmainham compact." I have nothing new to say on this subject. There is nothing new to say about it. What we always have stated is this—that, in our opinion, we have no right to keep a "suspect" in prison if we have reason to be satisfied that when let out of prison he would not be dangerous, but safe. That principle was acted upon not only in reference to Members of Parliament, but to other persons—those very men who, like Sheridan, had been in custody. My right hon. Friend let Sheridan out. Why did he do so? Because he had reason to believe that he was safe. [Mr. W. E. FORSTER dissented.] Afterwards there was a warrant out against him. The hon. and learned Gentleman has found fault with me for not taking measures for his arrest. Why am I supposed to know anything about it? The hon. and learned Gentleman says, because there was a warrant out against Sheridan. But the warrant did not run in England. It was a warrant under the Peace Preservation Act, and could only be executed in Ireland. And this is the lawyer who comes forward to give me elementary lessons in my duties. I should have thought the hon. and learned Gentleman would have been ashamed to make such an elementary blunder. Now, Sir, I have no doubt my right hon. Friend arrested Sheridan because he thought he was dangerous, and he let him out because he thought he was safe. Afterwards, when something else made him think he was dangerous, he issued a warrant to arrest him again. All that I knew about him was that he had been mentioned upon this occasion with reference to the release of the "suspects." All I can say is that Mr. Sheridan's name played a very small part in the transaction referred to. I had my right hon. Friend's concurrence in the entire accuracy of the statement I made at the time. We had no right to keep men in prison if we had assurances of their good conduct if we let them out. My right hon. Friend was of that opinion also. I believe hon. Gentlemen opposite said it was scandalous and disgraceful that we should hold any communication with those men in prison. Certainly they will not have any support for that statement from my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. Talk of there being two parties in the Cabinet! The moment that it was communicated to the Government that these men were willing to give assurances that the law should not be broken in future, we were all entirely agreed. If they would give right, proper, and sufficient assurances we were agreed that they should be let out of prison. The right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire said we made secret communications behind the back of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford at Kilmainham, and I am sorry to say he has never had the grace to apologize for that statement, in spite of the denial of my right hon. Friend, who said it was untrue. [Mr. J. LOWTHER: How does he know?] How do you know? The statement is absolutely untrue. And I say that upon the honour of a gentleman who is as honourable as himself. It is a remark for which he ought to apologize. He should take the course he ought to take. Sir, there was no communication made to the prisoners in Kilmainham except with the full knowledge, aye, and under the actual direction, of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. [Mr. O'SHEA: Hear, hear!] Who was it that gave leave to my hon. Friend the Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) to go there and communicate with the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell)? Why, my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford, of course. Why did my right hon. Friend give that leave? For the purpose of ascertaining whether the assurances were satisfactory or not. We are charged with having conspired with bands of assassins to destroy the political reputation of my right hon. Friend. There is one man in this House who, I know, will repudiate such a charge as that with greater indignation than any other man, and that is my right hon. Friend himself. He knows that we acted together as loyal friends and Colleagues, and he will tell you that every man amongst us believed so. In the House, when another Member of the Fourth Party got up and charged us with infamy and with misconduct on the 16th May, my right hon. Friend said—

> "It was, no doubt, an honest difference of opinion between me and my late Colleagues; and I do not think that such a difference of opinion is, in the slightest degree, open to the strong charges made, and which I must be allowed to

say are not so much calculated to do good in Ireland as they are to be of some advantage to Party contests here."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 867.)

That is the language of an English Gentleman and of an English statesman; very different from the language of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. I ask, what was the difference—the unfortunate difference—which took place between ourselves and my right hon. Friend? There is no question about it. I have stated it in this House before, and my right hon. Friend has accepted the accuracy of my statement. On the 4th of May he gave his reasons for his resignation. He gave them—as he was sure to do—with the most scrupulous accuracy and entire respect for himself and his Colleagues. He stated that, in his opinion, the "suspects" might have been safely released on one or other of three conditions. I do not know whether the hon. and learned Member for Chatham adopted the later statement, made on the 15th of May; but I am taking the earlier one. The first condition was a public promise on the part of the "suspects"; the second was quiet in Ireland; the third, fresh powers to the Government. Quiet in Ireland was, unfortunately, a condition which it was vain to hope for. The other conditions were a public promise and fresh powers to the Government. As to the third condition there never was any question. The public promise he defined in this way—

> "I mean a public undertaking, or promise, to make no further attempt to set up their will, or rather their law, against the law of the land; and, under no circumstances, to aid or abet, or instigate to intimidation, to prevent men from doing what they had a right to do."—(*Ibid.* 110.)

If my right hon. Friend obtained that promise from the suspects, he was of opinion that they ought to be released, because he said that these conditions were not sufficient. If the assurances that these gentlemen gave were not, in his opinion, sufficient, it was apparent that my right hon. Friend was agreed that they ought to be released on some conditions. It is, therefore, all rubbish to talk of our having gone against the opinion of my right hon. Friend in communicating with these gentlemen respecting their release. My right hon. Friend was the principal party to those communications. It is all nonsense to say that we ought not to have accepted the assurances of the suspects. My right hon. Friend was as willing as we were to accept the assurances. There was one difference, and one difference only, between us, and that was whether the assurances that were actually given were sufficient or not. We thought they were; he thought they were not; you may argue the matter as much as you like, and you will never make more of it than that. That was the exact difference that existed between us—neither more or less. It was for that reason, in order to obtain those assurances, that my right hon. Friend sent or authorized the hon. Member for Clare to go to Kilmainham. What he said on the 15th of May was—

> "Whenever I had reason to hope, or believe, or had any sort of expectation, that the result of the visits would be such a promise of good behaviour as would enable me with safety to recommend the release of persons detained, I was very glad to promote such visits."—(*Ibid.* 789.)

The hon. Member for Clare was in the hope and expectation that he would receive assurances which he would regard as sufficient; but my right hon. Friend thought differently, and therefore he has always used the term with regard to it which we have not accepted. My right hon. Friend regards it as a Treaty, and he did not object to the Treaty. But as regards the making of the Treaty there was no objection, only that the Treaty would not accomplish the object he desired in fulfilling the conditions, which, he thought, ought to be fufilled. I really do not know what else there is of substance in the speech of the hon. and learned Member to which I have to reply. He spoke about our having associated ourselves with Sheridan. We never did associate ourselves with Sheridan. I am not very conversant with his movements; but I believe I am correct in saying Sheridan has never been in Ireland from that day to this; I dare say he thought it was not a safe place for him. On the night of the 16th May, when my right hon. Friend spoke on this subject, he said—"I was of opinion, and am still, that the Irish people will consider the course you have taken a very great weakening of the hands of the Government in Ireland." Has it weakened the Government in Ireland? Have the hands of the Government in Ireland been weaker or stronger since the release of the suspects? That is a practical question. Were the hands of the Government strong before that event? Nobody says more strongly than the hon. and learned Member for Chatham that they were as weak as they could be, and that we ought to have been dismissed as incompetent professional men, in consequence of the condition of things which existed; but he is good enough to say that now it is only the Home Secretary that is incompetent; and he passes eulogiums upon the existing Government of Ireland. Then, have we by our policy weakened the hands of the Government in Ireland? We have done nothing of the kind. We abandoned, as we were obliged to abandon, a system of procedure that had failed—[Mr. Cowen: Hear, hear!]—and we have substituted a system that has proved thoroughly efficient, which has been, in my opinion, well considered in its legislation, and firmly carried out by the Executive. If this is so, what is the meaning of this Amendment? What is the object of this Amendment? Do you or do you not intend by it to pass a Vote of Censure on the Government? If you do, why have you not the courage to say so? This is a new policy on the part of the Opposition on the Address. We have seen two great questions challenged. We have seen the foreign policy of the Government in respect to Egypt challenged by an Amendment from the Party below the Gangway and supported by the Front Opposition Bench, who have not the courage to bring forward a Motion upon the gravest matter that can be. Is the same policy to be pursued upon the Irish policy? Are we going to see the Front Opposition Bench, which considers itself entitled to pass a Vote of Censure upon the Administration, skulk behind this Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham? If we are to be condemned by you, why have you not produced this Motion yourselves? Is it possible that what you desire is not to take upon yourselves the responsibility, but at the same time to assist proceedings which might have the result of paralyzing and discrediting the Executive Government in Ireland? Is it possible that at such a moment you have any other object than to fling dirt upon the Government in circumstances of gravity which you well know, and the responsibilities of which you well understand; and that you are trying to snatch a miserable Party advantage in condemning a Government, whose action, as you say, you approve, by going back on bygone transactions which you never challenged at the time by a direct vote? You have had the opportunity, and you have never taken advantage of it. Are you going to take advantage on an occasion like this, 10 months afterwards, to endeavour to damage the influence and destroy the authority of the Government in Ireland? It is a matter the House should gravely consider. The right and the duty of an Opposition are to criticize as severely, and condemn as strongly as they please, the conduct of the Government of which they disapprove; but in moments such as this it is your duty either to condemn or to support us. If you chose to condemn us, and if the House supports your opinion, I should say for myself—and I think I could say for my Colleagues—we shall accept with satisfaction release from the burdens of responsibilitity which it is hard to bear. [*A laugh from the Opposition.*] You may laugh; but I am speaking what I know. I am speaking of the responsibility. I say nothing of the perils which weigh upon us day and night. If you think you can discharge the task better to the advantage of the country than we are doing, it is your duty to say so, and it is your duty to accept that responsibility. We do not challenge you to it; but I invite you to take that course. If you do not take that course, I say you are doing the most injurious thing you can possibly do in keeping in Office a Government—especially the Government in Ireland—which, at the same time, you are labouring in every way to weaken and discredit.

Mr. GIBSON: Sir, the closing observations of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) were couched in a very different tone and animated by an entirely different spirit from those with which he opened his speech. He endeavoured to present to the Party of which he is so eminent a Leader the aspect of a great Party debate; and, having first rebuked those who are opposed to him for not having proposed a Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government, he then accuses us of being parties to an endeavour to snatch a miserable Party advantage by paralyzing the Executive Government. That was not even a paraphrase—it was not even a caricature—of the terms of the Amendment of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), to which I would ask — what it claims — the fair and candid attention of every hon. Member, before they say that it does not contain a true statement of plain facts as to the history of Executive Government in Ireland during the past year, and whether it does not also contain an exhortation to avoid a path which is now universally condemned, and to follow one which the Government themselves proclaim a wise and fitting one to pursue. It is absolutely essential that in the progress of this discussion there should be references to the state of Ireland; and in considering the state of Ireland from the point of view which is brought into prominence at this moment by the terms of the Amendment, it is necessary to consider the position of the Government and the position of the governed; and in doing that, having regard to the disclosures of the last few days, it was impossible to leave out of view all reference—I admit it should be a cautious reference—to the startling and appalling revelations which have been made in Dublin during the past week. It is impossible, and it would be absurd to expect that we should be able to refrain from referring to, or excluding from Parliament all that with reference to which the Press is filled, and of which every man is speaking in the street and in society. I repeat, I admit that the references ought to be cautious and circumspect. I listened carefully to the speech of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham; and, having myself some professional training and knowledge in these matters, I did not notice that he said anything calculated to prejudice the accused persons, or prevent them getting a fair trial. Certainly, that was not the object he had in view. However that might be, having regard to the terms of his Amendment, it was certainly also essential and, in the highest degree, legitimate that he should substantially refer, in connection with the state of the country, to what is known as the "Kilmainham compact." I will not, however, use a word which is calculated to give offence, and I will call it the "Kilmainham transaction." As to the particular evidence which has been given at Kilmainham, I decline to go into it. It is not necessary, for the purpose of the observations I desire to address to the House, that I should do so; but I may say, in passing, that the evidence given by Carey, although not to be observed upon in its bearing on the prisoners and others, must, I suppose, be assumed to be adopted by the Government as substantially accurate. That evidence, which has been impressed upon all our minds, necessarily throws back a lurid light on the Kilmainham transaction, and it is impossible for anyone in this House to avoid calmly asking themselves what everybody in the country is asking—"Was it wise or prudent, even for an hour, to have been involved in that unfortunate transaction?" You may call that moralizing, if you like; but we are entitled, with the light of our present knowledge and experience of what then took place, and what has taken place since, to point out that that is an occurrence which never again in the Executive history of this country should have a parallel. I myself do not now go in detail into that transaction. It is familiar—painfully and disagreeably familiar—to every hon. Member of this House. We are acquainted with the letter of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), but I do not go into that. We are all familiar also with the way in which that letter was read and the omission of a most important portion of it. The matter has been observed upon somewhat lightly and with great mildness considering its gravity. I am aware that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) said, in a previous debate, that the matter had passed from his mind—that there was another passage besides those that were first read—and had made little impression upon him. That was not, however, the position of the mind of the Prime Minister, for, to use his own words, within half-an-hour of receiving the letter from the hon. Member for the City of Cork he made a memorandum that he thought that passage so liable to public comment, and so open to obvious construction or misconstruction, that he thought it necessary to guard himself, in a letter, from having it assumed for a minute that he was a party to it, or that it was intended in any way for Party purposes. I can well recollect the observations made last May by many hon. Members on his own side of the House against the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), when he insisted upon having the letter read in its absolute integrity. Although every Cabinet Minister must have had an opportunity equal to that of the right hon. Gentleman to be familiar with its phraseology, of course they may say, as the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said, that they forgot that passage. I thought it very remarkable that the right hon. Gentleman should have forgotten the omitted portion; but he, however, did not think it of sufficient or any importance. I accept the explanation; but what strikes me as more strange is that the Prime Minister, upon whose mind the passage had made such a tremendous impression that within half-an-hour he recognized its importance by making a memorandum upon it, was not struck by the fact of the passage being omitted when the letter was read. In making a short retrospect of this transaction, it is important to bear in mind what has been referred to as the Memorandum circulated in the Cabinet by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, as to his understanding of the conversation which passed between him and the hon. Member for the County of Clare (Mr. O'Shea). That is a matter the gravity and significance of which cannot, I think, be overstated. It was circulated as the belief of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford — I care not whether it was accurate or not—and was submitted to the Cabinet as the belief of their Adviser on Irish affairs, that the offer made was that the person or persons who had been engaged in the organization or conspiracy which had been used to get up outrages should be used to get rid of them. That was the offer made to the Cabinet. [Mr. O'SHEA dissented.] The hon. Member for Clare shakes his head. Well, he may shake it off if he likes, because, so far, for the purposes of my present argument, I am a hundred miles away from the hon. Member for Clare. I am not saying that was the arrangement; but I am saying that this was the version given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. I am now dealing with the knowledge the Cabinet had derived from a Memorandum submitted to them by their own Adviser on Irish affairs, and that Memorandum, accurately or not, stated, in terms, that the offer made to them was this—that the organization formed for the purposes of getting up outrages would be used, if that offer were accepted, to get rid of outrages. That offer—which, to my mind, was a most damning offer—was allowed to be discussed as a proposition proper to be entertained by a British Cabinet. But to prevent the possibility of doubt, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, who had ample and complete knowledge of the question, exceeding, it may be, the knowledge of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, stated to the House, as an illustration of the character of the organization, that Sheridan, whose services had been specifically offered to the Government, a released "suspect," against whom a fresh warrant had been issued, and who was one of the outrage-mongers of the West, was connected with it, and was in the habit of going about disguised, directing its operations as regarded the promotion of outrages. That is a specimen of the kind of organization offering to treat with the Government. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department has dealt with this case with his usual force and ability, but he has failed to satisfy any fair mind. He has given no explanation of why the Cabinet did not indignantly—as the Prime Minister felt called upon to do in reference to the promised support of Liberal measures—repudiate the aid and co-partnership of the outrage-mongers in doing the work of the Government, which was to put down outrage. I make no comment on the right hon. and learned Gentleman's statement about his being an incapable Home Secretary for not knowing of Sheridan's position. He had, at all events, the means of knowing it. He was warned in the Cabinet by the Memorandum of his Colleague. But, again, this made so little impression on the President of the Board of Trade that he thought nothing at all of Sheridan. I should like to know what the right hon. and learned

Gentleman did think was of importance in that document. He thought the promise of Liberal support so worthless that he did not notice it. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I did not say that.] Whatever may have been the state of mind of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, the Prime Minister, in a speech of unexampled brevity for him, admitted his knowledge of Sheridan. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer), on the 16th of May last year, put this pointed Question to him—

> "When he and the Cabinet came to the decision that the three Members could no longer be kept in prison on account of reasonable suspicion, were they then in possession of the conversation between the hon. Member for Clare and the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, in which it was stated that he had such control over Mr. Sheridan, who had instigated riot in the West of Ireland, that, if released, he could induce him to put down the outrages."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 832.)

The Prime Minister's answer of unexampled brevity to that Question was "Yes, Sir." With the Cabinet informed of these facts, with the Prime Minister compelled to admit the fact, in the briefest form of affirmation, that he knew the offer was made that the outrages should be put down by Sheridan, it was impossible to avoid the grave conclusion that, in this matter, the Cabinet, with reckless readiness, and with almost criminal negligence as to the machinery they were adopting, did consent to avail themselves of a criminal organization, for the purpose of carrying out their policy—did consent to avail themselves of the aid of a certain criminal who was pointed out to them, and who, having been an outrage-monger in the past, was the man to put them down in the future. I am well aware that the excuse may be made, and it has been made by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that if the Government had known in April all that they know now, they would not have been a party to the employment of Sheridan—they would have taken care to repudiate him. Well, what did they know? [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: We were not a party to it.] That is what we have to decide. The right hon. and learned Gentleman has appealed to his own professional connection with the law. I should like to know how a client would fare, even with the right hon. and learned Gentleman's powerful advocacy, if it were admitted that a memorandum was given to him desiring him to act in a particular way, and that he did so act, but that he was not a party to the statement in the memorandum? What did they know in April that is different, except in degree, from what they knew now? Did they not know in April that, in the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, Sheridan was going about in disguise organizing outrage?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What I said was, that we did not accept Sheridan. We did nothing with regard to Sheridan. The suspects were released. As to Sheridan, nothing was done.

MR. GIBSON: The right hon. and learned Gentleman forgets the debate that occurred here at that time. It was not suggested that the Government themselves were to come into direct contact with Sheridan; but, as was pointed out by the then Chief Secretary, the offer was that the hon. Member for the City of Cork, who knew Sheridan, would employ him upon that mission, and the Government allowed it. I pass from this topic, asking this question—Did the Government ever through any agency, in any speech, or in any letter, indicate to any person on the face of the earth that they did not desire that the hon. Member for the City of Cork should, when he was released, make use of the services of Sheridan for the restoration of order in Ireland as was suggested? I do not desire to go into the knowledge which the Government had as to the antecedents of the three Members of Parliament whom they had imprisoned and released, and as to their connection with different organizations; but the conduct of the Government is, at all events, open to this observation—that when persons, no matter what their position might be, whether hon. Members of this House or not, have been imprisoned for even one day, and have been detained under warrant, some charged with intimidation and others with treasonable practices, it is an error to look to them to support the law for the alleged breach of which they have been kept in confinement. The right hon. and learned Gentleman has endeavoured to excuse and to explain away the change to which I am now pointing, the truth of which he has not denied; but I would indicate my views of the change, and how it occurred. As we all well remember, many individuals, not only in this House, but throughout all the country, viewed the Kilmainham transaction with shame, with surprise, and with a storm of indignation. It was the general opinion of the Press of this country immediately after that transaction occurred that the Government was on its last legs, and the Ministry was spoken of with indignation and contempt. What was it, then, that brought about a great change in public feeling? It was the murders in the Phœnix Park and the introduction of the Crimes Act which rapidly followed upon them. It was those murders which enabled the Government to change their front and to bring in the Crimes Act, thereby receding from a policy always wrong, essentially false and foolish, and which they found would be certain to cast them out of Office if persisted in. No doubt a change in the policy of the Government occurred after those murders; and, indeed, the right hon. and learned Gentleman has not attempted to deny the fact—on the contrary, he had admitted that two changes then occurred—the one legislative, and the other administrative. One change, the right hon. and learned Gentleman says, affected the police, and he is pleased to say that I shall support his assertion with regard to that body. I, for one, do not support it. From the time that I was first connected with the Executive Government of Ireland, and as long as I have taken part in public affairs, I have always regarded the Irish police as a splendid body of men, loyal in themselves, and admirably organized and administered, and certainly not subject to the comments which have been made upon them so freely by the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: This is a very important point, and I certainly do not wish to be misapprehended with regard to it. I never said a word against the men who form the Irish police. I believe them to be the finest body of men in the world. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, if he remembers my words correctly, will see that I was referring simply to their organization and to their staff. I cast no aspersion on them, for that would be most unfounded.

Mr. GIBSON: I never thought that was the case, and I am glad to have given the right hon. and learned Gentleman an opportunity of stating clearly that he had no desire to cast any reflection upon the *personnel* of the Irish police, whom I regard as being loyal, firm, and good men, entitled to public support and approval. I may, however, remark that during our term of Office I never heard it stated that we had any difficulty in carrying on the affairs of Ireland owing to the defective organization of the police in that country; neither am I aware, at this moment, that any vital change has been made in it. What is this brand new organization of the Irish police on which the right hon. and learned Gentleman prides himself? I know nothing of it. It has never been submitted to this House, and it has not been effected by any Act of Parliament, nor does it appear in any administrative Minute. Then the right hon. and learned Gentleman proceeds to praise certain public servants, and among them Mr. Jenkinson, who is certainly a most high minded and most capable public servant, for his activity and zeal. But we must not forget that Mr. Jenkinson is working with weapons which were not at the disposal of his predecessors. He is administering the Crimes Act, while his predecessors had to administer an Act which the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself admits was not very effectual in its operation, seeing that it acted very inadequately and unfairly. I do not go into the history of the previous Act. I may say that I was of opinion, and am of that opinion still, that there was a time, shortly after the passing of that Act, when, if it had been administered with firmness, courage, and resolution, it would have worked well. I will not, however, go back over that matter. The right hon. and learned Gentleman asserts that these changes which I have referred to do not practically indicate any change whatever in the policy of the Government. I must, however, maintain that the time of the introduction of the Crimes Act indicated a vital change in their policy. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was perfectly right when he declared that the Government had originally intended to bring in the Crimes Bill after the Procedure Rules had been passed, and that the change in the determination of the Government, as to the date of the introduction of that measure, was brought about wholly by the Phœnix Park murders. The right hon. Gentleman had asked, in a triumphant tone, whether the release of the suspects had weakened the Irish Administration. I ask, on the other hand, whether any sane man would believe that, if the suspects had been released and the Crimes Act had not been passed, the state of Ireland would have been what it is at the present moment? The truth is that the radical change was in the time of the introduction of the Crimes Act, and in the character of that Act. It was introduced immediately, and it is that Act alone, and not the release of the suspects which has made Ireland liveable in now, and which has enabled the Government to undo the demoralization which was caused by the Kilmainham compact. But I must turn to another point. I paused for a moment before I rose, in order to give others an opportunity of addressing the House upon this subject. I thought it probable that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford might desire to speak upon the subject, although I can well understand why he might wish to defer his observations for a time. I looked, however, specially to the hon. Member for the City of Cork to rise and offer a statement with regard to this question. Indeed, I am satisfied that this debate cannot be closed in anything like a satisfactory manner unless we have some clear statement and some explanation, or, at all events, some speech, from the hon. Member for the City of Cork. I have myself avoided up to this, and I shall continue to the end to avoid, making any reference to a single one of the disclosures which have been made in Dublin within the last few days. We do not want these disclosures to tell us many of the charges which have been made in the Press, on the platform, and in this House against the Land League and its leaders; but I think that, in the circumstances of the case, it is incumbent upon them, if they think it has a character to defend, to come forward and to state what their views are with reference to the present state of things in Ireland. I have always stated, both in and out of this House, that the operations and the machinations of the Land League were remorseless, cruel, and cowardly. They were directed, not only against the landlords, whom they have defamed and robbed, but against their poorer and humbler fellow-countrymen, whom they tried to dragoon into their ranks. It has been well pointed out in the Press, within the last few days, that out of 57 agrarian murders which were perpetrated in the year 1881 and the first eight months of 1882, only five were committed upon landlords; while, out of 145 attempts to murder, only 10 were directed against landlords, leaving the horrible majority of 135, which were directed against the humbler people, for whose sake it was said they were fighting. In a letter from Mr. Arnold Forster, which has recently appeared in *The Times*, it is pertinently stated that it was upon the poorer, the most defenceless, and the most thoroughly Irish section of the population that the Land League waged an unrelenting war, and whom it mutilated, murdered, robbed, and terrorized in the interest of their miserable unwritten law. Something like that statement has been made in this House, and I should be glad to think that there was some explanation to be given that will tone it down. Perhaps the hon. Member for the City of Cork will give it to the House. At all events, we might be given some explanation upon the sordid topic of money. We know that the Land League are charged with having sustained "suspects," even those suspected of murder; we know that they have paid the expenses of some elections; we know that they could afford to start a newspaper; and it has been openly asserted that they have subsidized crime. Is it not time for very shame there should be something in the shape of a balance-sheet published of this secret service money. I read some six or seven weeks ago that a sham offer was made of a sham audit, saying that certain persons, who were intimate friends of the treasurer and the organizers, would be appointed to audit it. We have not been favoured even with that bogus audit of a balance-sheet. From time to time publicity has been demanded, and the parties who could give information have been challenged and taunted. I ask in the face of recent disclosures, intensifying tenfold the previous demands for the publication of that balance-sheet, is there no one who, for his own credit, will demand that some statement as to the disposal of this secret service money shall be submitted to the honest consciences of his country? I should be glad to know from someone where the money has come from — it must have come from some place — which has subsidized these horrible butcheries which have disgraced Ireland. We know, from a speech recently delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevelyan), what part some articles and speeches may have had in fomenting outrage. One portion of that speech contained his views in a pithy and brief way. He said—

> "Articles and speeches are just as much part of the machinery of murder as sword-canes and pistols."

Are we not, therefore, entitled to have from every part of the House repudiation of language that may lead again to outrage, as it has done in the past? The morning after the frightful catastrophe of the Phœnix Park, a Manifesto was issued, signed by three well-known Gentlemen—the hon. Member for the City of Cork, the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), and Mr. Davitt; and that document closed with the statement that—

> "Until the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke are brought to justice, that stain will sully our country's name."

What efforts have the Land League and its friends made to remove that foul and appalling stain on the honour of their country? It has been stated in the Press that it had been proposed to the Treasurer of the Land League to offer £1,000 reward for the discovery of the murderers. The Treasurer did not comply with that request. The recent disclosures have, more than ever, called for some statement as far as may be of indignant disclaimer, at all events, from those who only can give that contribution to the public conscience in this grave crisis. If this agitation had been Constitutional, it would have been innocuous. In the Provinces, its methods were "Boycotting," outrage, and sometimes murder; in Dublin, the knife and the bullet. Its objects do not appear to have been very high—to secure or prevent the payment of money — sometimes black-mail, and sometimes plunder, aided all through by a vast secret service fund. The veil has now been rudely torn away, and every man in this country who reads the papers can read, with painful clearness, the horrible machinations which kept the people of all Ireland in a fever, and which exposed its public servants to jeopardy and sometimes to death. Opposed to law and to loyalty and to liberty, that agitation must expect to be harshly judged, and every man whose name at any time has been mixed up in its organization must expect to come in for severe criticism, unless he repudiates its baser transactions. It is one of the most painful and degrading things possible for an Irishman to read the words in which the acts of these bodies are wrapped up—"patriots making history"—butchery covered with the euphemism of "removal." It is a blasphemy on the name to call movements like this "national." We are told by some, even now, that if the cause were taken away there would be a cure for these appalling murders. The cause that should be taken away would be the immunity that so long existed to render these things possible; and anyone who, in the face of the present crisis, looks for any other cause for these murders, exposes himself to the charge of palliating the crime and apologizing for the criminals. What is the present state of Ireland? Outrages are unquestionably fewer; but it is due to the Prevention of Crimes Act. It is idle to be looking about and imagining other causes, which can hardly deceive those who imagine them. I do not know whether the hon. Member for the City of Cork intends to move the Amendment, of which he has given Notice, on the Address; but it is, unquestionably a tribute to that Act, and if he does, he may depend upon it he must listen to its terms being criticized with no ordinary severity; because he has put an Amendment on the Notice Paper of the House of Commons that I am not sure he would like to commit to speech or writing outside the House. The facts in the past two years speak for themselves; but the law is now a terror to evil-doers, and I would ask those who assail its administration how they would have administered it; how they would have coped with crime stalking through the country; and how they would have answered that cry to heaven for justice on the shedders of innocent blood? A hellish organization has to be coped with, not against landlords, as we are told, but against the people; not against landlords alien in creed, but against Catholic families of the oldest Irish blood. They it is who have suffered the most. The first execution that took place in Dublin after the passing of the Crimes Act caused great attention. It looked as if a desperate attempt was made on that, the first occasion when justice had overtaken one charged with a terrible crime, to discredit the Judge and the jury. [Mr. PARNELL: The Judge discredited himself.] I paused after the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had spoken, in order to give the hon. Member for the City of Cork the earliest opportunity of rising. I would have much preferred speaking after him; but when I sit down, or later in the debate, he can take part in it, not by interjection, but by the fullest explanation. What is the present state of feeling in the country? This is as grave, important, and serious a question almost as that of outrage. The Prime Minister came back to Office, honestly and sincerely believing that he came back as the Heaven-born Minister to regenerate Ireland, and that he understood and had sympathy with the country; but, looking back upon the record of the last three years, he must feel that many of his best hopes have been baffled, and that many of his kindest and strongest ambitions have been bitterly disappointed. A fortnight ago I was speaking elsewhere. I then read extracts from an Irish newspaper, *The Irish Nation*—a paper that is well known and is written with considerable ability. I have not the extracts with me now, so I can only speak from recollection. It stated that at no time was there a bitterer feeling in Ireland toward England than at present. I think the next sentence went on to give the dates of 1862, 1867, and 1874, and then went on to state that even in those years those feelings were not stronger. But if you want an index to quote as to the state and character of the public spirit among many of the numerically strong classes of the country, you may find it in the fact that the man Carey, who was examined at Kilmainham Police Court on Friday and Saturday, was elected a member of the Dublin Corporation — [Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN: For Trinity Ward]—mainly because he had been a "suspect." ["Oh, oh!"] Well, that is the ground I have heard given for Carey's election, and I have also heard that at a private meeting of the Liberal members of the Corporation, to elect a Lord Mayor, that man was within three votes of being chosen. ["Oh, oh!"] I do not know whether that is true or not, but I have heard it repeatedly in conversation within the last few days; but some hon. Members of the House who belong to the Dublin Corporation can clear up that matter for us. Then, again, at present there is a vacancy for the county of Westmeath, and one of the candidates for it is Mr. Harrington. What is the claim that he puts forward in his pithy address? He says that his only claim to represent the county of Westmeath is the fact that he is a defendant in a Government prosecution. That is at present the phase of public feeling and of public life in Ireland, which you must realize and understand before you proceed to theorize and dogmatize on the matter. Within the last few years you have largely penalized the position of the loyal, and largely encouraged the disloyal; you have, in turns, prosecuted and confederated with those who are guilty of sedition; and, at last, in a supreme moment, you are driven to pass a Prevention of Crimes Act to restore things very much to the state in which you found them when you came into Office. Now, in preventing national shipwreck, you will be supported in Ireland loyally by the Party of law and order. You are entitled to their support—you are not entitled to, and you cannot expect, their gratitude. The man who has fanned the flame cannot expect to be held as a guardian angel when he comes to extinguish the conflagration which he has largely helped. The present condition of affairs in Ireland cannot be cured either easily or shortly. Disloyalty, treason, hatred of England, are not the birth of yesterday, although their present boldness, or rather audacity and intensity, have been immensely stimulated by the events of the last two years. The real object of this disloyal movement is separation from England. The Prime Minister himself realized that fact in a great speech which he made about a year and a-half ago, not in this House, but I think in Lancashire — when he said that—

> "The leaders of this movement were marching through rapine to the disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire."

From time to time, yielding to sudden impulses and sudden promptings, he has forgotten and cast aside that declaration; but he deliberately put it forward a year and a-half ago, and it contained a great and pregnant statement of the truth. If you question the authority of the Prime Minister on that point, you can hardly question that of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, when he used in Cincinnati, on February 23, 1880, the words which I have quoted before in this House, and which cannot be too much impressed on the mind of the country. The hon. Member for the City of Cork said—

> "None of us, whether we be in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

Mr. PARNELL: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman state out of what report he is reading the passage in question? I certainly have no recollection of it.

Mr. GIBSON: I have read it from a report of my own speech made in the last debate on the Address. I am re-reported fully in *Hansard*, and no doubt it is familiar to the hon. Member for the City of Cork.

[Mr. Parnell interposed. *Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. GIBSON: I am in possession of the House. I put this proposition to the hon. Member—if he asks me what report I read, I will read the words again—

> "None of us, whether we be in America or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England."

If the hon. Member for the City of Cork tells me that he did not use those words in America, and does not endorse their meaning, I withdraw the statement.

Mr. PARNELL: I asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman to state from what report he is quoting. I think that is a fair question to put, because he called upon me to deny the accuracy of the passage.

Mr. GIBSON: I must leave the House to judge. Now, to prevent all possibility of misunderstanding, I repeat that that is a portion of rather a longer quotation from the same speech, which I made deliberately in my place in Parliament a year ago, and which is to be read in *Hansard;* and the only answer the hon. Member gave is this—that his curiosity is sufficiently on the alert, that he would like to know where it is reported.

Mr. PARNELL: The right hon. and learned Gentleman made a quotation in my absence, while I was in prison, and when I was not in a position to answer it. I am not responsible.

Mr. GIBSON: I will endeavour to find out one of the numerous papers that reported the speech, so that I may be enabled to send it to him, and so satisfy the hon. Member. Now, some Radical supporters of the Government—a class for whom I have a great respect—sometimes talk of being true to their principles, and say they must go on making legislative changes to the bitter end. There is surely a time for everything; there is a time for being consistent to principle, and a time to be consistent with prudence. I read a speech lately made by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone). I hardly know whether the hon. Gentleman is now in his place. Oh, yes! he is there. I read that speech with surprise and regret. I say deliberately that, in my opinion, it was a gratuitously mischievous speech; and, with a considerable knowledge of Executive Administration in Ireland, I further say that if the hon. Member was not relying on his name, and on the impunity and importance it would give him, he dare not, as a subordinate Member of the Government, have made that speech. Again, I say, that as far as his name goes—for as regards its influence it is his name and not his position that is to be considered—a speech more calculated to be mischievous, and to interpose obstacles to the administration of affairs in Ireland, could not be uttered. For the most junior and most subordinate Lord of the Treasury to presume to come forward and criticize the Administration of Ireland, one of the most complicated Departments of the Government, without the sanction, and, I dare to say it, without the approval of those who are answerable for it, was a piece of political license utterly unknown before in our public affairs. Will the hon. Member venture in this House to make the same speech? I will venture to ask him these questions. Did he speak that language with the sanction, or against the sanction, of the Irish Government? Did he believe or know that he was strengthening or weakening the hands of Lord Spencer or the Chief Secretary? Was there reason to think that they would desire that speech to be made, or the reverse? And if he cannot answer those questions, I would further ask whether it can be denied that in making that speech he was interposing obstacles to the good administration of Ireland in a time of extreme difficulty, and that he was doing that which, in the case of anybody else, would have brought about very summary treatment? If Radical Gentlemen who make such speeches, and talk of being true to their principles, would merely take the trouble to live in Ireland for six months, they might learn to be a little prudent; if they would condescend to read for a month some of the national literature which stimulates agitation, they might acquire a little caution. I read the recent speech of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland—a Liberal of the Liberals, without a stain on his escutcheon—a speech which, I must say, although differing from the right hon. Gentleman on many things, showed a statesmanlike grasp of some, at least, of the difficulties of the problem now before him; and can anybody living in England, and outside of the difficulties of that problem, take upon himself the fearful responsibility of saying, after reading that speech, that he knows the case better than the Chief Secretary for Ireland does? If in the face, then, of the impossibility of reconciling the irreconcilable—in face of the present state of feeling that exists in the country, you have further serious and disturbing legislation to propose, you must tend to keep up the ferment, you must tend to prevent the settling down of the country, and to prevent its attaining the security and the repose which may prevent it from rapidly drifting to a worse point. You have strong forces upon which to rely in Ireland, if you know how to do it. There are many classes who are loyal, regardless of all Party, who were loyal in the past, and are loyal to Ireland and the Empire. There are many classes, not to be found in one political Party alone, who are true to the cause of law and order. There are many who, animated by the highest instinct of patriotism, believe that the greatest boon for Ireland now is to assist the advent of capital, and to give that repose and security which alone will cause capital to come to the shores of Ireland. If these great facts are recognized; if agitation is kept within fair, Constitutional limits; if legislation of an experimental and trying character is postponed, at all events, for the present; if justice is fearlessly and impartially administered; if the Government of Ireland is administered with energy, with courage, with justice, with sympathy—then I myself would hope that in a few years this country would find that Ireland would again become prosperous, peaceable, and, I trust, loyal.

MR. WARTON said, he thought the eloquent speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down required an explanation from at least two hon. Members in the House, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. H. Gladstone). It also contained lessons which might be studied with advantage by all. He had always felt that one great fault committed in that House was that the Government were not called to task in 1880 for their refusal to re-enact the Peace Preservation Act. When outrages were increasing, not by dozens only, but by hundreds, when they ought to have summoned Parliament together and at once passed some measure to re-establish the pre-eminence of the law, and to protect the sufferers, they did nothing. Last year, upon a trumpery question of Procedure, they were called together for an Autumn Sitting; while in 1880, or again in 1881, when such terrible deeds were being enacted in Ireland, no remedial measures were suggested. And what meanwhile was the attitude of the Government towards the Land League movement? One Member declared that there must be a Land League, while the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster gave it as his opinion that force was no remedy. The present state of Ireland was entirely due to the policy of the Government, and the Home Secretary was unfair in endeavouring to fasten on the Conservative Party any share in the failure of the Protection Act. It was not the duty of the Opposition to suggest a policy, but to support the Government in the crisis in which they found themselves. This was done, and it could not be made a charge against them now that they had not suggested some other course. He was perfectly ready to admit the good conduct of the Government whenever they showed any vigour. For instance, he fully recognized the ability and perseverance with which the Home Secretary carried his Bill through Parliament in the last Session; but the efforts of the Government were made too late. Had the Prime Minister turned his attention to the Irish difficulty instead of to Procedure, which he seemed to have on the brain, many of the evils which befell Ireland would have been averted. The right of search under that Act was made stringent by the operation of the majority of that House which defeated the Government. It was absurd to look for burglars in the daytime. He was of opinion that Ireland could never be happy and prosperous so long as agitation was fostered by remedial legislation. And he would like to ask, had the Government made up their minds or not? Had they finally made up their minds to have no more Irish legislation than they had already? Had they any more Arrears Bills in view? Had they any more Land Bills? Was this continual agitation to be stimulated from time to time by fresh conciliatory measures held out to the agitators? He asked the question in the interest of Ireland. He earnestly hoped that they would have some pledge before the debate closed that the Government did not intend to bring forward any more measures of the description of the Land Act. He had listened with pleasure to the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), in which he had said that, notwithstanding its present state, he did not despair of the future of the country. He (Mr. Warton) was sorry to say he could not share in the right hon. and learned Gentleman's hopes, if legislation of the kind they had had was to continue. If there was to be any hope for Ireland the policy of confiscation must be abandoned.

Colonel NOLAN said, he was very glad to have the opportunity of following the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), because he had imparted more calmness into the debate than some of his Predecessors on the same side of the House. The Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), which had been moved in a brilliant and sarcastic speech, of course was not meant to be seriously taken by the House. The very words of that Amendment were more or less sarcastic, and such as it was impossible to adopt. But there were other reasons why they should not agree to such an Amendment. In fact, it stigmatized the whole action of this House during the last few years, and if they adopted it, it would be equivalent to declaring that measures had been passed in this House by lawless majorities in order to purchase support. He did not for a moment think the hon. and learned Member himself fancied that the Amendment would be adopted. Then, what possible meaning could there be for his appearance at this moment? They knew that the country generally was greatly excited by the trials going on in Ireland, and no doubt the Amendment had been put forward with the object of raising an anti-Irish feeling. [Mr. Tomlinson: No, no!] But the whole Conservative Party were not centred in the hon. Member, although he said "No, no!" on their behalf. He maintained that the Amendment was introduced to make as much political capital for the hon. Member's Party as possible out of the present excitement, caused by the trials in Dublin which recalled the memories of the dreadful murders in Phœnix Park, and if it was supported even by a considerable minority, such an exhibition of feeling would be in the highest degree injurious to the true interests of Ireland and the Empire generally. Ireland was very much in want of legislation, and any such Amendment as this introduced into the Address to Her Majesty would make the people of Ireland believe that nothing was to be done for them this Session. It was rather curious that none of those who had spoken had dwelt upon the present economic condition of Ireland. This was a very important point, and if the Amendment was adopted, it would be a formal repudiation on the part of the House of doing anything to mitigate the distress which existed, and which should be met by the Government. He was afraid that the amount of the distress was very much undervalued in the House, and had been so in the Address, and on the part of the public; and for this reason—that it was of a different type from any which had yet taken place. This distress arose from a short potato crop and the want of employment for labourers in Ireland. The Board of Guardians with which he was connected believed with him that there would be very great distress in May and June. It probably would not be for a long period, or amongst the larger holders of land, but amongst the smaller holders, and those occupying no land at all. Unless the Government took early steps to meet it, it would very seriously affect the country, and cause very great evils. The hon. and learned Member (Mr. Gorst) and others who thought with him were very desirous that the Government should not grant any concessions to lawless agitation. Ireland was, undoubtedly, grateful for the legislation which had been given; but he would remind the House that while the agitation was of a quiet and lawful character very little indeed was conceded. Mr. Butt always proceeded on Constitutional principles, and conducted no agitation; but all this resulted in no concessions. The present Government always intended to do something for Ireland, and when they took Office were steeped to the lips in promises; but what was obtained was in consequence of the agitation conducted by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). However, as he said, he hoped that the Amendment would be rejected by a very large majority, for if it was not, they could scarcely look for legislation upon such questions as County Boards, and other useful measures. They could not hope for any very large Irish measure this Session; but there was much useful legislation that might be carried. The Amendment, he believed, was simply an attempt to take advantage of the passions which had been stirred up in the English mind, and naturally so; but he trusted that the House would take a calm and steadfast view of the situation, and reject the Amendment, thereby showing that, even in the midst of passions, they would not shut their eyes to useful legislation for Ireland.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he had not the advantage of listening to the speech of the Home Secretary, nor did he hear the whole of the violent and inflammatory speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin. Some portion of the latter speech he did hear, and he could not remain silent during the debate. Not only did he consider it to be what he had described it, but he thought the time of its delivery badly chosen. The present was a time of great excitement and of strong feeling, and all wise men in that House or elsewhere should endeavour to allay those passions. It was the duty especially of a legislator to conduct himself in a manner befitting a legislator, and not in the style of a mob orator. What was the meaning and intent of all the noise and passion which had characterized that speech? Was it not to try and intimidate that House from doing anything whatever in the direction of concession and conciliation for Ireland? It was an effort to induce the House to do nothing but let coercion take its course —to do nothing but to allow free play to the prison and the halter. It, therefore, ill became a Gentleman occupying the responsible position of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to address himself to the Business of the House in such a temper and in such a spirit. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had referred to the Assassination Committee and to the evidence of a man named James Carey, who he had led the House to believe was returned to the Dublin Corporation as a patriot and a politician. Nothing was further from the fact, This man was not known in Dublin beyond some limited circle, and he did not become a candidate upon any political grounds, but merely as a working man who practically understood such matters as paving and draining, as he proved by discovering bad workmanship in the case of a Scotch firm who had obtained a contract in Dublin. But this James Carey represented Trinity Ward —the ward which contained within its very centre Trinity College—and so he could share with the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself the privilege of being called the Member for Trinity. James Carey's name had been very unfairly introduced, and he hoped it was without due deliberation; but the object was to defame the Dublin Corporation, and to throw scandal upon a body of Members in that House. That the intent of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was to prevent any remedial measures for Ireland was shown by the ferocity with which he precipitated himself upon the hon. Member for Leeds

(Mr. H. Gladstone), who recently had had the courage to speak words which, young as he was, were words of wisdom, and who had the insight to see further than older men into the heart of the Irish Question. The eyes of the hon. Member for Leeds were not darkened, nor was his heart corrupted by the meanness and trickery of Party warfare in that House; he had uttered words which had produced an excellent effect in Ireland, and it was to be hoped that he would not be intimidated from speaking his mind upon the Irish Question by what had fallen from the right hon. and learned Gentleman. From him he turned to hon. Members behind the Government, and asked them to oppose amelioration or concession. This was the policy which had produced all the evils in Ireland. Was there no need of reform in Ireland? Was the present policy attended with such happy results that there was no need of inquiry? Were the people so content with the existing state of things? They were told that the conduct of the Government towards Ireland was that of a man who had set fire to his house and then took credit for putting it out. There was a great deal of truth in that remark; but it applied to both Parties, who got up disaffection and rebellion in Ireland and then put them down in blood. He asked the House and the people of this country to give ear to the weighty words spoken by James Carey in Kilmainham Courthouse, when he said that he joined the Assassination Committee when the country was in a bad state, when coercion was in full force, when the popular leaders were in prison, and anyone might be put into prison—at a moment when he despaired of obtaining redress by Constitutional means; and he added that but for that the Committee would not have had so many recruits. These words bore the stamp of truth; they echoed the feeling of hundreds and thousands of Irishmen, and proved that it was misrule which had driven men into these confederacies. What brought the Assassination Committee into existence, which was alleged to have instigated these fearful crimes, which every Irishman as every other man of whatever country regarded with feelings of horror? The Coercion Act was its mother, and the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) might claim its paternity. The lesson which the terrible deeds of the Assassination Committee conveyed was that instead of coercion it was a different treatment which Ireland required. The late Coercion Act had done harm. The present Coercion Act would do more. As long as human nature was what it was so long would coercion and oppression lead to reprisals which all right-minded men would deplore. It was the old story. He would ask hon. Gentlemen who wished to form a correct idea of the past and present of Ireland not to be led away by passion, but to read the history of Ireland by Mr. Spencer Walpole, published within the last month or two. The book was not written for Party purposes. The author stated only plain facts, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions. Speaking of the state of things between 1760 and 1768, Mr. Walpole said—

> "The grievances of the peasantry and farmers were refused a hearing, and the policy of coercion was carried out, with the natural result that the mischief of discontent was driven in upon the system to grow into disaffection and rebellion."

The world knew now that coercion was not favourable to the interests of peace in Ireland, and that it only prepared the ground, and sowed the seed of greater evils. Some time it would be their duty to read to the House extracts from the speeches for which men had been sent to prison. There was no safety in Ireland for men who criticized the acts of the Administration or the policy of the Government. The only safety they could have was if they choose to turn Tory and mount a Conservative platform. Then they might abuse the Government to their hearts' content; they might criticize their policy, describe the Land Act as confiscation and plunder, and charge them with setting the house on fire in order to put it out again. Let, however, a man not speak from any standpoint of Party, attempting to get from the cold shades of Opposition to the sweets of Office, but speak as an Irishman who wished to do his share towards alleviating the griefs and misfortunes of his people—the Executive would take his words up, put the gloss of a Castle lawyer upon them, and send him to prison for so speaking. They had been told that evening that a gentleman would be upon those Benches in a short time, sent there by the farmers of Westmeath to represent them. He was now lying on a plank bed undergoing sentence for an alleged attempt to intimidate those same farmers. A falser charge could not be imagined; but to be charged with anything by a lawyer who had been sent from the Castle was to be sent to prison. He had been by the side of Mr. Harrington when he made the speech for which he was now suffering. The tendency of the speech had been kindly and sympathetic with the farmers and people of the county. He knew Mr. Harrington had no desire or intention to intimidate any man. No one had seen any intimidation in his language except three or four policemen. Why had they not brought up some of the farmers alleged to have been intimidated? [Mr. BIGGAR: Hear, hear!] No one save two or three brilliant and highly intelligent policemen had been brought up to testify that his words had been words of intimidation. Absolutely there had been only one word on which the Government founded its case; that was the word "agitation." The Government had chosen to put a man on his trial for using that word, and the result was that he was undergoing two months' imprisonment in Mullingar Gaol. He would ask the House of Commons to keep its temper and its judgment clear in the matter, and to go along the true path for ending the troubles in Ireland. That path was not the path of coercion or the suppression of public liberty, but was the path of justice to the people. They had been told not to give any extension of the franchise to the people of Ireland until they were assured that they would not make a bad use of it. That was a sort of excuse which might go on for ever. They might as well prevent Irish boys from learning to read and write, because they might turn their knowledge against the Government. There was no doubt that amongst the many foes that British power had in Ireland the most potent were the 26 letters of the alphabet. They asked only for what was just and fair in Ireland. They pleaded for no immunity for criminals. They asked if crime was to be punished as it ought to be that the injustice and oppression which bred that crime should be dealt with also. He hoped that, notwithstanding the inflammatory appeals of Gentlemen like the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), the House of Commons would be wise and just enough to read the lesson aright and do justice.

MR. TOMLINSON said, it appeared to him that the speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) might have been addressed to the House on the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) rather than on the Amendment now before the House. It did not seem to him (Mr. Tomlinson) to be exactly germane to the matters which the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had brought before them, and which had been so admirably dealt with by the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). He wished to say that, because of the manner in which the hon. Member (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) had alluded to the right hon. and learned Gentleman's speech, of which he admitted he had only heard a portion. Under those circumstances, he (Mr. Tomlinson) thought he was not justified in referring to that speech in the way he had done. He considered that somebody on that side of the House should reply to the suggestion which had been made by the hon. and gallant Member sitting opposite (Colonel Nolan), that the Amendment was brought forward with the object of making capital for the Conservative Party. Seeing the forbearance which had been shown during the anxious period through which the country had passed in reference to Irish affairs, it was hardly fair that hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House, who brought forward Resolutions in favour of preserving law and order, should be charged with endeavouring to secure mere Party advantages. The answer which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had given to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham might be described, in technical and legal language, as consisting of confession and avoidance. The right hon. and learned Gentleman excused the failure of the Government on two grounds—firstly, on the ground of inefficient organization of the police force; and, secondly, on the ground of legislative failure. The first had been so ably dealt with by the right hon. and learned

Member for the University of Dublin that it was unnecessary for him (Mr. Tomlinson) to refer to it again; but with regard to the second ground of excuse, he might remark that, if proper measures were not employed for preserving law and order in Ireland, the Government was clearly to blame. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had endeavoured to throw the blame on the House, and had contended that, if the Conservative Party disapproved of the measures which were brought forward, they ought to have opposed them at the time. The reason the Conservative Party did not oppose those measures was that they were proposed by the responsible Government, and it was the duty of those who were unable to take Office themselves to acquiesce in the view put forward by the Government of the day in the course of its administration. But there were many occasions when the Opposition did not scruple to express anxiety and hesitation with regard to that measure. He might allude to the action of his learned and honoured Predecessor, Sir John Holker, whom he had heard, in thoughtful and eloquent language, express his anxiety that the Government should be so administered that hundreds of men were detained in prison without trial and without any charge being made against them. On one occasion the hon. and learned Gentleman remarked that it was a state of things unexampled in the history of the country. The Party on that side of the House, however, could do nothing but acquiesce in a proposal so brought forward by the Government of the day. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had asked whether the release of the "suspects" had caused an accession of outrages. Well, it so happened that some of the worst outrages took place before the "suspects" were released; but the only one which brought the country to a real sense of the gravity of the situation took place afterwards. He (Mr. Tomlinson) would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, if he were in his place, whether the noble Lord, who was so much respected in that House, and who was the victim of so foul a crime (Lord Frederick Cavendish), went to Ireland to increase the power of the Government in regard to coercion? He (Mr. Tomlinson) believed he went there in the vain belief that conciliation was still the remedy for Irish troubles; and that it was not until the terrible crime of which he was a victim occurred, the Government became conscious that a strong measure of coercion was required. To say that the Government had such a measure ready, and yet to propose to postpone it until after the Procedure Rules had been considered, showed that the Government was really not in earnest. They were told in Her Majesty's gracious Speech that the condition of Ireland was improving. He sincerely wished he could agree with the sentiment; but when they considered the revelations made last Saturday, and when they read in the newspapers that a crowd of Irishmen cheered the prisoners as they went from the Court, he felt that he could not concur in that paragraph. He thought that the gravity of the situation in which they found themselves ought to free them from any charge that the Motion before them was brought forward for purely Party purposes, and that no hon. Member ought to impute such motives. He should be sorry to support the present Motion on any ground of that character. But he did hope that there would be such a feeling shown in favour of the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham as would convince the country that they, as a Party, had acquiesced in the Government proposals from patriotic motives; and that if they had abstained from embarrassing the Government, they did not approve of all their measures, and did not refrain now from expressing their opinion concerning them.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, that the abstention of Liberal Members from the debate was very significant of the way in which the Government and their supporters had lately been in the habit of meeting charges of the extremely serious nature of that which formed the gravamen of his hon. and learned Friend's Amendment. The Government stood charged with having purchased the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's rule by concessions to lawless agitation; and the way the Government seemed to think it right to meet it was with their supporters to stand by and do their utmost to secure the collapse of the debate. That, at best, was a crafty and disingenuous policy, and one which would not recommend itself much to the constituencies, The Government deceived themselves a good deal if they imagined that the proceedings of to-day would escape the public observation. This was not the first time that the supporters of the Government had tried what might be called a malicious silence, in order that the issue before the House might be taken in a manner deceptive to the public, as not representing thoroughly the true sense of the House on the subject in hand. The Government, when a charge was made, had other ways in which they were given to meeting it. It had been found convenient for the Home Secretary to meet the present charge in the old familiar way of entirely ignoring its exact nature, inventing a completely different charge, and expending enormous energy and superabundant eloquence in destroying this different charge. What was it that the indignation of the Home Secretary was so laboriously vented on? Upon the charge that the Government had knowingly accepted the services of men who were guilty of assassination conspiracies. No such charge was dreamt of. All the charge which was made was that the man Sheridan, of whose services the Government availed themselves—and they would continue to say availed themselves, despite the almost jocular denials of the Government—was a man who they always said the Government ought to be careful in their dealings with, and of whom their own Colleague in a formal Memorandum stated that he had information that he had been engaged in the promotion and manufacture of outrages in the disturbed parts of Ireland. No one knew better than the Home Secretary that the charge now made was quite distinct from the charge that the Government had, in May last, knowledge that Sheridan was engaged in conspiracies that it was now supposed he was then engaged in. The Home Secretary seemed to him (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) to be in doubt somewhat as to his line of defence. He first resorted to the weapon he had alluded to, of overstating the charge against himself, in order that in argument he might dispose of the excess, and so seem to be disposing of the whole. He then asked—"Why should not the Government have availed itself of the use of Sheridan?" But they asked—Did they or did they not make use of Sheridan? Both lines of defence had been adopted. Why, the Home Secretary was not ashamed to shelter himself behind a technical plea for availing himself of the services of Sheridan—the plea, namely, that he had no official knowledge of him, for the warrants under the Protection Act did not run in England. That was a defence which he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) was glad to see commended itself very little to the feeling of the House, and evoked a very feeble cheer from Government supporters. Could not the Home Secretary reflect that what Sheridan was said to be engaged in was an offence against part of the Common Law of both England and Ireland, and he could have been arrested for it in England without any suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act? The Home Secretary had knowledge of the career of this man, and he was bound to beware that Sheridan did not transfer his base of operations to England, where, if he had been caught, he might have been brought to justice without the intervention of any exceptional legislation or departure from the ordinary course of law. Ever since the resignation of the late Chief Secretary, it had been practically idle and puerile to deny that the Government were fully prepared to avail themselves of the services of this man Sheridan. The Government were charged in the Amendment with errors in their policy towards Ireland; and it was almost impossible to overstate the gravity of those errors, and the nature of them had over and over again been made known. Two illustrations occurred to him which might yet serve to bring home to the minds of those who doubted something in the nature of what it was they meant. The House was already familiar with the memorable words in which the Prime Minister expressed his opinion as to the ultimate cause that led to the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. At a subsequent period, those words received an equally familiar commentary or gloss, and since then it had not been lawful for anyone to say that an attack on a prison in England was the final occurrence that caused the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. But, however, he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) found the same thing repeated in the last month by the Secretary to the Treasury, speaking to his constituents at Liskeard, where he said distinctly that the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was because the discontent of the Irish people culminated in an attack on an English prison. That was one way in which Ireland had been allowed to have expectations. Another supporter of the Government used the argument that the present state of things would not have come about if the Conservative Government had dealt with the difficulty by even a moderate Land Bill. Well, it seemed to him that, either knowingly or unknowingly, arguments such as that served well to reveal the vice that seemed to pervade the system of Irish government. Once they admitted there should be a moderate Land Bill at one time and an immoderate Land Bill at another, they admitted the whole of the charges of his hon. and learned Friend. It meant that when the country was filled with agitation and turbulence, then they would bring in a confiscatory Land Bill; but while Ireland was peaceful, they contented themselves with a much smaller measure of what was called justice to Ireland. He could not conceive anything more calculated to disabuse the Irish people of the idea that the Imperial Government treated their claims with justice. They had been told that night that this was an Amendment of an embarrassing nature, and that the House should not entertain it, for although it conveyed censure upon the Government it had not been moved by the recognised exponents of the policy of the Opposition; and, lastly, they were told it ought not to commend itself to the judgment of the House, because it related to bygone transactions. But how could they criticize a Government without causing embarrassment. The more a Government deserved criticism the more it would be embarrassed; and how could they direct criticism to their future policy? They must criticize bygone transactions; and had a Government never been upset on a Motion originating in the action of an independent Member? Why, the existence of a Government had often depended on the Motion of a private Member. They on that side of the House had cause to be grateful to his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham; and if there was any doubt on the other side as to this Amendment receiving the support of all Conservatives, that doubt would soon be dispelled. There would be no division in their ranks as to their duty to support the significant words of his hon. and learned Friend's Amendment.

Mr. BULWER said, he was somewhat surprised that when attacks were made on the Irish policy of the Government, hon. Members opposite should listen to the charges in silence, and not have a word to say in reply. Considering the great ability of the Home Secretary, he was disappointed at the answer given by the right hon. and learned Gentleman—the only answer they had yet heard—to the charges brought against the Government. He had never listened to a speech which fell so short of the occasion. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was obviously put forward by the Government as their best foot; but if he were their best foot, he thought the country would not be satisfied with the progress the Government had made. The Home Secretary started with the admission that the Government were responsible for the policy pursued in Ireland before last April, and that this policy had failed to put down crime; and he adduced two reasons for the failure. The first and, as he said, the main reason was the deficient organization of the police; and the second was that when it became obvious that crime must be put down, the most appropriate legislation had not been resorted to. These two admissions went a very long way to make out the case brought against the Government on that side of the House. He would briefly deal with these two allegations. As to the first, the right hon. and learned Gentleman said the fault was not confined to his own Government, but was equally shared by the late Administration. An obvious answer was that, at all events, the previous Government found that the organization of the police was amply sufficient for the good government of Ireland in their time, and the present Government were three years in Office, with crime increasing every day, before they discovered that the organization was deficient. With regard to the most appropriate legislation not having been adopted, the right hon. and learned Gentleman ventured to say that for this the House rather than the Government were responsible, just as he said the late Government were to blame for the deficient organization of the police. But, he would ask, did the right hon. and learned Gentleman seriously expect the country to accept these excuses? The House was next told that the Government had made up their minds before the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) left the Ministry to carry the legislation which was subsequently proposed. "The Bill," said the right hon. and learned Gentleman, "was all prepared." He would deal with this point by-and-bye, and, in the meantime, he would like to say one word in reference to the Kilmainham Treaty, or negotiation, or transaction, or whatever it was to be called. All hon. Members were aware that before the Kilmainham transaction took place there had been some other transactions, which were not forgotten. They remembered what was called the Errington Mission. That, too, had been denied; but he thought that impartial historians would hereafter treat the Errington Mission and the Kilmainham Treaty as undoubted facts, and might also, perhaps, compare the temper which prompted the Prime Minister in these transactions with the temper which prompted the Goddess Juno, when baffled in her intrigues during the Trojan War, to exclaim in her vexation—

> "Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta
> movebo."

Which, from the mouth of the Prime Minister, might be freely translated thus—

> "If I can't bend the Pope, I'll square Parnell."

The Home Secretary had mentioned three alternative conditions on which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford relied. The first was that the Government should receive from the "suspects" who were about to be released a public promise to be of good behaviour. The assurances given were, said the Home Secretary, satisfactory to the Government, but they were not satisfactory to the right hon. Member for Bradford. Upon that point alone they were told did any difference of opinion exist. But when those "suspects" rereturned to the House, they ostentatiously informed the House that they had given no assurances whatever, and intended to give none. So far the answer of the Home Secretary to this Amendment was eminently unsatisfactory. The second alternative was that the peace of the country should be assured. But the Home Secretary had said, with great pathos, that that was an impossible condition. The third condition was fresh powers to the Government. Upon that question we were told there was no difference of opinion in the Cabinet. Thus the question was reduced to a narrow compass, and the inference was, if the explanation of the Home Secretary was accepted, that there was not the slightest reason why the right hon. Member for Bradford should have left the Government at all. The Home Secretary had endeavoured to show that there had been no change in their Irish policy, and his whole speech had been a defence of everything they had done from the beginning to the end; but if the policy of the Government had been right throughout, why did the right hon. Member for Bradford leave them? If the Government were of opinion that everything they had done was right, that was the best possible reason why the House should affirm the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend, and see that they did not do the like again.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he must express his regret that at a critical time when they ought to be trying to improve the state of Ireland, and strengthen the hands of those who were doing their very best for the country, they should be wasting their time in mere recriminations about the past, the discussion of which could serve no object save the revival of hostilities between the two great Parties in the House, and the advancement of the aims of those who were the enemies of all good government and order in Ireland. The Amendment before the House was a distinct Party attack. The revelations of the last few days had, no doubt, made a great many people think that as a matter of policy the view taken by the late Chief Secretary of the state of Ireland in May last, showed a truer appreciation of the situation than perhaps did that of his Colleagues at the time. That was a very natural conclusion to draw from the evidence laid before the House; but it was a very wide step from that to accusing the Government of having purchased the support of the disaffected by concessions to the lawless agitation. The difference between the views of the late Chief Secretary (Mr. W. E.

Forster) and the Government with regard to the measures to be applied to Ireland was mainly a difference in point of time. It was an affectation to say that the Amendment was intended to encourage the Government in pursuing a right course in Ireland. In his opinion, the Amendment was not only a Vote of Censure on the Government, but it was couched in about as insulting words as could well have been chosen. All were agreed that stronger measures were necessary, but they disagreed as to their order; and was it on a point of this sort that people who were prepared to give a candid consideration to other men's motives were to be allowed to assume that those who had the responsibility of Government were lost to all sense of honesty? He did not suppose hon. Members opposite expected to get a majority; but apparently they were going to allow the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) to keep up a debate for one or two nights, and say as many nasty things against the Government as they could. No doubt, those who were supporters of a Government were likely to have a more generous appreciation of what was the duty of that Government than people in the position of critics; but they might fairly ask whether it was a wise thing at the opening of the Session in which there were so many important questions to be discussed to be squabbling over matters that had been already fully debated, and had only now been revived by startling revelations, which ought to have the effect of uniting all Parties? At a time like the present, the Government were surely entitled to the generous consideration of all Parties of the House.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he agreed with the hon. Member who had just spoken that the Motion could lead to no practical result. They ought to confine themselves to the consideration of the essential issues involved in the Amendment, and ought not to prolong the debate merely in order that one political Party might gain an advantage over the other. There was, however, one portion of the hon. Member's speech which he regretted. The hon. Member seemed to imagine there was a Party in that House which did not hold the interests of law and order in the estimation in which those interests ought to be held by every patriotic Member. On an occasion when they were invited to emancipate themselves from considerations of Party, it would be better, as a mere matter of courtesy, to assume that every Member of that House was actuated equally with every other by a desire for the maintainance of law and order. But he wished the House seriously to consider the effect of the Amendment. With the exception of a single word in the Amendment, and regarding it as a purely abstract proposition, he entirely agreed with it. But when it was said—

> "No further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's rule by concessions to lawless agitation,"

The word "further" took the Amendment out of the category of ordinary Amendments, and elevated it or degraded it to the level of a distinct Censure on Her Majesty's Government. And he agreed with the Home Secretary, that if the Conservative Opposition meant to propose a Vote of Censure they had not adopted the regular method. They should have moved a distinct Resolution of Censure, separating it from all other questions which were involved in the Amendment now before them. He was opposed to any Government purchasing the support of disaffected persons by concessions to lawless agitation, and if Her Majesty's Government had done so a distinct Motion to that effect ought to be made by the responsible Leader of the Opposition; but the House ought not to be asked to adopt so many distinct considerations as were involved in the Amendment. Moreover, if this Amendment were carried, it would be taken to mean that a limit must be put on all remedial legislation. Ireland would be told that because in 1881 Parliament devoted so much of its time and labour to passing a great measure of agrarian reform for Ireland, that country was not to look to this House for any more remedial measures; and he could not conceive a declaration which would have a more disastrous effect upon the temper and political condition of the people of Ireland. On the contrary, he would ask the House to act in the spirit of some observations made by the noble Lord at present the Leader of the House. The noble Lord, in a speech he had lately delivered in Lancashire, had said—

"The Irish people are only 5,000,000 out of a population of 35,000,000 which inhabit this Empire; but the government of these 5,000,000 presents problems by the side of which all the other problems with which we have to contend in the government of our 35,000,000 sink into insignificance, although we have difficult questions to solve in relation to our Foreign, our Colonial, and our Indian affairs. I believe that the difficulty and embarrassment of every one of them would be immensely lessened if once we were relieved of the strain which tests the faculties of our best men in dealing with the complicated difficulties of unhappy Ireland."

Now, what had been said since the beginning of the debate that evening to enable the House to grapple with and solve the complicated difficulties of the Irish Question? If the discussion was to be conducted in the essentially partizan spirit which had hitherto characterized it, the result would be the embittering and intensifying of Party warfare, while it would bring no good to the people of Ireland, who were mainly concerned. As an Irishman he objected to see his country over and over again made the battle-field for English factions. He was not willing to see Ireland used as a shuttlecock by English politicians in order that Gentlemen appealing to forces outside might recommend themselves to the acceptance of the country as persons peculiarly qualified to administer its affairs. If a distinguished Member of the Government felt justified in describing, as the noble Lord had done, the condition of Ireland in the 83rd year of the legislative Union, assuredly the time had come for English politicians of all shades to ask themselves whether there might not be something in the policy pursued by the Imperial Parliament towards Ireland — something common to both Parties—which was in the main responsible for the difficulties which existed in the government of Ireland. The noble Lord was not free from the sentiment which prevailed among large classes of people in this country that it would be dangerous to continue in the path of reform in the present condition of Ireland. The noble Lord was bound to admit that British rule had not been successful in the past, and was not successful at present, and yet he used these words with respect to the extension of the principle of self-government to Ireland—

"It would be madness, in my opinion, to venture to give Ireland more extended self-government unless we can receive from the representatives of the Irish people some assurance that this boon would not be misused for the purpose of agitation, and for the purpose of weakening the authority and the power of the Government."

Of course, the noble Lord did not mean that any Irish Party who thought they were justified in weakening the power of the Ministry would not be entitled to use all the advantages which self-government would give. He rather referred, not to the Ministry, but to the Imperial Government or the Executive; and if that were the proper interpretation, then he would say that any assurance from Irish Representatives on that head seemed entirely unnecessary, for in any scheme ever put forward they always gave the assurance, whatever it might be worth, that they had no desire to impair the authority of the Imperial Parliament, or to weaken the bonds by which our united Empire was held together. The noble Lord further said that the question of Ireland was in the main a question of administration. So far as it was the purpose of the Government to maintain order and put down crime and outrage he agreed with the noble Lord; and he on a former occasion said that the question of the discovery and punishment of criminals was a question of police. If they had an efficient police organization they would have been able to follow up and capture, and finally punish, the perpetrators of crime and outrage without suspending any one of the guarantees of Constitutional liberty, which should be the common property of every portion of the United Kingdom. He was glad, however, that they had had other expressions as to the policy of the Government with regard to Ireland. The recommendations of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would, he ventured to say, prove in the course of time to be nearer to the dictates of a sound statesmanship than those reactionary doctrines which were, unfortunately, sometimes heard in unexpected quarters. He heartily agreed with the President of the Board of Trade when he remarked that so long as Ireland was without any of the institutions of local government worthy of the name, and so long as nothing was done to cultivate a sense of responsibility among the people, so long would the seeds of discontent and disloyalty remain. Until something was done to make the people of Ireland—not of one class, but of all classes—responsible for the maintenance of law and order in that country, future history would testify that their efforts would not be attended with such success as would guarantee the permanent tranquillity of Ireland. They had heard also a description from another Member of the Government of that embodiment of Irish administration known in Ireland under the name of "the Castle." He did not intend to weary the House by repeating what he had said upon the evils flowing from the Castle system, and it would suffice to say that he still adhered to his remarks so far as they applied to the question of administration. He had not joined in attacking the *personnel* of the Irish Administration, and although he was aware of the severity with which subordinate officials had applied the Crimes Act, he was not disposed to do so now. Indeed, he would admit that, taking into consideration the terrible responsibility devolving on the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary, and the obligation which rested upon them to maintain peace and order, he did not think that much greater success could have been expected from persons placed in their position. Whilst admitting this, he did not admit that they possessed any peculiar qualities which made them better fitted to administer Irish affairs than Representatives of Ireland placed in similar responsible positions. The Chief Secretary, in his speech to his constituents, had explained the difficulties of his position, and he would ask the House to consider the multifarious and multitudinous duties of the position. He was candid enough to acknowledge that the work was too great for the ability or energy of any single man, and they should best appreciate the difficulties of the position by endeavouring to bring about such reforms as would bring the law in this respect into harmony with the wants and experience of civilized communities. Let hon. Members who were impatient of Irish legislation consider the evils of the present situation, and what it cost Parliament in time and labour to keep up the present system.. Let them consider also what it cost from an economic point of view to keep 30,000 armed men in Ireland, besides the cost of the Constabulary. He supposed that they spent annually £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 to maintain there the physical and mechanical part of the Government. Bearing those facts in mind, and the account given of the government of Ireland by one of its most responsible Officers, they should ask themselves if the time had come when no further concession should be made to agitation in Ireland. He could not understand the tone of solemn despair with which the Irish Question was approached on the Conservative side of the House. He was well aware of the gravity of the present situation, and he believed that the present state of things could not be suffered to continue. The situation was painful almost to a point beyond endurance alike to all classes of the Irish people. It was intolerable to all on either side of the Channel who desired to see good government maintained without sacrificing public liberty, and who desired to preserve freedom of speech without endangering public order or weakening the authority of the Imperial Parliament. But, notwithstanding this, no single step in advance could be taken towards the real solution of the Irish problem unless they were willing to lay aside Party prejudices and deal with the question in a candid and outspoken manner. No doubt, the Chief Secretary for Ireland would that evening read a record of diminishing crime; but he hoped that the Chief Secretary would not then think that he had entirely vindicated his Irish administration. No one could more rejoice at the diminution of crime and outrage than those who, like himself, had felt the burning shame and disgrace of such atrocious methods of political action. But the Chief Secretary was not a chief of the police, but a statesman responsible for the government of the country, and he had to show, not merely the capture and punishment of so many criminals, but what he had done towards removing the causes, the deadly operation of which had produced the crime which all Ireland had such reason to deplore. Let them put down crime and outrage and assassination with a strong hand and an iron heel if they would; but, in the name of the bitter experience of the past, let them not imagine that in doing this they had succeeded in solving the Irish problem—let them not think that maintaining order in a state of siege was the highest effort of Government and the noblest attainment of statesmanship. There was something far beyond and above all this required in order to get at the root of the Irish Question, and in a country where, he did not hesitate to say, men had been driven mad by the mere contemplation of past iniquities. He ventured to follow in the footsteps of the late Mr. Butt, who was quoted by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham, and to affirm that the true cause of Irish disaffection had been the indifference of Parliament to the wrongs and grievances of the people of Ireland until the country had been brought either by secret combination or open agitation to the verge of civil war. If the necessary condition of reform in Ireland was perpetual agitation, it was clear that the country had to choose between perpetual agitation and perpetual denial of justice. If the machinery of legislation could be put into motion only by the power of agitation, it was clear that agitation, however dangerous it might be, would go on in that country and legislation would follow in the unsatisfactory manner in which they had witnessed—in leaps and bounds. He so far sympathized with one sentiment contained in the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman. He would say the setting up of the rule of force, as something calculated to give impetus to legislation on the one hand, and to maintain order on the other, constituted in itself the very negation of Constitutional government. The determination of the Irish Government at the present moment was not to be diverted from the pursuit of the organizers and perpetrators of crime, and in this respect their conduct would, he was sure, receive the hearty approbation of all quarters of the House; but he would protest against the tendency which he had noticed in many places to confound the legitimate aspirations of the people with the designs of those inhuman desperadoes who aimed at the overthrow of civilized society. Fortunately for the character of Ireland, the present was the first time in her chequered and troubled history in which a body formed for the purpose of political assassination had found a footing on her soil, and he rejoiced to think it was destined to be the last. Hon. Gentlemen would, however, remember that many countries which had attained a high state of civilization had frequently been stained by political crimes of the most horrible character. The United States at the time of the Civil War, Germany and Russia in later times, and France and Italy in the periods of their great excitement and in the days of revolutionary frenzy, had equally been stained by brutal crimes, and the demon of political assassination had presided at the councils of political maniacs and desperate conspirators. If, unfortunately, that demon had momentarily taken possession of the capital of Ireland, he looked confidently to its speedy exorcism by the vigorous assertion of the majesty of the law. If hon. Gentlemen would pardon what they might consider to be an exhibition of the national pride, he would say that he looked not less for that result to the force of the native virtue of the Irish race. He would appeal to their own experience of the better nature of Irishmen. They had seen them in many walks of life as honest and industrious workmen; their women virtuous; and their sons brave and valiant soldiers. These represented the true Irish people, and not the miserable gang of miscreants who, acting upon foreign example, and instigated by foreign gold, had cast a stain upon the country. It was not from the teachings of modern Socialism, but from the memories of a peaceful law-abiding nationalism, that Ireland drew her inspiration even today, and although her head might be turned by the day dreams of the Socialistic delirium her heart was pure and brave as of old. The spirit which had actuated the patriotism of Grattan and O'Connell had not been banished from the land which they had served so faithfully and well. He could appeal to that spirit even now, and ask the House to look forward to the prudent and Constitutional development of their principles, and to a time when the foul deeds of oppression and conspiracy alike should be buried in a common oblivion, and when, on the basis of equal rights and Constitutional government, and under the guardianship of law, order, and liberty, Ireland should take her proper place in a really united Empire.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, he thought that hon. Members on the Conservative side of the House were somewhat illogical in their remarks upon coercion. The Liberal Party were first abused for having attempted to govern without coercion, and for not having adopted strong measures at first; and then because the Liberal Party had been obliged most reluctantly to resort to coercive measures they had been assailed for forsaking the principles which they advocated in Opposition. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had observed that it was the habitual practice of Liberal Governments to make unwise concessions to Irish agitation; but he believed that they had acted rightly in endeavouring to govern Ireland without coercion. He believed, further, that the remedial legislation of the Government was in no way affected by recent disclosures. The crimes which were being brought to light pointed to a desperate spirit among a certain class of persons; but it was impossible to suppose that Ireland could be settled by the mere putting down of criminals. After they had done that, after they had maintained the majesty of the law and vindicated individual liberties and the sanctity of life itself, there still remained the difficulty how they were to deal with the Irish Question—how to assimilate English rule to Irish ideas. There were rumours in the Lobbies and in the newspapers of projects for disfranchising Ireland; and it was hinted that the only way of governing Ireland was by the sword. He believed the true policy was to proceed, not by concessions to agitation, but by wise legislation. He had always been one of those who had maintained that, while it was essential that the Land Law of Ireland should be reformed, it was also necessary that extraordinary powers should be intrusted to the Government in order to give a fair chance to the peaceful progress and development of that country. The strained relations of landlord and tenant and the very exceptional condition of agricultural affairs in Ireland had rendered it just and expedient that they should interfere with the otherwise sound and reasonable principle of freedom of contract. As the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had once expressed it, it had been requisite to find a *modus vivendi* between the Irish landlord and tenant; so, on the other hand, they had to devise, in the extraordinary powers which had been intrusted to the Government to put down crime and outrage, some means by which the loyal and law-abiding people might be enabled to pursue their industry in peace and security. That was why the Liberal Party had supported coercion; but they would have been in a very different position if they had opposed, as the Party sitting opposite had done, every measure of concession to the Irish tenants. He believed that the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends had never been the leaders of popular opinion in Ireland. They had connected themselves with a movement which contained, certainly, elements of a popular and legitimate character, but which was also allied with many elements of disorder, and instead of being able to control that movement they had been carried away by it and made its slaves. He had always held that it would be futile to attempt to make any compact with men like the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends, who had no real power to carry out such engagements. Those Gentlemen were committed and bound to a policy of open hostility to the Government, not because it was a Liberal Government, but because it was an English Government. He had listened with interest to the remarks of the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) in reference to local government in Ireland. With the spirit of those remarks he fully agreed; for he felt that while they had, as in Ireland, the personal functions of Royalty entirely abrogated, the people untrained in the habits of local self-government, and the avenues of popular and official distinction in Ireland so often divergent, the condition of the country could not be completely satisfactory. The Grand Jury system in that country and other matters might be defective. While those questions might have to be dealt with in the future, it would, he thought, be unwise for independent Members, regardless of the political and social condition of the country, to press them forward inopportunely. The proper time and occasion for introducing any such legislation should be left to the determination of the responsible Ministers. It must be remembered that different legislation was necessary for different parts of Ireland. In Ulster, for instance, fair, just, and equitable legislation would supply all the needs of that Province; but such was not the case in some counties—in Galway, for instance, where, out of 39,077 holdings, over 20,000 were under £4 in value; or in Donegal, where 21,330 out of 38,098 were equally small. The only real and practical remedy for districts of this kind was a well-considered system of State-aided emigration. It was a mistake to suppose that the feelings of the population were universally set against emigration; on the contrary, many showed an inclination to accept any chance of leaving the country which was offered them. It was useless to rely on public works or on outdoor relief to remedy the evil. By so doing, the Irish people would only become demoralized, by national money squandered in buying off a crisis which would re-appear at the first recurrence of a bad season. But, whatever remedy might be suggested, he would appeal to the House to discuss the question in no bickering Party spirit, but steadily and fairly look the question in the face, and not give way to panic. They must remember that, for better or for worse, they were joined to Ireland, and until they had made her contented and happy they would always have at their doors a source of weakness. That was the reason why the introduction of Party spirit was to be avoided. The question of Home Rule must stand on its own merits; and he was willing to admit that if the Liberal Party, or whatever Party might be in power, were to listen to the language of panic, and to treat Ireland as a nation of traitors and criminals, and govern it without a Constitution, a Party would arise in England —the Radical Party—who would raise the question of Home Rule. He hoped that hon. Members on both sides of the House would endeavour to join in strengthening the hands of the Government, not because they belonged to one political Party or the other, but because it was the Government of the Queen; and then, perhaps, the discussion might be fruitful in eliciting instruction upon Irish affairs.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he hoped that the noble Lord would excuse him if he had been unable to follow him through the very interesting speech which he had just delivered; but he must confess fully and freely that, for his own part, he had been quite unable to catch the general drift of his remarks, and when he did, they seemed to have no bearing whatever on the question immediately before the House. He ventured, however, to ask the indulgence of the House if he again addressed them, for, although he was technically entitled to speak, he thought it his duty, as he was speaking for a second time, to claim their indulgence before doing so. It appeared to him that since the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, the discussion had altogether wandered away from the principles put forward by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). The hon. and learned Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), in the course of his remarks, was understood to say that, but for a certain particular word in the Amendment, the word "further," he would have found no difficulty whatever in supporting the Amendment by his vote. Now the word "further" clearly expressed the unchangeable conviction on the part of the Conservative Party that there was an attempt made last year to do a certain thing, and although they believed that the time had gone by when that event would be visited by a Vote of Censure in the House, still at the same time it was impossible to raise the whole question of the Irish policy of the Government without also mentioning that circumstance. It was a conviction that there was a compact, or whatever it might be called, on which the House of Commons had never pronounced any formal opinion, because it had never been given the opportunity, but which, for all present purposes, had rather passed out of use in that House. The only word in the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham to which objection had been taken by the hon. and learned Member for Mayo was the word "further," and therefore he did not think that if the hon. and learned Member for Mayo agreed with the general spirit of the Amendment, he ought to be deterred simply by the word "further" from going into the Lobby with his hon. and learned Friend. The hon. and learned Member made one further remark. He appeared to think that this Amendment invited the Government to put aside the question of legislation for Ireland altogether, and to rely solely for the future on coercion for the prevention of crime; but he could assure him that as far as the Mover and as he himself were concerned—and they were the only two people in the House for whom he could speak—no such idea had ever entered into their minds. It was not the meaning of the Amendment that no legislation for Ireland should be considered except that of a coercive kind. He would remind the hon. Member of a great saying of Sir Robert Peel's that it was not the business of a physician to prescribe until he was called in; but he could imagine, and had pictured to himself, measures which would largely advance the prosperity of Ireland, and which, if proposed by the Government, would be considered in a single-minded and most respectful spirit by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and himself. He would now, if the House would allow him, refer in a few words to the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had altogether mistaken a remark which had been made by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham, and that remark appeared to have cut very deeply into the mind of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. It was to the effect that the right hon. and learned Gentleman was an incompetent Home Secretary. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had taken that remark too seriously. He could truly say that his hon. and learned Friend intended that remark as only a little bit of chaff. No one would recognize more fully the conspicuous abilities of the Home Secretary, or the satisfactory manner in which he had hitherto discharged the duties of his position, than his hon. and learned Friend; nor if they had any criticism to pass upon his conduct, would they be inclined to summarize them in so extremely brief and uncomplimentary a manner. But the right hon. and learned Gentleman, in saying that if the hon. and learned Member for Chatham wished to state to the House that he was an incompetent Home Secretary it was his duty to make a Motion which would have the effect of removing him from Office, had forgotten that if the present Amendment were carried, it would amount to a Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government, and would, therefore, lead to the removal of the Home Secretary from Office. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, too, had severely rebuked his hon. and learned Friend for having alluded to the evidence given by Mr. Carey with respect to Mr. Sheridan and "Mr. No. 1," and had said that it was unbecoming in the hon. and learned Member as a Member of the English Bar. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) was not in a position to decide between the right hon. and learned Gentleman and his hon. and learned Friend; but he would remind the Home Secretary, and those who had cheered that part of his speech, that earlier in the evening, when the hon. and gallant Member for Dover (Major Dickson) referred to those gentlemen, the Home Secretary, replying with great indignation, alluded to them as "those culprits." That was a far stronger expression, he ventured to say, although not a Member of the English Bar, and a much more unjustifiable one, seeing that neither of these two parties was committed for trial, than anything that fell from his hon. and learned Friend. Another remark of the right hon. and learned Gentleman which struck him very much was that he agreed with that one single portion of his hon. and learned Friend's speech, where he asserted that in April last the situation in Ireland was intolerable. But he did not quite understand that the situation in Ireland was intolerable to the people of England, and everyone except those connected with the Government, because of the crimes which disgraced Ireland. But their contention was that the state of Ireland was intolerable to Her Majesty's Government because the action of the Irish Party interfered with their Procedure Resolutions. Therefore, what was intolerable to the Government was not the condition of Ireland, but the irreconcilable attitude of the Irish Party, who had contrived to let the Government see that their Procedure Resolutions were in the deadliest peril, and that their business in Parliament would be actually arrested and stopped unless some change was made in their policy. The Home Secretary—who, he was glad to see, had just returned to the House, for he could not say how much he regretted that the right hon. and learned Gentleman should have missed the remarks he had made—had made one statement, he ventured to say, which surpassed in inaccuracy anything that had yet fallen from the

Treasury Bench. He said that the cause of the unfortunate state of affairs in Ireland was the inefficient organization of the Irish police. That was the great difficulty, the right hon. and learned Gentleman said, with which the present Government had had to deal. The statement was a very remarkable one, and in making it the right hon. and learned Gentleman assumed that he was supported by the right hon. Gentleman on this side of the House who been engaged in the former administration of Ireland. In that, however, he was deceived, for the right hon. Gentleman directly disagreed with him. He would remind the Home Secretary that this extremely inefficient police, which had been the cause of all the difficulties of the Government in Ireland, were the police which put down a far more serious and dangerous crisis than the Government had had to deal with—the Fenian rebellion. It was this police which furnished Lord Mayo with an inestimable quantity of the information that enabled him to bring to trial and to convict almost every single Fenian that had anything to do with that rebellion. It was this police which put down the most dangerous rebellion, without any exception, that Ireland had seen since the days of 1798. He believed that under the late Government there was no cause to find fault with the Irish police; at least, there was no cause for any Member of that Government to get up in the House of Commons to stigmatize that body with being inefficient, and as being the only difficulty to deal with. That brought him to the course the Government had lately adopted. What was the advice which the police of Ireland gave to the Home Secretary and his Colleagues when they came into Office with respect to the renewal of the Peace Preservation Act? There was not a single Inspector or Sub-Inspector who, when consulted by the late Government, did not say that the administration of Ireland was impossible without that Act; and yet the present Government, who knew as much about Ireland as the Mace on the Table, practically told the police that their information was not worth anything at all, and that they did not intend to be bound in the least by it. He did not wonder, if the Government treated the police in this manner, that they should now complain of the inefficiency of that body. The Home Secretary admitted that the Coercion Act introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had been an utter failure; but he said that this failure was not to be laid to the charge of the Government. It was to be laid to the charge of the House of Commons, and more particularly to the Opposition. The Home Secretary had singled him (Lord Randolph Churchill) out for attack in this matter; but he denied that he was in any way responsible for this failure, because he predicted that failure plainly and strongly in the House. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) ventured to say on the second reading of that measure that he supported it with reluctance and distrust, that he was confident that the efficient administration of the ordinary law would have saved the House of Commons that Bill, and that "he was certain that they would have indecision and timidity, and consequent injustice and protracted coercion." That being the case, the Home Secretary would, he hoped, acknowledge the injustice of the attack he had made, and also admit that in this prediction, as in all his (Lord Randolph Churchill's) other predictions, he had been perfectly justified. With respect to Mr. Sheridan, the Home Secretary, after a long and involved answer, said that after all this was a perfectly unimportant matter; but he (Lord Randolph Churchill) noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford shook his head when that statement was made; and as the employment of this Mr. Sheridan by the Government absolutely brought about the disagreement between the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford and the Government which led to the resignation of the right hon. Gentleman, he could not help thinking that the Home Secretary was trying the patience of the House a little too far when he said that the matter was one of no importance. The Home Secretary also loftily repudiated the assertion that there had been an inner circle of Members in the Cabinet who had endeavoured to compass the political ruin of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. But shortly after the murders in the Phœnix Park an authoritative statement referring to the resignation of that right hon. Gentleman appeared in *The Times*, which he wished to recall to the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt). *The Times* had never, to his knowledge, made itself the channel for the communication to the public of idle gossip, and rarely published any statement except on good authority. [Mr. LABOUCHERE: Oh!] That laugh betrayed a little professional jealousy. He repeated that *The Times* did not make itself the channel for the communication of idle gossip, and, that being so, he thought there was good reason to believe that the statement which he would read to the House must have been made either directly or indirectly by the authority of some right hon. Gentleman opposite. *The Times*, in the article to which he referred, said—

> "The history of this transaction (the circumstances connected with the resignation of Mr. Forster), though its details may be decorously veiled, is perfectly understood by the public. Mr. Forster was the victim of an intrigue, which was worked from within the Cabinet, and which was industriously developed outside through organs and organizations."

Then perhaps the President of the Board of Trade would inform the House who had inspired the remarkable series of articles which had appeared in an evening paper, and which assailed the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford with a virulence unexampled since the days of Junius. To his knowledge the articles in question had for long been the subject of comment among the Radical Party below the Gangway. [An hon. MEMBER: I never read them.] It had been insinuated by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary that a right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench was not an English Gentleman, because he had stated that the right hon. Member for Bradford was the victim of an intrigue within the Cabinet. But with the support given to that statement in *The Times*, and bearing in mind the articles which had appeared in the evening paper to which he had already referred, he (Lord Randolph Churchill) ventured to say that the assertion was one which might be made with the utmost confidence by any Gentleman. The hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Lyulph Stanley) and others had told the Opposition that they must deal with the past. If the time of the House of Commons were being occupied with the delivery of elaborate essays on the reign of Queen Anne, that admonition would be just; but the past with which they were now dealing was the past of yesterday, and was a legitimate subject for criticism. Though Parties in Opposition might be judged by their promises, Governments could only be judged by their past. But the object of his hon. and learned Friend was not so much to attack the Government for their past, as to obtain a guarantee for their future conduct. The Liberal Party had learnt a terrible lesson in connection with the question of Irish government; and the Opposition, by their Amendment, wished to make sure that the lesson would not be hastily forgotten. In 1880, when the present Government came into Office, they advised the Crown to inform Parliament that they intended to rely no longer on exceptional measures, but on the good sense and loyalty of the Irish people. That policy continued with more or less variation and vacillation until 7 o'clock on May 6, 1882, on which dark day it came to an end. It had been persevered in through the whole of 1880, momentarily abandoned in 1881, when the Coercion Bill was introduced, obstinately recurred to in 1882, when the "suspects" were released from Kilmainham, and when the Government informed the House that they intended to rely upon the loyalty, not of Her Majesty's subjects, but of the Irish National Land League. But on the 7th May there was a sudden awakening; then there was a startling change. For more than two weary years Her Majesty's Government had witnessed, to all appearances quite unmoved, the ravages of the "Moonlighters," the "Boycotting" of peasants, terror, outrage, and crime of every description, which was gradually enveloping the whole of Ireland. Lord Mountmorres had been murdered, when returning from the magistrate's bench, shortly after the present Government came into Office. A whole host of other assassinations followed each other in quick succession up to the moment when they culminated in the assassination of Mrs. Smyth, in the month of April, 1882, while returning from attendance at the Holy Communion. But all these horrors produced but little effect upon the minds of Her Majesty's Government, and on the 4th of May Her Majesty's Government concluded a compact with the powers of lawlessness and crime. But when, at 7 o'clock on the 6th of May, 1882, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, a Member of that House, one of their most respected Colleagues, and the son of an English Duke, was struck down in the Phœnix Park—then, and only then, did they realize the true nature of their policy in all its hideousness. Of Lord Frederick Cavendish, whose name would long be remembered in that House with affectionate veneration, it might be truly said that while in his life he rendered good service to the State, by his dying he brought good to the people of Ireland, and was the cause of restoring the first elements of order to a land long distracted by anarchy and terrorized by unpunished crime. Certainly, there was then a change—a change so large in its proportions that the outrages, which had previously numbered 500 and 600 in a month, had sunk to 50 and 60 a month, and even less—a change so marked in its character that it caused the Government to abandon all their Procedure projects, to throw aside their whole scheme of legislation; in the words of the Prime Minister, to recast and reconsider all their arrangements—a change so striking in its effects that "Boycotting" had almost vanished from the land, Moonlighters had ceased their depredations, and, for the first time since the present Government came into Office, men were able to go to and fro upon their affairs without fear; and, for the first time since the present Government came into Office, they were enabled to inform Parliament, through the Queen's Speech, that the law had been everywhere upheld. But what torrents of blood, what cataracts of terror, what oceans of misery had overwhelmed Ireland before this change could be effected; and the Opposition had a right to ask Her Majesty's Government to consent to the insertion in the Address of a paragraph, expressing their earnest hope that the change which had produced these results might be maintained, and that no political exigency should ever again induce the Government of the Queen in Ireland to rely upon lawlessness and crime. Certainly, there had been a change in the summer and autumn and the winter of 1880, and in the spring of 1881 Her Majesty's Government and the Irish National League were political allies; and in the summer and autumn and winter of 1880, and in the spring of 1881, the Irish Land League had for its leaders Sheridan of Tubbercurry, and James Carey, town councillor of Dublin. And, on the 4th of May, this arrangement of parties culminated in this appalling fact—that at that moment the chain of Government in Ireland ranged from the Prime Minister and the noble Lord on the Treasury Bench, from the Lord Lieutenant in the Viceregal Lodge down through all the forces of magistrates, military, and police, to Sheridan of Tubbercurry, and James Carey, town councillor of Dublin. And in all this horrid picture this was the most horrid feature—that the power on which, on the 4th of May, the Government chiefly relied for the restoration of order was not the genius or the eloquence of the Prime Minister, not the abilities of the noble Marquess and his Colleagues, not the tried experience of Earl Spencer, not the forces of all their magistracy, military, and police, but on the influence, secret or otherwise, legal or otherwise, which might or might not be exercised by Sheridan of Tubbercurry, and James Carey, town councillor of Dublin. These were the ultimate resources of a Liberal Administration; these were the great twin brethren who were to bring the Liberal ship safely into port; and on the 4th May they put into practice with a vengeance the Prime Minister's new idea of making the humblest Irishman a governing agency. And the most curious point of all this was that now, when they appeared to be about to bring to justice the perpetrators of many a foul assassination, their success in the matter was not to be attributed to their having won the hearts of the people of Ireland by their remedial legislation, nor to their executive skill, but simply and solely to the information furnished them by their quondam ally, James Carey, town councillor of Dublin. It was a marvellous example of the Prime Minister's theory of making the humblest Irishman a governing agency. Certainly, there had been a change; and, animated by every emotion and every painful reflection that could legitimately stir the minds of public men in a more or less responsible position, they prayed the Crown that that change might be maintained, and they demanded from

Her Majesty's Government an assurance and guarantee to that effect. The Government talked about an improvement in the social condition of the Irish people. What sort of an improvement was it? It was simply nothing more than a decrease in agrarian crime. He should like to know from the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other Minister of the Crown, if there was any improvement in the feeling of Ireland towards the people of England and Scotland? Would they not be prepared to admit that the hatred towards England and Scotland was far more intense and malignant and widespread than ever it had been before in the present century? Was it not a terrible sign of the times to find that the prisoners at the Kilmainham Court House, charged with the commission of assassination, were daily cheered by the Dublin mob? What was the state of things when the Government came into Office in 1880? In 1880, the people of England were watching the state and condition of Ireland with generous sympathy. Large sums of money were freely subscribed in all parts of the country towards the relief of Irish distress; and he could state confidently, from his own experience of that distress, that in many homes in Ireland there were feelings of gratitude springing up for the liberality of the English people. But now, after three years of Liberal rule, not only had they increased the detestation in Ireland of everything connected with England; not only had they made the name of Ireland a bye-word and a reproach in Europe, but they had also made the very name of Ireland to stink in the nostrils of the English people; so that if there were a famine in Ireland, at the present moment, it would be extremely difficult to make the tide of English charity flow thither as freely as before. He said this because he felt that the generosity of the English people was so large and so justly renowned, that nothing but a very powerful and intense feeling of animosity could arrest it. Then, if that were so, was it possible that there could be a more crushing criticism upon the policy of the Government? Was it possible that anything could produce in the mind of anyone more gloomy forebodings for the future of the Union? Agrarian crime might pass away, and the law might again be everywhere upheld; but this main result and effect of their policy would not pass away. It would continue to paralyze and defy all the efforts of all their Parliaments and all their Governments, and would rankle for generations and for years to come in the minds of the Irish people. Amid all these misfortunes, there was one method which, in conclusion, he would like to put before the House, and which he would venture to recommend to the Government as a means by which they might render the task of governing Ireland easier, not only for themselves, but for those who might have to come after them. That was that the Government should choose this moment and take this opportunity for speaking out freely and fully, and announce to the House of Commons and the country the nature of their policy, and what, after all their bitter and mortifying experience of the last three years, was now their intention with regard to Ireland. He ventured to make an appeal to the noble Marquess the present Leader of the House of Commons. The noble Marquess was more closely connected with Ireland than almost any man in that House. He was connected with that country by the vast estates which were the appanage of his race; he was connected with it by a long and prosperous administration of its affairs, and he was connected with it by the bitter memory of an irreparable loss. The noble Marquess was one of the few—perhaps the only statesman—in whom the people of this country were prepared to repose a large and generous measure of public confidence. He would appeal then to the noble Marquess to speak out on the matter, and to inform the House of Commons, and England and Ireland, whether the utterances of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), which had attracted so much attention in that House, and which had been alluded to by his (Lord Randolph Churchill's) right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson), were to be regarded as the "harebrained chatter of irresponsible frivolity," or whether they truly reflected the tendency of Liberal legislation. If so, was the noble Marquess prepared to take a prominent part in promoting that legislation? The Junior Lord of the Treasury, the Private Secretary, and the son of the Prime Minister, had condemned the present system of government in Ireland in the severest terms. He had avowed himself in favour of the widest measures of local self-government; in other words, he was in favour of Home Rule. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Hon. Members who cried "No!" were extremely bold in denying the statement attributed to the hon. Member for Leeds when the hon. Member himself was in the House, and was not prepared to contradict those statements. It surely might be supposed that the hon. Member knew much better what his own opinions were than those hon. Members who cried "No." The hon. Member would say whether he (Lord Randolph Churchill) was right or wrong in regard to the statements he had attributed to him. He said that the hon. Member for Leeds had avowed himself in favour of Home Rule; and he had, on more than one occasion, he (Lord Randolph Churchill) regretted to say, held up the landowning class in Ireland to execration. The hon. Member was a Colleague of the noble Marquess, and by the name which he bore he was an important Colleague; and they had a right to appeal to the noble Marquess to know whether he repudiated, or whether he accepted, the views of the hon. Member for Leeds. Much depended upon the answer which the noble Marquess might give. He would go further, and say, that upon the noble Marquess giving an answer, or refusing an answer to the question, the peace of Ireland largely depended. If the noble Marquess repudiated, as he (Lord Randolph Churchill) firmly believed he did, the views of the hon. Member for Leeds —if he was prepared to resist their application in a practical form to Ireland, then it appeared to him (Lord Randolph Churchill) that there were no reasons why he should not accept the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham, which was put forward, not only with the approval and on behalf of the Tory Party, not merely on behalf of the Imperial Parliament, not merely on behalf of the people of England and Scotland, but mainly on behalf of the unfortunate people of Ireland, who had been so long distracted, misgoverned, and oppressed. But if the noble Marquess refused to respond to that appeal, if he declined to accept even the spirit of the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member, then he (Lord Randolph Churchill) had no hesitation in saying that as sure as they were sitting there agitation in Ireland would recommence, disorder ere long would reign again, and the events of the last three years would be but as a chapter—aye, only as a page in the story of Irish wrongs.

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, the noble Lord who has just sat down (Lord Randolph Churchill) has explained to the House what is his view of the character of the Amendment moved by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). For my part, I wish to judge that Amendment by the spirit of the speech which accompanied its introduction. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham stated, when it was introduced, that he hoped the House would meet it in the spirit in which it was moved; but the speech in which it was moved was a speech in regard to which I do not think I am using too strong words when I say that it did not represent the gravity of the situation, and that it was not conceived in the spirit one would expect the subject to be dealt with at a time when we were having what the hon. and learned Member himself called "the revelations of the Kilmainham Court House." We had to deal with that speech, and I asked myself, as many other Members no doubt did, on what question are we really engaged to-night, and with what motive has this Amendment been moved? Why is this peculiar Motion made? At what moment is it moved? The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock rebuked the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) just now, because he said the right hon. and learned Gentleman had gone out of his way to denounce the Land League.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not say that; I never said that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had gone out of his way.

AN hon. MEMBER: The words were "gone astray."

MR. GOSCHEN: Yes; "gone astray," or words to the effect that he had wandered out of his way. That is not so very far from what I said, and I will put it that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had wandered from the subject. What, then, was the subject? Has not the noble Lord wandered from the subject, in order to bring every charge he possibly could conceive against Her Majesty's Government with regard to other transactions? Have not other hon. and right hon. Members who have spoken wandered from the Amendment, in order to rake up as many transactions of the past as they could, so as to be able to throw odium upon Her Majesty's Government, and possibly, not, perhaps, intentionally, to increase the difficulties which right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Front Bench have to confront at this critical moment? We have heard what these difficulties are. I ask, then, at what moment is this Amendment introduced? What has suggested the Amendment? It was not on the Paper on Thursday or Friday last; it was put on the Paper after the proceedings at the Kilmainham Court House on Saturday. Why was it put there? It was put there in order to rest arguments, either by inference or speech, upon what one hon. Member opposite called the "disclosures," and another the "revelations," that had been made. How are the Government, at a moment like this, to deal with a situation put before them in that way? How can they either assume or contradict the statements that have been made? Have they not to fight with their hands tied? I am no lawyer, and I do not know how far it is right to make the statement which was used, that the Crown was, at all events, bound to assume the truth of the evidence of their own witnesses. How far that applies to the Representatives of the Crown in their representative and political capacity I do not know; but what I do know is, that if the Front Bench had ventured to form or pass any criticism upon the revelations made in the Court House of Kilmainham on Saturday last, they would have laid themselves open to censure from all parts of the House. I say, therefore, that this is scarcely a moment to invite the Government to discuss the results of these revelations. Let me put it in this way. If it should result that all that has been put forward is not true, should this debate have taken place? I say, then, this debate is premature under the circumstances of the case; and I would ask if it is likely to be for the advantage of Ireland—for the advantage of justice—or will it lighten the work of the Executive in Ireland, that we should be discussing these matters at the present moment? Is it a fit moment to choose, when all our hearts and minds have been stirred by what we have read? I think that is a consideration that ought not to be omitted. It appears to me that it is not a very agreeable spectacle that the hon. and learned Member for Chatham and his Friends should not have been able to wait even until this trial should have been finished before finding themselves called upon to take the Government to task as they have done to-night. [Mr. T. P. O'Connor: Why did you not wait?] I am not aware that I have endeavoured to cast a slur upon anyone; but what I maintain is that, at the present moment, we are not ripe for the discussion that has been initiated. I wish to put the case in this way. Is it not better that hon. Members on all sides of the House should wait until the law has decided—until the trial has taken place—before they embark in a discussion of this kind? Therefore, I ask, why this haste? I have in vain looked for an expression, even from the hon. and learned Member for Chatham, or from the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), of congratulation of the Government upon their apparent success in discovering some of the circumstances under which these crimes have been committed. They assume the truth of the evidence, because the whole of their case is based on this—that the disclosures are true; and, nevertheless, they have not one word to say to congratulate the Executive Government on the firmness with which they have been able to carry out their search for the assassins. They do not say—"We will rally round the Executive Government and support them;" but, before they have time to know the whole case, they have endeavoured to fasten an attack upon Her Majesty's Government. That is altogether inconsistent with the feeling I have, that we ought not to prejudge the case, and that we ought to distinguish between a preliminary investigation and the official trial that has yet to take place. My case is this—and it is one which makes me speak somewhat warmly in expressing my judgment of the course taken by hon. Members opposite—it appears to me that the middle of an unfinished transaction of the law is precisely the time when it must be embarrassing to all parties that the subject should be discussed in this House; and this Motion, forced on Her Majesty's Government by hon. Members opposite, is made at a time when the whole feeling of the country has been aroused by what we have read. We have to go back upon other transactions, and to discuss the degree of responsibility which attaches to one man or another, before we can really be in full possession of the facts of the case. I trust that in deprecating, as I venture to deprecate, this discussion, it will not be suspected that it is because I am lukewarm in the cause of law and order. Hon. Members know that I have not been afraid at any time, in this House, to speak my mind on that subject, and if I thought that pressure ought to be put on the Executive for more vigour in that direction, I should not shrink to join in putting such pressure on them; but I say that the moment is ill-chosen, and I do not believe that the public of the country will believe that, before they are themselves able to form a judgment, it is right that a Motion of this kind should be placed before the House of Commons for its consideration. The noble Lord says that it is in order to obtain pledges for the future. Will that "take in," to use a vulgar phrase, any hon. Member in this House? We have heard many hon. Members opposite—and I believe they have done so with conviction and with earnestness — bear witness to the admirable firmness with which Earl Spencer and my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) have discharged their duties. Do they think that these Gentlemen require the stimulus which the noble Lord pretends to apply to them? I do not think that they require any stimulus at all. It appears to me that they are discharging their duties in a manner which is commanding the confidence of the country; and I regret that the Conservative Party, at this moment, instead of suspending for a time all Party conflict, should think it right to seek to embarrass the Government, and almost to divert public attention from the course in which it ought to be directed, by putting a Motion of which the object can only be this—to make an attack upon the Government, and thereby, so far as they can do it, to weaken the force of the Executive Government at a moment when, above all others, it is important that the hands of the Executive Government should remain firm and strong and undisturbed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—*(Sir Herbert Maxwell.)*

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I think the hour is somewhat early. It is not usual to conclude debates of this kind, especially when we have such important Business still to dispose of, at so early an hour. If the hon. Member who has moved the adjournment of the debate desires to make any observations, I believe that the House will be glad to hear him, and that they would ask him to proceed with those remarks at once.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I think it is impossible that this debate can be finished to night; and, therefore, I am of opinion that this is only a reasonable hour, considering that we have to meet in the morning at 12 o'clock, for adjourning the debate.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF hoped that the noble Marquess would consent to the Motion, which he thought was in accordance with the New Rules. In his opinion, those Rules were intended to facilitate a Motion for Adjournment at that hour.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: My noble Friend has no desire to enter into a contest with hon. Members opposite; but I must remind hon. Members of the practice of continuing the debate on the Address for a great number of days, and occupying a considerable part of the commencement of the Session, is a novel practice. I think that in this single Session we have already had more days taken up in the debate on the Address than was formerly the case. I may remind hon. Members that it is impossible for us to burn the candle at both ends; and if the House is disposed to spend a great part of its time before Easter in prolonged debates on the Address, it is really taking away that time which ought to be given to the transaction of the real Business of the House. I do not rise on the part of my noble Friend to oppose the Motion for Adjournment, but I do hope that hon. Members will take these matters into consideration and reflect upon them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

RIVER TEES.

Returns *ordered*, "relative to Bed and Foreshore of the River Tees, under the following Schedules:—

Schedule No. I.

Return of all consideration moneys received or receivable by the Crown in respect of any part or parts of the Foreshore and Bed of the River Tees, &c. or of any minerals under the same, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Tees Conservancy Commissioners, which have been sold or agreed to be sold between the 1st day of December 1844, and the 31st day of December 1882, and the particulars (by reference to a plan) of the several plots in respect of which such moneys have been received or are receivable:

Schedule No. II.

Return of all Leases or Agreements for Leases granted or made, and of all Rents and Royalties received by the Crown in respect of the Foreshore and Bed of the River Tees, &c. or any minerals thereunder, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Tees Conservancy Commissioners, between the 1st day of January 1844, and the 31st day of December 1882, and the particulars of the several plots (by reference to a plan) in respect of which such Leases or Agreements for Leases were granted or made, and such rents and royalties have been received or are receivable:

Schedule No. III.

Return of all moneys paid or payable by the Crown in respect of the moneys or rents mentioned in the preceding Schedules Nos. I. and II. (or either of them), in connection with the reclamation of sale or lease of the Foreshore or Bed of the River Tees, or any mineral within or under the same, or any claims with reference thereto, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Tees Conservancy Commissioners, between the 1st day of January 1844, and the 31st day of December 1882."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

CORN SALES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Rankin, Bill to insure uniformity of Weight in the Sale of Corn, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Rankin, Sir Joseph Bailey, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Biddell, Mr. H. T. Davenport, and Mr. Williamson.

SITES FOR PLACES OF WORSHIP, &C. (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel Nolan, Bill to afford increased facilities for obtaining Sites for Places of Worship, Schools, and Residences for Teachers and Clergymen in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel Nolan, Mr. Gray, Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Patrick Martin, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Biggar, and Mr. Meldon.

MARRIAGE (HOURS OF SOLEMNIZATION) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Caine, Bill for the extension of the Hours for the Solemnization of Marriage, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Caine, Mr. Morley, and Mr. Wills.

INFECTIOUS DISEASES NOTIFICATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Hastings, Bill to provide for the better Notification of Infectious Diseases, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Hastings, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Dr. Farquharson, and Mr. Brinton.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

TRADE MARKS BILL.—[Bill 70.]

(*Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Armitage, Mr. Arnold Morley, Mr. Orr-Ewing.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it proposed to enact that from and after the expiration of five years from the date of the registration of a person as first proprietor of a trade mark, he and every subsequently registered proprietor thereof, lawfully claiming under or through him, should have an absolute and unimpeachable right to the exclusive use of such trade mark, subject, however, to Section 2 of the Act of 1875, as regarded the connection of the trade mark so registered with the goodwill of a business. It also proposed that no person but the Registrar and the registered proprietor should be entitled to take proceedings for the rectification of the registration of a trade mark, but did not affect any proceedings commenced prior to the 1st day of August, 1883, for the rectification of the register or otherwise; nor did it affect any judgment or order of the Court made or delivered before that date. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) had given Notice of the introduction of a Bill for the amendment and consolidation of the law in relation to trade marks; and he (Mr. Arnold) now asked the House to read this Bill a second time, in order that it might be referred to the Grand Committee, along with the Government measure, for the purpose of being incorporated therewith. He regarded it as essential that consideration should be given to the question of indefeasible registration of trade marks, and could not conceive that any hon. Member would object to the consolidation with the Government Bill of so important a principle. He would conclude by moving the second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

MR. H. DAVEY regretted that the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had thought it proper to bring in this Bill at a moment when there was only present on the Treasury Bench the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury as Representative of Her Majesty's Government. The Bill, although consisting of three sections only, proposed within that small compass, nevertheless, to effect a complete revolution in the law of trade marks. The 1st section of the Bill proposed that after the lapse of five years, not only should the right to a registered trade mark be indefeasible, but that the question whether it was a trade mark should be excluded. Without venturing to put his knowledge of the law against the opinion of his hon. Friend, he would refer to the case brought before Mr. Justice Chitty, whose decision—which was a surprise to every lawyer—was overruled by the Court of Appeal. The plaintiff in that case had been on the register five years, and during that time he had taken no active steps; but he afterwards woke up and commenced bringing actions against those who had infringed the trade mark of "Fixed Stars." Now, as he (Mr. Davey) had already pointed out, the Bill before them proposed that after the lapse of five years the registration of a mark, whether it were a trade mark or not, should be conclusive evidence. Having had experience of the practice with regard to trade marks, he was bound to say he could conceive nothing more mischievous than the proposals embodied in the Bill. Her Majesty's Government were, of course, masters of the situation, and if they thought fit to allow the Bill to pass the second reading, in order that it might be considered by the Grand Committee, he could not prevent them; but he must enter his protest against the practice of allowing a Bill upon an important subject, and which, although a small one, dealt with the existing law, and proposed to effect a revolution in it which every lawyer in the House would regard as serious, to pass the second reading without any discussion whatever, and merely upon the allegation that it would be discussed in the Grand Committee. If the Bill went to that Committee, it would, of course, be said that its principle had been accepted by the House. But, as the matter now stood, could anyone say that that was so? If his hon. Friend desired to introduce proposals of the kind set forth into the Bill which he informed the House that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) was about to introduce, nothing could be easier than to put forward Amendments; but it was not necessary for that purpose that the Bill should be read a second time, and he therefore felt it his duty to divide the House on his hon. Friend's Motion.

MR. ARNOLD MORLEY said, he trusted the House would agree to the Motion of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold). The Government Bill, as he understood, was to be a Consolidation Bill, and the present proposals might not come strictly within its scope; and it was upon that ground that his hon. Friend asked that the second reading stage might be taken, so that they might be considered by the Grand Committee at the same time as the proposals contained in the Government measure.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after
Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 21st February, 1883.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*First Report* — Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons). [No. 13.]

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Perpetual Leases * [97]; Income Tax Administration * [98]; Patents for Inventions (No. 3)* [99].

First Reading—Corn Sales * [95]; Sites for Places of Worship, &c. (Ireland) * [96]; Infectious Diseases Notification * [100].

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the first four Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on an Amendment to the Address to Her Majesty."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

SEEDS ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

OBSERVATIONS.

Dr. CAMERON said, he wished to take advantage of the present opportunity to call the attention of the Government to the Seeds Advances (Scotland) Bill, which was on the Paper for second reading. He was not going to explain the principles of the Bill, or to enter into any discussion concerning it. It simply proposed to give assistance to the smaller tenants in Scotland, who were in a state of great destitution in many parts of the Highlands and Islands, and in a state of destitution which would certainly increase. Now, anything that could be done to remedy that state of matters obviously should be done at once; and he appealed to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) as to whether he might not utilize the delay which must occur in consequence of the postponement of the Orders of the Day, by using his influence with his Colleagues in order that they might obtain official information as to the real state of matters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. The existence of distress there was a matter of notoriety. Every Scottish paper was full of reports on the subject. Subscriptions had been opened by the Chief Magistrates of Edinburgh and Glasgow for its relief, and he believed a similar movement had taken place in London, and yet he understood the Government was without any official information upon the subject. He did not wish to trespass on the time of the House in a matter of this kind; but in a case of such great urgency, it was very desirable that the Government should take immediate steps to obtain official information which would guide them as to their course of action.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I can only say, in reply to the hon. Member, that I will place myself in communication with my right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate, and with my right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department. I am not aware what information they have or have not; but I will communicate with them to see what it is possible to do, or whether it is possible to make any communication to the House or the hon. Gentleman upon the subject.

Motion *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the first four Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on an Amendment to the Address to Her Majesty.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FIFTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [20th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February.]—[See page 98.]

And which Amendment was,

In paragraph 10, line 4, to leave out from the word "upheld," to the end of the paragraph, in order to insert the words "and we venture to express our earnest hope that the change of policy which has produced these results will be maintained, and that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's Rule, by concessions to lawless agitation; and that the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country will continue to be met by unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive,"—(*Mr. Gorst*,)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, he confessed that he had some difficulty in picking up, with becoming vivacity, the threads of arguments which were abandoned a few hours ago. Nevertheless, however inadequate his comprehension of the grave questions before them, and however halting the sentences in which he would express it, he would not shrink from calling attention to some aspects of the case to which he thought sufficient attention had not been given; and, in doing so, he assured the noble Marquess that he would endeavour to merit the encomium he had passed on him last night, when he said he was not in the habit of addressing the House at undue length. He had yesterday put on the Paper a Question relative to one of the approvers who had been placed in the box during the recent examination at Kilmainham. He had put it from no private motives, and as certainly he had put it from no Party motives. He believed that in putting that Question on the Paper he was the mouthpiece—the humble instrument—of the entire intelligence and sense of the country. He believed the question was one on the lips of everyone that morning, however the responsible Ministers of the Crown allowed themselves to be led into an unworthy trafficking with such doubtful and discreditable instruments. The information which he asked for was politely refused by the Chief Secretary, who referred him to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) for the information he desired. He did not go to these sources, because he looked to this debate to elicit the information which was so urgently required and so widely asked for. When he looked at the nature of the defence put forward on behalf of the Government last night, he could not help being struck with the entire absence of any sound and valid argument against the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). The Home Secretary had challenged the Amendment as involving an indirect Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government; but if the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not see in the feeble and etiolated applause with which his somewhat windy periods and affected peroration were received by the supporters of the Government an indirect Vote of Want of Confidence, he could not congratulate him upon the keenness of his perception. The gist of the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, if they threw off the flowers of oratory by which it was ornamented, was—let bygones be bygones. Surely that exhortation was a very strange one, coming from one whose disquisitions upon political subjects most of them in former days had read under the pseudonym of "Historicus;" because if bygones were to be bygones, if the past was to be made a blank, the only history they would have to deal with would be the history which the Irish "Invincibles" created. It was said that it would be very inconvenient to the Government to discuss this question at present. He was very unwilling to be a party to anything that would embarrass the Government, although he apprehended it was no part of the duty of an Opposition to select the mode and moment most convenient to the Government in which to pass their criticisms; but he had hoped that, however earnest might be the refusal of the Government to enter into this question at the present time, they would, at least, have availed themselves of the opportunity so earnestly hoped for and looked for on the part of the country, of making a declaration—First, with regard to their future policy, that no concessions would be made to violent agitation; and, secondly, with regard to the past, that they should have had a *non tali auxilio*—that, in other words, there was no intention to employ, or to contemplate employing, the assistance of men like T. P. Sheridan. How did they seize that opportunity? How did the Home Secretary seize it? Why, he avoided it. He avoided it in three ways. He avoided it, first of all, by what he could only characterize—and he did not mean anything offensive in saying so—as a legal quibble. He taunted the hon. and learned Member for Chatham with having accepted the evidence of the witness examined at Kilmainham Court as having been proved. But that evidence was of a very remarkable character; it was not evidence in the common acceptation of the term; it was the confession of one of the participators in the crime. Now, he had not had the advantage, of which the Home Secretary had so largely availed himself, of a legal education; but he was thankful rather than otherwise that his mind had been penetrated by no sophistries that would prevent his accepting that which commended itself to his common sense, and to the common sense of the great majority of the country—namely, that however that evidence might be shaken in detail hereafter, in the main, on the face of it, it was true.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: And the Government believe it.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, the second means of evasion sought by the Home Secretary was by imputation so singularly disingenuous, so wanting in that manly tone which they were accustomed to expect from him, and so singularly unworthy of the chief Representative of the civil power in this country, that he had to look at the newspaper that morning, in order to be sure that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had really said what he understood him to say. The right hon. and learned Gentleman cast an imputation on a body of men who, he believed, all who were acquainted with them would admit had in times and circumstances of singular difficulty and danger conducted themselves to the admiration of the whole of this country; he meant the police of Ireland. Throwing that blame on the class who maintained order in Ireland was all of a piece with what the Prime Minister did at Leeds when he taunted the loyal people of Ireland with not having got up a counter agitation to that which was desolating that part of the Kingdom. He was glad that in reply to the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) the Home Secretary did enter a sort of disclaimer of any intention to cast an imputation on the courage and fidelity of the police. His explanation was that it was the fault of their organization. What did that mean? Why, surely very much the same as what used to be said of the Turkish Army in the late war—that the men were gallant fellows, but that the officers were no better than they should be. If the Home Secretary did not take an early opportunity of making more full amends to that gallant body of men—without whose assistance Ireland would at the present moment be an independent Republic—then he feared the consequences would be grave indeed. The third excuse was hardly worth alluding to; it was the threadbare one of the difficulty and the disorganization of the police being a legacy from the former Government. That recalled to his mind the somewhat vulgar anecdote of the cook who was allowed no followers, and whose mistress on going down into the kitchen found the legs of a tall lifeguardsman sticking out of the cupboard; whereupon the cook excused herself by saying that the soldier was no follower of hers, but a legacy from the last cook. Even the Home Secretary gave an account which it was difficult to reconcile with the facts of the differences he had had with the late Chief Secretary for Ireland; but as that had been fully dealt with last night he would not go into it. The right hon. and learned Gentleman called the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham an indirect Vote of Censure. There might be a certain implied censure, as was pointed out by the hon. and learned Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) in the use of the word "further." He was not authorized to speak on behalf of the Mover of the Amendment; but he believed the hon. and learned Gentleman would be willing to eliminate the word "further," and so far let bygones be bygones, if he could only induce the Government to give him such an assurance as was wanted. What they wanted was that there should be no more government by concession. They had had a taste of that already this Session. They had had the Affirmation Bill brought in, in response not to legitimate agitation, but to the threat by the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) that he would come down in his thousands and storm the House of Commons. Her Majesty's Ministers had not the effrontery to yield to that threat in the Speech from the Throne; but they had so far given way to it that they had introduced the Affirmation Bill at the earliest possible moment, and he supposed that they were prepared to carry it forward with all possible despatch. It was not until they had that specimen of the Imperial policy of Her Majesty's Ministers, that the hon. and learned Member for Chatham put his Amendment on the Paper. The Amendment was not entirely limited in its scope to Ireland. Already things were beginning to take place in Scotland—a country whose people for more than a century had been singularly orderly and law-abiding—which caused them to demand from Her Majesty's Government an assurance that they would abide by their recent change of policy. On the West Coast of Scotland and among the Islands there was a population similar in many respects to the Irish cottiers. Their circumstances were not much more attractive. They were engaged in the hopeless task of trying to live on soil that would not support them—an attempt that had always ended, and would always end, in the recurrence of bad seasons, and, in consequence, misery and starvation. But the movement of which they had lately heard was never dreamed of until after what had occurred in Ireland. He knew a good deal of what had lately been going on in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and if that were a suitable occasion he could tell hon. Members some things which might surprise them. Meanwhile, he simply wanted to say that if there was any prospect of future concessions to agitation in Ireland, then they might depend on it they would soon have nearer home, and among people—he spoke for himself, and for many around him—infinitely dearer to them than the Irish peasantry, an agitation which could only bring disaster and misery in its train. He could not forget the crowning reason which the Prime Minister gave for introducing the Land Bill of 1881. That right hon. Gentleman said—if he (Sir Herbert Maxwell) recollected his words aright—that but for the iron necessity of public affairs the Government had not a shred of a title to interfere between landlord and tenant in Ireland. Well, how was that iron necessity created—that iron necessity which could have had no existence in the Prime Minister's knowledge during the autumn of 1879 and the spring of 1880, when he entered into his voluminous disquisitions on public affairs in Mid Lothian? It had grown up in the interval since then, being welded by leaden bullets and steel knives. First the chapel bell was rung, and then the knives were sharpened. That was how the "iron necessities" were got up. What assurance had the House that an iron necessity would not be again set on foot this year, next year, or any year, if the policy of concession was not strenuously and emphatically repudiated on the present occasion? The other main defence set up by the Government last night was in the person of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), whose manly, though somewhat spasmodic independence they were accustomed to find expressed in eloquent and telling words. He had listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman with interest; but had sought in vain for a shed, for a single molecule, of an argument against the adoption of the Amendment. Whereas the Home Secretary said—"Why do you bring forward this Motion now? why did you not do so 10 months ago?" the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon said—"Why do you bring it forward now, why not in 10 months hence?" The right hon. Gentleman said this was a moment of great embarrassment to the Government; how did that agree with what the Chief Secretary said at Hawick? The Chief Secretary spoke in tones of hopefulness, almost of satisfaction, in regard to the state of things in Ireland. [Mr. TREVELYAN dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head; he did not wish to misrepresent him; but he, at all events, had drawn from that speech a certain amount of hope for the future, and of something like satisfaction with the present. He was sorry to learn now from the Chief Secretary that he was not justified in doing so. But in any case he could not look at this particular moment as one of great embarrassment. Why should it be? The Government were armed with greater power than any previous Government ever had in dealing with Ireland. Agitation—the criminal agitation—if it was not killed was surely scotched; and the other day they had a cartoon in *Punch* representing the Prime Minister on a heroic scale, and scantily clad, as was becoming a man in a warm climate, struggling with a very under-sized Hydra labelled "Treason, anarchy, and murder." That was, at all events, an encouraging view of the situation, and one which he certainly hoped was not a misleading one. When, he would ask, were they to bring forward this Motion? If the Home Secretary thought 10 months ago, and the right hon. Member for Ripon thought 10 months hence, surely they could not err between these two pieces of advice if they took a middle course and brought it forward now. He had expressed regret that the Government had not accepted the invitation that had been extended to them. But almost a graver source of regret remained. If they looked for a disclaimer in regard to the past, and for encouragement in regard to the future, was there not a third Party in the House from whom they might reasonably expect some expression of opinion? The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was intimately connected with the subject of this debate. His name had arisen frequently;

he did not wish to make or to imply any imputation upon the conduct of the hon. Member; but when they had his accredited instrument, Mr. Sheridan, unveiled before them in the way that he had been, surely it was not too much to expect that an hon. Member sitting in the British House of Commons would rise in his place to say that he knew nothing about the matter. Nay, more; if he was not mistaken, the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) was the Gentleman who nominated James Carey as Town Councillor. Had he nothing to say with regard to this self-condemned murderer? Had he no expressions of regret for having ever taken this man under his *ægis?* That was a fair question to ask, and he should be much disappointed if this debate continued without eliciting some explanation of these most mysterious circumstances. He was absent last night during the greater part of the debate; but when he took up the paper in the morning he looked to see if any Irish Member had not been brave enough to get up and express, in manly and unmistakable tones, his opinion on these matters; but, on the contrary, he found the hon. Member for Westmeath, so far from condemning this conspiracy, actually offered a palliation and an excuse for James Carey. [Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN: What was it I said?] He would read the words of the hon. Member, as reported in *The Times* of that morning—

> "He asked the House and the people of this country to give ear to the weighty words spoken by James Carey in Kilmainham Court House when he said that he joined the Assassination Committee when the country was in a bad state, when coercion was in full force, when the popular leaders were in prison, and anyone might be put into prison, at a moment when he despaired of obtaining redress by constitutional means; and, he added, but for that the committee would not have had so many recruits. These words bore the stamp of truth, and proved that it was misrule which had driven men into those confederacies."

This was the passage on which he based his statement that the hon. Member had offered palliation and excuse. The Home Rule Party in that House had been discredited before; let them be careful they did not bring infamy upon themselves in the future. In endeavouring to form some estimation of the course which the Government intended to pursue with regard to Ireland, they must bear in mind the words—almost the parting words—with which the Prime Minister startled the House at the end of the Autumn Session—when he said that the wish nearest his heart was to establish popularly-elected bodies in every county in Ireland. Surely a scheme of that sort, undertaken at the present moment, was fraught with danger, not only to Ireland, but to the whole United Kingdom. They wanted to have some encouragement from the Government, to look to the grave and measured utterances of the noble Marquess at the head of the War Office, rather than to the profligate promises of the President of the Board of Trade or the somewhat academical utterances of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone). He would remind the Government that the ephemeral Jingo popularity which they had gained by their appeal to arms last autumn, and by the brilliancy of the exploits of our troops in that campaign, was passing away; and he urged them to gain for themselves a more lasting confidence by the adoption of the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend. He believed that nothing short of this would suffice to give a sense of returning confidence and security to the law-abiding classes, not only of Ireland, but also of England and Scotland; and he believed it was impossible to exaggerate the gratitude with which it would be received by the entire nation.

MR. O'BRIEN: I regret to begin what I have to say with some words personal to myself with reference to a remark which fell from the hon. Baronet. The National Party contested and won a great number of wards at the last municipal elections in Dublin. Amongst others, I received an invitation from the burgesses of Trinity Ward in Dublin, asking me to attend a meeting in favour of the candidature of Mr. James Carey. Up to that time, as it happened, I had never laid my eyes on Mr. Carey; but I had heard of him as an old Nationalist and a working-man's candidate, who had displayed a very active and intelligent interest in municipal affairs. I wrote a letter stating that I had not a vote for Trinity Ward, and that I, therefore, had no right to intrude my opinion on the burgesses; but if I had any influence with them I would be very glad, indeed, from all I had heard of Mr. Carey, to exert myself in his favour. That was the full extent of my interference with the election to which the hon. Baronet has referred. It was only three weeks after the election that I first met Mr. Carey, when he came and introduced himself, and thanked me for what I had done. All I can say is this—that looking back now upon all the circumstances of the time, I wish it to be thoroughly understood that I make this explanation in no apologetic sense, for I have no doubt if the same state of things *mutato nomine* were to arise in the morning, that I would take the same course of action; and my only regret would be that I had not a vote to give. With regard to some topics that have been introduced in the course of the debate, it seems to be now pretty generally agreed that while men's lives are trembling in the balance this House should not make an attempt to condemn and sentence men here before they are tried in Dublin, and for one I will be no party to it. As to the larger question which is involved—the question of whether the crimes in Dublin justified the administration of the Crimes Act, or whether the administration of the Crimes Act has produced the crimes in Dublin, I would like to offer some remarks to the House. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) fixed the 6th of May as the date of the change of policy which is referred to in the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). I think it can be shown that, though, no doubt, the events of the 6th of May are the events which determined the Government to secure a cruel Coercion Act, that it was a subsequent and more sinister influence in Dublin Castle which determined the Government to make the cruel use they have made of it. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, in the speech which has earned for him, and fairly earned for him, the ill-omened praises of the Front Opposition Bench last night, told us that agrarian offences in Ireland had dropped from 1,010 for the first six months in 1882—the six months of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) —to 365 for the six months after "we came over to Ireland;" and he would have us to infer that all that came about from a wave of his enchanter's wand. At all events, that we owe it, if not to him, to Judge Lawson's juries, the hangman's rope, the Press prosecutions, and the rest of it. What is the fact? The month of June was the month following the retirement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. Judge Lawson's juries were never dreamed of at the time. This Legislature had not even settled the machinery by which they were to be manufactured; the gallows was not yet set up as the form of government in Ireland. On the contrary, the right hon. Gentleman had only just come over with sugared words of conciliation, and although this House was engaged in passing the Crimes Act, Ministers were almost fulsome in assurances that the measure was never to be put to any desperate uses. What do we find? In June the number of agrarian offences fell to 283, of which 155 were of the nature of threatening letters, as contrasted with 462 in April, when the policy of the right hon. Gentleman was in its heyday. In July, the month before Judge Lawson's juries began their work, the number of agrarian offences had dwindled down to 231, showing plainly that the reign of violence, begun by the right hon. Gentleman, was fairly abandoned by both sides. The Arrears Act offered, both to tenants and landlords, a welcome escape from the frightful struggle of the previous winter. The country was settling down honestly and heartily, not, indeed, into political inanition—not into the ways of English Whiggery, and that is the rub — but they were settling down to a leisurely re-organization of their lawful forces for further and perfectly lawful political reforms in the future. Take the county of Clare, for instance. That is a county in which, perhaps, as desperate things were done, both on the landlords' side and on the tenants' side, as in any county in Ireland. In Clare, in January, 1882, there were, unhappily, the highest number of outrages for any county in Ireland—41. Again, in February, Clare headed the unhappy list with 42 outrages. Contemporaneously with this state of disturbance, and as we say the cause and explanation of it, 52 families, of 299 souls, were evicted during that quarter, and only seven families were re-admitted. In July, in Clare, under the more benignant influence which began then to operate when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was gone, and when Mr. Clifford

Lloyd paid a good deal of attention to that quarter, being clipped of a good many of his terrors, the number of families evicted had fallen to seven, and the number of agrarian offences gone down to nine, three of them cases of writing threatening letters. What was happening in Clare was happening all over the country. The one terrible exception — the Phœnix Park assassinations—only emphasized the fact that men of all parties were embracing the prospect of ending the reign of violence and bloodshed of which the assassinations were the last terrible outcome. Take the way in which the intelligence of these assassinations was received through the country. The very men whose votes at the Poor Law elections in March had sealed the fate of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford—for it was that revolution at the Poor Law Boards which made the right hon. Gentleman realize that he was warring with a nation and not with assassins—but I say these very men whose votes hurled the right hon. Gentleman from power, hailed those assassinations with a chorus of execration, which went from the leader of the Irish people through every popular Boardroom in the country. It was an opportunity that may not soon return to statesmen. How did the right hon. Gentleman opposite use that opportunity? Was the spirit displayed by the Irish people loyally reciprocated? What is it that has changed the Ireland of June and July last, then settling down in a spirit of amnesty and kindly human sympathy? What is it that has transformed her into the outraged, sullen, and exasperated Ireland that to-day and for many a day to come will trouble the peace of England? I do not care what was the motive. I do not care whether it was to give the people of England vengeance for the butchery of an unhappy English Nobleman. I do not know whether it was the mere ignorance of political *doctrinaires*, or whether it was the mephitic air of Dublin Castle, which, like the underground palace in the *Arabian Nights'* stories, seems to turn into stone the heart of every English statesman who enters it. I do not know whether it was that the greatest of all Irish crimes in the eyes of English Ministers was that the Irish people should still believe in, and still follow, my hon. Friend and Leader the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). I do not know what it was that transformed the right hon. Gentleman from the gentleness of July last to the fury and desperation of Hawick. But this I do know—that every act of his administration since July has been to wreck and dissipate every hope of peace and conciliation in Ireland, to destroy the seeds of confidence in, and sympathy with, the law, and to plant deep in the hearts of the Irish people a sense of anger and resentment and of burning wrong which it will take many a day of wiser statesmanship to eradicate. What has been the history of the last six months in Ireland? A history of vengeance for the officials of Dublin Castle, a history of license and domination and revenge for the class whom the Land League, aye, and whom this House found it necessary for the public good to disarm of a portion of its power. And what is all the noble indignation of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) against the Land League but a plea to have that class kept a little longer in the pay of England? What lesson has been taught the Irish people during the last six months? What, except the old and bitter lesson that public justice is a mere weapon in the hands of a class, and that whatever can be accomplished for Ireland must be accomplished by secrecy and stealth? What sort of outrage was ever perpetrated upon a free people, which ever drove a free people to madness, that has been left unperpetrated in Ireland? Free speech? Where is it? Public speakers, as the County Court Judge for Cork put it the other day, would require a law adviser at their elbows to consult with them about every sentence they utter, so much so that the only remedy which the learned Judge could suggest was that in mercy to them public speakers should not be allowed to open their lips at all. A Member of this House cannot address his constituents in Ireland without knowing that he will have a police spy beside him, if he has not a file of bayonets before him, to cut short the debate. The landlord Press is permitted to pour out every day torrents of calumnies and abuse upon the Irish people; they are free to do it. But when an Irish popular journalist ventures even to print the report of a local branch meeting of the Land League, he has to wear the handcuffs and the convict's dress—unless, indeed, the Crown officials are indiscreet enough to submit him to a jury of his fellow-countrymen —even to a packed jury in Green Street. There is but one other topic left upon which I shall speak, and that is the ghastly mockery of justice that was set up in Ireland last winter. I have already mentioned elsewhere in plain English what I thought of that in Ireland. I repeat here that the jury panels prescribed by the Crimes Act, and, God knows, they were select and exclusive enough if they were fairly and indifferently taken; those jury panels were ransacked for men of one creed and of one class, whose prejudices and whose interests were worked upon to take vengeance for the privileges and the powers and the money they had lost. It is notorious that officials and leaders of the Landlord League were sworn upon those juries, that the trials at two Commissions were conducted by Judges whose ferocious partizanship disgusted and revolted public feeling. I repeat that these proceedings ended on gallows after gallows with dying cries of innocence; and I say that the only answer Her Majesty's present Advisers in Ireland have attempted to give to those charges, plainly made and openly repeated, is the answer of silence, and suppression, and evasion, and persecution. You can study the results in the evidence of James Carey. If, as history and as the Irish debates of last Session ought to have warned you, outrages and wrongs of that kind have produced deplorable and awful crimes in Dublin at the hands of desperate men, then I call upon this House, and, whatever this House may do, I call upon the Irish people, to lay at the doors of the administrators of the Crimes Act, not the credit of having detected the perpetrators of those crimes, but the folly, the wickedness, and the guilt of having caused them.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER said, the House must have been deeply pained as it listened to the extraordinary speech of the hon. Member who had just spoken. There was, however, a view of that speech which he would commend to hon. Members on the Front Opposition Bench. It was to recollect that it came from a Member whose Party—the Home Rulers—had promised to support the Conservative candidate now contesting the borough of Newcastle-on-Tyne. While so much had been said of the Kilmainham Treaty, what was to be said of the little Treaty just concluded on the banks of the Tyne by which the Irish vote was to be given to the Conservative candidate? ["No!"] Hon. Members on the other side might cry "No!" but the fact he had stated was notorious, and he should like to hear what the bid had been which was to secure for the Conservatives this strange support? He mentioned it in no offensive spirit to Irishmen, who had a right to choose their friends; but it showed that the Tories, while they deprecated such an alliance by the Liberals, were ready enough to adopt it when it suited their own purposes. There were, he said, two reasons why the Opposition Members should be grateful for the present state of affairs in Ireland, instead of blaming the Government for it. One was that it would enable them to prolong the threadbare subject of the so-called Kilmainham Treaty, of which they had made so much at their meetings all over the country. The second reason, taken in another sense, was one which would enable them to rejoice in the success which had attended the efforts to track and punish crime in Ireland. Did the Opposition regret this success, or did they really lend to it their approval and sanction? The hon. Baronet the Member for Wigton (Sir Herbert Maxwell) had called upon the Government for a definite statement of its future policy in Ireland. No such statement was required. The Government was no more responsible for the "suspect" Sheridan than the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), whose Amendment was now under discussion. He challenged Members on the other side to show that the Irish Executive ever had the least connection with this man. Instead of indulging in carping criticism upon its past policy, it was the duty of all Parties to support the Government in its efforts to put down crime in Ireland, and to restore peace and prosperity to that unhappy country.

SIR JOHN HAY said, the Home Secretary last night, had called attention to a Notice of his, last Session, in terms so imperfect that he ventured to express his dissent at the time; but the ordinary channels of information did not give his interpolation correctly, and, therefore, he desired to express again his dissent from the statement that he had at any time, with or without the consent of his right hon. Friend (Sir Stafford Northcote), desired the Irish "suspects" should be released, purely and simply. The Home Secretary referred to him as the person who put down the Motion for the release of the "suspects," and he (Sir John Hay), according to the report in the newspapers, was reported to have said "and the suspension of trial by jury." The insertion of the copulative "and" made it appear that he assented to the proposition that he had ever suggested the release of the "suspects" without trial. The terms of his Motion were as follows:—

> "That the detention of large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects in solitary confinement, without cause assigned, and without trial, is repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution; and that, to enable them to be brought to trial, jury trials should, for a limited time in Ireland and in regard to crimes of a well-defined character, be replaced by some form of trial less liable to abuse."

Thus, by his Notice, he did not propose that the 800 "suspects" then in prison without charge assigned should be unconditionally released. The wisdom of his Motion was shown by what happened. The Notice which he had given stood for consideration at 9 o'clock; and though it was not right, in the absence of the Prime Minister, that he should report a private conversation, yet he might state, what the House knew perfectly well, that the Prime Minister invited him to a conference behind the Speaker's Chair, and the result was that he did not go on with the Motion at 9 o'clock, and the next day or the day after the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) resigned. Further, he was justified in wishing to advise the House to take the course he indicated because Lord Lansdowne, who had been a Member of the Government, but afterwards left them, was appointed, as representing the Government, Chairman of a Commission, which recommended the very course he would have himself proposed in his Notice of Motion. He thought it right to explain to the House and to his Friends that the intention attributed to him by the Home Secretary was entirely inaccurate; and whatever might have been the wisdom or otherwise of the Notice of Motion which he had intimated, and which he had delayed to introduce by the suggestion of the Prime Minister, it had certainly not contained any of the suggestions which the Home Secretary had yesterday endeavoured to attribute to him. He was prepared to support, either with or without the word "further," the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). But though he most heartily congratulated the right hon. Member for Bradford upon his providential escape from a most abominable crime—they had heard from the new Member (Mr. O'Brien) who had lately spoken that it was the condition of society in Ireland which led to such crimes—he could not recognize that continuity which the Home Secretary had suggested in the policy pursued by the late Lord Lieutenant and the right hon. Member for Bradford and the bold and manly policy of the present Lord Lieutenant and his right hon. Friend the Member for Hawick (Mr. Trevelyan). His sympathy for the right hon. Member for Bradford, and the respect which he always felt for the right hon. Gentleman, did not blind him to the fact that, though he went to Ireland warned of the state of things by Lord Beaconsfield and the Duke of Marlborough, who had been the late Lord Lieutenant, he neglected to renew the Peace Preservation Act, and having by an unreasoning confidence allowed Ireland to go from bad to worse, the Protection of Life and Property Act was introduced, a measure far too mild for the state of Ireland. He knew nothing of the secrets of the Cabinet; but this he did know—that until the Crime and Outrage Act was passed, in consequence of those terrible disasters in the Phœnix Park, and until the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Hawick went to Ireland, the condition of that country was going from bad to worse. Since his right hon. Friend had gone there as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, he had been happy to recognize in the manly and brave conduct of Earl Spencer and himself, with which they had dared all the terrible disasters which were impending over them, and of which they must have been aware, that they had done their duty like Englishmen, and repressed, and kept down, and at last mitigated the evils from which Ireland was suffering. But after the speech to which they had listened a very short time ago, they were not to suppose that their task was ended. They knew that here in this House—and in the right place, too, for it to be said—they had heard speeches, he would not say of disloyalty, but which showed a desire to separate the Government of Ireland from that of the United Kingdom. They had heard threats that unless a different course was pursued, this terrible condition of affairs would be perpetuated. They had heard that stated; and he trusted the House would hear from his right hon. Friend the Member for Hawick that he was determined, and that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who was one of the Members of the Cabinet, who, at least, he supposed, was not spoken for by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), that he at least differed from those Colleagues of his in the Cabinet, who, as in the speech at Leeds, had views for the amelioration of Ireland which really were old wives' fables. Though the Crime and Outrage Bill, with various Amendments, might have been prepared before the right hon. Member for Bradford left Office, the right hon. Gentleman was unable to obtain by Judge or jury the conviction of a single offender in prison. But since the Crime and Outrage Bill became law, and the more able policy of the right hon. Member for Hawick had been adopted, they had seen crimes punished, and he trusted they should see still more. His hon. Friend the Member for Wigton (Sir Herbert Maxwell) had made a most excellent speech, and had referred to the condition of the Western Highlands. He would say that the same remedy which was necessary there, was the remedy which was necessary in Ireland; and he was glad to see, although without much enthusiasm, that that change of policy had been adopted by the present Irish Government—that policy of assisting emigration, and of reducing the numbers of the starving population, from whom crime was always to be expected. He thanked the House for permitting him to say these few words. He thought it due to the House, and to himself, to explain truly the nature of the Notice of Motion which he had given last May.

MR. O'DONNELL said, it was high time that an answer should have been given by the Irish Party to the policy of deliberate defamation with which the organs of English opinion were pursuing that Party, apparently owing to some superior inspiration; and he was glad that explanation came from his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), who had recently driven a Representative of the promoters and abettors of coercion and defamation with ignominy from that old borough. It would be well to deal with the defamation spirit in a calm and dignified manner. Demands had been made for explanations from the Irish Party. He did not know what course, in his tried wisdom, his hon. Friend and Leader the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) might choose to adopt in answer to those demands; but, as far as his humble opinion would go, he would say [that if any honest and kindly Englishman — and, thank God, there were yet plenty of the breed, notwithstanding so much evidence to the contrary just at present—wished to know from any Irish Member his opinion of the foul deed done in the Phœnix Park, then, certainly, his advice and his opinion were this—that that honest and kindly Englishman should be treated with that candour and that consideration that their good feelings deserved. But if the demand for explanation came from men—he did not care who they were, or in what condition they carried on their miserable policy—who asked for it only for the purpose of conveying a despicable insult; if the demand was made only for the purpose of conveying a cowardly and infamous calumny; if it was meant to cover a mean attack, not only upon the Irish Party, but upon the Leaders opposite, by some people who would like to be in Office instead of the present occupants; if this hideous and terrible event was to be made the stalking-horse for the miserable political ambition of miserable English politicians, then his advice and opinion were that the demand for explanation, coming from such quarters and animated by such designs, should be treated with indifference and contempt. He did not happen to be enumerated usually among the admirers of the policy of Her Majesty's present Government; but he could say honestly that the proceedings of the last couple of days had revealed to his eyes, at any rate, that whatever might be the depths into which the policy of Her Majesty's Government had fallen, there was a deeper depth still. When he saw English Noblemen and Gentlemen, for the purposes of their political convictions, endeavouring to bespatter the present occupants of the Treasury Bench with the blood that was shed in the Phœnix Park, he said "thank God" —or at least he would be made to say it if these represented the class—"thank God I am not an English Nobleman nor an English Gentleman!" However, he repudiated the idea that these trading politicians represented the feeling of England. He had heard plain men in railway carriages and in omnibuses give plain appreciation of the sort of policy which had been pursued in the course of that debate by hon. Gentlemen who sat upon the Front Opposition Bench. His appreciation of the policy of the Opposition on the present occasion need not be interpreted to signify any admiration on his part for the policy of Her Majesty's present Government in Ireland. However, the Government might derive a useful lesson from the treatment they were receiving from the English Opposition Benches. They could now perceive what thanks and what reward were in store for them when they became the dupes of the Coercionist Party. There was a demand for explanation, and if he did not answer some of the persons who had been apparently inspired to forward that demand, he addressed himself to representative honest men, whether on the Liberal or Conservative side. It was asked that there should be an explanation of how the Land League's funds were expended. Would the most careful audit, conducted by the most eminent accountants in the City of London, satisfy the promoters of the policy of defamation? There had been a sum of £200,000 or £250,000 received by the Land League for the purpose of supporting the agrarian policy of the Irish nation. Suppose a balance sheet, passed by the most skilful auditors, and accounting for every imaginable item of money to the full amount of £250,000 —aye, or even £300,000—was presented before the professors of defamation, would that sheet shut their mouth? Would it not be said—"Yes, it does not require £100,000 to purchase the knives that did the Phœnix Park business; it does not require £100,000 to pay the travelling expenses, whatever they might have been, of 'No. 1' and Mr. James Carey. Probably all the expenses of the machinery of murder do not amount to more than £200 or £300. Who could detect the absence of £200 or £300 in such an amount? How easily could £200 or £300 be accounted for in such a sum under some innocent head, although it had really been applied for the promotion of assassination in Ireland?" Would not that be the answer given by English defamers and their Irish allies to the most perfect audit of Land League accounts which it would be possible to make? The demand for the production of the accounts of the Land League was made by Members of that House from, he was bound to assume, the purest and the loftiest motives; but the language in which that demand was couched corresponded very closely with that used by a class of persons who could not be suspected of honestly making it—the literary Thugs of the Coercion Press. But there was an explanation which the Irish Party might well demand, and it was high time that reference should be made to it in the course of these debates. Where now were the references to those organizations which were so continually in the mouths of hon. Members a couple of years ago—aye, and even a year ago? They were then told that there was a Skirmishing Fund collected for special criminal purposes. They were told, till on both sides of the House they were sick of the repetitions, of the appeals of desperadoes in newspapers across the Atlantic for the supply of money and the supply of men to carry out a policy which certainly appeared to be a policy of the knife and of dynamite. Where now were the references to these bands of desperadoes that worked, not only outside of, but also against, the Constitutional movement of the Irish people? Why were all references to the Skirmishing Fund, to Assassination Leagues, omitted from the speeches of those English Members who had addressed the House, and of those Irishmen who were always ready to attack their country—such Irishmen, for instance, as the right hon. and learned Member who represented the University of Dublin

(Mr. Gibson)? An explanation on that point was due to the Irish National Leaders. When the present defamers wanted to create the impression that there were movements outside the Constitutional movement in Ireland, their mouths rose full of skirmishing funds and assissination leagues; but to-day when they affected to recognize the profitableness of convincing the English public that there was only one National movement in Ireland, and that that was represented by James Carey, they dropped all reference to what would be a complete explanation of the deplorable state of affairs in Ireland. The Irish Members were asked to repudiate the policy of assassination. Well, as a Catholic, he was opposed to political assassination in the case of British officials in Ireland or Continental Sovereigns, and he should be very glad to believe that there were no longer any politicians in England who were prepared to palliate assassination, in the latter case at any rate. He should be glad to hear that there were no longer any politicians in England who feasted and honoured the companions and founders of the policy of the dagger in Italy, and the founders of the policy of dynamite in Russia. It was not long since that a darling of English politicians was a companion and a friend of the Italian Mazzini, and of the Muscovite Herzen; and these men had left disciples and followers behind them. Supposing the Irish Members were to make the strongest repudiation of assassination, would that satisfy the leaders and the agents of the policy of deliberate defamation with whom they had to contend? Would not they in their speeches, and their allies in their leading articles, point out how admirably the thing was done—how the sound and terms of a genuine repudiation were mimicked by the Land League Leaders? Would that satisfy them? No; it would only give them cause for further insult. The representative organs of the defamation party plainly declared what their darling wish and design were. On the very morning following the revelations of the chief organizer of the assassination plot in Dublin, whom the Government had received into their mercy in consideration of political services promised or expected, the Dublin *Daily Express* — which might be called the Irish edition of the London *Times*, because its editor was the *Times* correspondent in Dublin—openly expressed in its columns that policy of deliberate defamation which was more insidiously insinuated in *The Times* correspondence from Dublin day after day. *The Daily Express*, the day after the revelations, adjured the Crown counsel above all things they should not lose sight of the main object they should have in view—namely, to use every effort to connect the Land League with the assassination plot. "If counsel for the Crown," continued *The Daily Express*, can succeed in this, it will strike a mortal blow at Irish National agitation. This was an open declaration of the policy of the defamation party. On Monday, *The Evening Standard* of London expressly stated that Mr. James Carey, notwithstanding his horrible and detestable criminality, was received into the good graces of the Government, because it was "hoped" that his revelations would implicate certain leading political personages. Putting together the revelations of *The Daily Express* and of the London paper, if there was one atom of truth in the statements of these apparently well-accredited organs, they were in the presence of an assassination conspiracy and a conspiracy of moral assassins, in no iota yielding in infamy to Mr. James Carey and his select confederates themselves. They had heard a good many taunts from the Front Opposition Bench as to the alleged alliance between the Government and Mr. Sheridan. The Government had been accused by the Leading Members of the Conservative Party of making Mr. Sheridan their instrument; but it seemed to him that the virtuous abhorrence of these Conservatives at this fact in no way indisposed them from taking Mr. James Carey to their arms as their valued ally and their trusted, infallible authority. This double-dyed villain, swearing against his associates to save his own neck — such was the ally for their political campaign against their political opponents—he said it before all England—of the English Conservative Party. Notwithstanding the absurdity of the demand for the production of an item by item statement of the Land League funds, he, for his part, would certainly be delighted to see such a statement given to the public if they got in return an item by item explanation of the manner in which the Crown officials in Dublin had employed the secret service money for the last two years. He felt certain that it would be impossible for certain officials to keep their position if such a statement were given to the public. They had nothing to be ashamed of in the application of the Land League funds; and they should have no objection to showing how they were applied if Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's Opposition agreed to give them a look at the application of the Secret Service Fund. The hon. Member for Mallow justly attributed the desperate crimes which had shocked all men, except, apparently, the party of deliberate defamation, to the operation of the policy of coercion. He ventured to say that if Ireland was any other country in the world there would be no hesitation whatever in connecting tyranny with assassination, and despotic government with popular crime. From the speeches during this debate it might be fancied that Ireland was the only country whose soil had been stained by political assassination. The commission of crime elsewhere was no palliation of crime in Ireland; but this hypocrisy must not be pushed too for. No one had declared that, on account of the murder of the Czar, Russia should be deprived of its nationality, or that Spain should be similarly punished for the murder of Prim, or that the bloodshed which had occurred in France should disentitle the present Government to the deference and occasional adulation of the British Government. The United States had been stained with political assassination. Even in England horrible tyranny had produced horrible crime. [The hon. Member then referred to the forcible dispersion of the meeting held at St. Peter's Field, near Manchester, in 1819, and to the fact that, although Coercion Laws of the most stringent character were passed by the Government, a formidable conspiracy grew up in a few months afterwards.] At the time of the Peterloo Massacre there had been promises for the more speedy execution of justice, for stamping out seditious meetings, and for seizing arms. On February 22, 1820, only a few months after the culmination of the Government by tyranny, the Cato Street conspiracy, in every particular as infamous as the Phœnix Park assassination plot, had come to a head in the midst of advanced and civilized England. The object of the Cato Street conspiracy was the murder of all the Members of the Cabinet, which even exceeded the modest enterprize of the Government witness, Mr. James Carey; and further, to seize the Bank and set fire to several places in London. Mr. James Carey seemed to be an outcast beside the devisers of those crimes. For that crime Thistlewood and four of his associates were found guilty and executed. The Government of that day would, he thought, probably be puzzled to account for the immunity which was to be extended to Mr. James Carey. In the periodical literature of the day there was to be found the very same class of charges brought by the party of English coercion against the party of English reform, trying to smirch the reformers with the crime of Thistlewood, as were to be seen, to their shame and disgrace, a certain sort of organs of public opinion in England trying to smirch the leaders of the National movement in Ireland with the crime of the Phœnix Park conspiracy. Would hon. and right hon. Members declare or suggest that an outrage of that description in Ireland should be punished by the permanent reduction of the Irish nation to political helotry? They should commence with the application of their principles in their own English home, for if it were even possible that Ireland must bear the shame of the plot of James Carey and his confederates, England had been stained with a vaster and more comprehensive crime. He could quote scores and scores of cases of the most horrible popular crimes in England, following upon a policy of mere coercion on the part of the Government; and if he had been an Englishman he would not have been accused of palliating assassinations if he were to say with regard to those crimes that mere coercion was more calculated to breed crime than to disseminate loyalty. He did not intend to go into even such details as the history of the Ludditen risings, and the wholesale massacre and murders in England. He wanted to deal directly with the statement that the policy of the Government, hounded on and stimulated by the party of coercion, which only thanked the Government by seeking to smirch it in turn with every odious crime—he wished to say he was entirely of opinion that crime in Ireland had been fostered, stimulated, encouraged, and developed through the operation of the unhealthy influence bred by the *régime* of brutal coercion. When the Assassination Conspiracy had been founded, according to the statements of the Government Crown witness, Mr. James Carey, popular agitation in Ireland had been suppressed by the strong hand of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. In the sweeping of his net all over the country amongst the hundreds and hundreds of innocent and honourable men whom he had gathered into his gaols, doubtless by a sort of chance, he had brought in a few dozen of disreputable characters and probable criminals. But for the one possible or probable criminal whom he had incarcerated he had incarcerated 50 law-abiding and crime-condemning leaders of the people. It was in the absence of the popular leaders, who had been cast into prison as "suspects," that the assassination plot of Mr. Carey had taken its origin, and had come to a head. Perhaps the party of defamation would suggest that, owing to the liberality of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, every opportunity had been given to those popular leaders, even within their gaols, to conduct and guide the popular agitation. Would any hon. Member move for a Return of the number of Letters dealing with political or agrarian subjects which the right hon. Member for Bradford had allowed to enter the prison walls of Ireland during all that time? No one could make the slightest suggestion in any letter to the hon. Member for the City of Cork, or any of his Colleagues, touching in the slightest degree on politics or agrarian reform, without the letter being confiscated or the passage rubbed out by a process known to the censorship of Continental tyrants. It had been while the popular leaders were imprisoned, and while every possible exertion of their influence over the people had been sedulously prevented by the right hon. Member for Bradford, that the conspiracy had been organized; but had the incarceration of the popular leaders been the only step taken to prepare the ground for the planting of criminal organizations? Would any hon. Member move for a Return of the number of peaceable and well-conducted men, women, and children, whose wounds, received from the bâtons of the right hon. Member for Bradford's policemen, were attended to in the Dublin hospitals during the three or four days following the arrest of the "suspects?" He himself, while standing at the door of his hotel in Sackville Street, saw a constable, 264 C, kicking and beating two children—a boy and a girl. He said to the sergeant—"What is the number of that scoundrel?" "I will show you what his number is," was the reply; and thereupon the sergeant made a charge with 20 or 30 of his comrades at the crowded hotel entrance, intending, no doubt, to charge him (Mr. O'Donnell) with taking part in the riot. A number of people standing there were beaten, and the proprietor of the hotel was struck down bleeding in his own house. When the Corporation of Dublin waited on the right hon. Member for Bradford and complained of those scenes of violence, they only received the retort, which was worthy of Warsaw—"Clearing the streets can be no milk-and-water business." The right hon. Member for Bradford, by his administration of the Coercion Act, effectually prevented milk-and-water agitation in Ireland. He gave a watchword to discontent; he gave a stimulus and incentive to all those classes whom he was bludgeoning and brutalizing throughout Ireland. The right hon. Member for Bradford was leading the police into frequent collisions with the people; and not only men, but women and children, fell beneath the buckshot cartridges and the stabbing bayonets of the right hon. Member for Bradford's police. This was the thing which went home to the popular heart and sensibility; this was the thing which, beyond a doubt, aided the incendiary and the murderous counsels of the promoters of desperate crimes. The Government refused even a legal inquiry into the murders perpetrated by the police—at the expense of the people. In case after case Coroner's Juries returned verdicts of murder, and in not one case would the right hon. Member for Bradford allow the murderers to be placed on trial before the country. Not even when Ellen Macdonough was stabbed through the breast by a constable at Belmullet was there a trial for murder. He believed that even the murder of the children at Ballina, which preceded by a few hours the murders in the Phœnix Park, was never brought to the cognizance of any jury. Would the Government, even now, undertake to make up for the past? They had the Crimes Act and the power of selecting juries. Would they, even now, bring the policemen against whom stood the verdicts of Coroner's Juries for murder to trial before any jury that could be selected or packed? That miserable creature Carey had too ready and too plausible an excuse for his horrible desperation, for he himself said—

> "When I joined the Assassination Committee the popular leaders were in prison; the country was in a fearful state; there was no hope of justice; and there was no longer any scope for Constitutional agitation."

Could the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford say that the defence which the miserable Carey impudently arrogated to himself was not the honest conviction of millions of the people of Ireland? Under that right hon. Gentleman's rule the people had lost all faith in redress by justice, and all faith in the efficacy of Constitutional agitation. On scores of occasions he himself, when addressing public meetings and telling the people to hold fast to the principles of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Colleagues, he heard voices among the audience saying something like this—"Oh yes; much good will it do us! There is no use in Constitutional agitation; ask Forster!" That was the manner in which the right hon. Member for Bradford carried out the law. It was made a reproach of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, that among these Land League societies were a few Fenians. Yes, there where men who had been Fenians, not a few, but thousands, brought by the hon. Member for the City of Cork into the ranks of Constitutional agitation. He himself knew many men in Ireland who were Fenians from the origination of the Fenian Association; men who scorned all relations with the Home Rule Party, and scorned the very idea of Constitutional agitation until they saw a determined Party arise which strove to make use of the Constitution for the good of Ireland. The hon. Member for the City of Cork led hundreds and thousands of these Fenians into the ranks of the Land League; but when the right hon. Member for Bradford had been for some months at work the labour of the hon. Member for the City of Cork was largely undone, and, not units, but thousands of men whom the hon. Member for the City of Cork had rescued from Fenianism, were driven back into Fenianism and something infinitely worse, by the horrible policy of coercion, which would be for ever associated with the name of the right hon. Member for Bradford. Certain critics might pretend to believe that there was proof of complicity with crime on the part of the Land League in the fact that men who had been Fenians were latterly members of the Land League. They imagined that this was a condemnation of the Irish National movement; but that was a most telling reproach to the English Government. All the good which the Land League endeavoured to do, coercion had undone. There were in the ranks of Fenianism thousands of men as shapely as ever marched under the flag of England, or any other nation; and the hon. Member for the City of Cork succeeded in enlisting thousands of these in Constitutional agitation, in the hope that by showing resolution, and by appealing to the manly instincts of freedom-loving Englishmen, they could at length do something for Ireland. It was not on an occasion like this that he was going to lay stress upon the minor differences which separated him from the Leaders of the Land League—on the main and essential points he was still at one with the Leaders of the Irish people. From being Revolutionists, they had brought these men to become advocates of Reform; but the right hon. Member for Bradford and his adherents and eggers-on sitting upon the Front Opposition Bench had driven hundreds of these men back again into the ranks of banded insurrection. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) would probably follow him in this debate. That right hon. and learned Gentleman, who did not distinguish himself in any attack upon the foreign policy of the Government, was always equal to the task of leading a charge against the liberties of his native land. He did not think the right hon.

and learned Gentleman would disown this intrepretation of the Amendment—that it was a declaration against admitting Ireland to the ordinary privileges of English freeman. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had declared that until there was an improvement in the condition of Ireland there would be no improvement in the English rule of Ireland. That was an argument worthy of a noble Lord who had acquired his present exalted position so completely unaided by accidental circumstances of birth or favouritism. In reply to the noble Marquess's declaration, that until Ireland became contented there would be nothing done to remove her discontent — by the way, what a crushing argument that was for the superior capacities of British Legislators—the Irish Members might tell the House that most assuredly Ireland would grow more and more discontented, and more and more resolved to get rid of the interference in Irish internal affairs of such Legislators as the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War. So far from regarding addresses like that of the noble Marquess as calculated to intimidate Irish Nationalists, they hailed them and rejoiced over them as being powerful stimulants. They would brace up those persons who might be tempted to fall away into any form of Whiggery. So far from the Irish nation having exhausted one-fiftieth part of the Constitutional agencies already at its disposal, they were only at the beginning of the formation and the organization of the resources and power of the Irish race. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) last evening thought to make capital out of some extracts which he read from what purported to be a speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, delivered in America, in which that hon. Member was alleged to have said that the promoters of the Irish National movement would never rest satisfied as long as a single connecting link remained between the Government of this country and that of Ireland. He himself had been accused by some warm Irish Nationalists of being too Imperial in his views; and he confessed that he would willingly make that House of Commons an Imperial Chamber, and the representative of not only England, Scotland, and Ireland, but of Australia, of Canada, of misgoverned India, and of every one of the Dependencies of the British Empire. But as regarded local, internal, and national matters, he would re-echo the declarations of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, that Irishmen would never be satisfied until the last shred of English interference in the national affairs of Ireland had been put a stop to, and until the last link in the chain of slavery had been broken. Irishmen would be content that England should be Ireland's sister, but they would not permit Ireland to be England's slave. The Irish people were content to unite with the English people, against whom they were anxious to bear no grudge, on all questions of Imperial interest. They did not desire to interfere in English national legislation, and they refused the right to anyone beyond the elected Representatives of the Irish people to legislate on the internal and national affairs of Ireland. Let the right hon. and learned Members for the University of Dublin say what they pleased of the declaration. By that declaration the Irish race would stand. Let, however, England give Ireland three years of her coercion, or 30 years, for that matter, Irishmen would withstand it, as they had withstood it for the last 300 years, although the foundation of the British and Colonial Empire was not more than 150 years old.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE said, that he should like to hear from the Chief Secretary for Ireland an answer to one of the charges made by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. That charge was one made against the Liberal Party as a whole, that in the first place the history of Liberal administration in Ireland showed that outrages were more prevalent under Liberal than under Conservative rule; and, secondly, that the history of Liberal administration invariably followed one uniform course—namely, that the powers of the ordinary law were first unduly relaxed, to be followed at a short interval by severe repression. The Home Secretary had taken up the ground that the language of the hon. and learned Member was of an offensive kind, and he had evaded giving any answer to the case made out. He trusted that the Chief Secretary would give a definite answer to the charges raised. They might be told that the present decrease of crime in Ireland was due not to the operation of the Peace Preservation Act or the Crimes Act, but to the good working of remedial legislation in the shape of the Land Act and the Arrears Act. That the Conservative Party entirely denied, and they founded their denial on the past experience of the Liberal Party, which proved that it was not the destruction of the Irish Church and the remedial legislation of 1869 and 1870 which diminished the crop of outrages, but the Westmeath Act for the protection of life and property which alone produced tranquillity. They also said that at the present time the improvement in the state of Ireland was not owing to the alleged beneficial working of the Arrears Act or the Land Act, but solely to the vigorous enforcement of the Crimes Act. As he read the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentlemen, it did not in any way imply a sanction to the course of policy adopted by the Government towards Ireland when they first came into Office, and carried out by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). The Amendment only dealt with the state of affairs after the resignation of the right hon. Gentleman. There was much to criticize in the right hon. Gentleman's early administration of Irish affairs; but he ceased to be responsible for them in April last. At that time the position was that the right hon. Gentleman would consent to remain at his post on three conditions, and the third condition was that the Government should obtain further powers for maintaining law and order in Ireland. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary said that the existing Crimes Bill was actually drafted when the right hon. Member for Bradford left the Cabinet. It seemed to him there was but one inference to be drawn from that—namely, that the Government had no intention of pressing on the Bill, had it not been for the Phœnix Park murders, or surely the right hon. Member for Bradford would have remained, his third condition being thus complied with. That was a point which ought to be cleared up. Then the Home Secretary said that the Government were not alone to blame if their legislation failed, for no one proposed anything better. To that he answered that the Opposition did propose, by their protest against the Government relaxing the mild existing Peace Preservation Act, something better; and, secondly, that the Government were in a different position, as regards initiating legislation, from irresponsible private Members. It could not be denied that practically the retirement of the right hon. Member for Bradford was considered throughout the country as a triumph of concession over coercion principles, the more so because the right hon. Gentleman avowedly resigned Office rather than adopt to their full extent the concessions Her Majesty's Government were ready to make to men who were actually under lock and key for treasonable practices. The right hon. Gentleman himself and the Viceroy—the two special Irish Members of the Government—resigned rather than accept this new departure, and carry out this new policy. And when the Government charged the Opposition with having attacked them because their policy failed, they must remember that only one thing justified that policy, and that was complete success. That policy had, however, failed, and therefore the Government deserved and must expect severe censure. The Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was intended to prevent the Government from repeating the mistaken policy of trafficking with agitation, which led them to enter into negotiations with the hon. Member for the City of Cork, rather than to accept and follow the advice of their own Viceroy and the Chief Secretary. This was the sole object of the Amendment, and therefore it was an Amendment which the Opposition were free to support. He did not wish to be merely critical; but the Home Secretary had admitted that the Irish policy of the Government had not been a success both on legislative and administrative grounds. The Government would admit that much of the failure of their policy and much of the terrible crime in Ireland resulted from the wretched physical condition of the population—that crime grew out of poverty and ignorance. Some means should be provided to enable and to encourage the poor tenants of Ireland to better their condition by emigration. He believed that that was the only possible remedy. So long as the country was in such an unsettled condition it could not be expected that capital for developing manufacture would be attracted to it. He believed it was possible to devise a reasonable scheme which would have the effect of encouraging emigration, and he hoped the Government would be able to give the House some assurance upon the subject. This seemed the only mode of providing a remedy for the present state of things; and he believed that if it were adopted the standard of living among those who remained in the country would be raised so high and bring such contentment that the country would never again fall under the influence of dangerous agitators to whose influence crime was so largely due.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he had to complain of the want of reality which had characterized the discussion of the Amendment by hon. Members opposite. He could not help feeling that, under all the apparent difference of opinion, there had been from first to last a very substantial agreement between hon. Members on both sides of the House who had addressed themselves to the question of the present administration of the Government in Ireland. Hon. Members were in the main highly satisfied with the dexterity and firmness evinced by Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary in their arduous duties in Ireland, and he was quite ready to trust to those officials absolutely the powers that they thought necessary for the discharge of their duty. He thought they deserved the fullest confidence as a reward for the readiness with which they had undertaken those duties under circumstances of imminent peril to themselves. They would see in a short time whether the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would persevere with the condemnatory Motion of which he had given Notice, and he fully acknowledged the difficulties of the position in which that hon. Member found himself with respect to that Motion. It was quite possible that the exigencies of his position would compel the hon. Member to move it, for if ever there was a man situated between the Devil and the deep sea the hon. Member for the City of Cork was now in that unenviable position. By moving his Amendment he ran the risk—which he (Mr. George Russell) was sure was abhorrent to his nature—of seeming to identify himself with the dreadful crimes that had been committed in Ireland; while, on the other hand, if he abandoned it he would incur the hardly less hateful risk of losing his influence with the lawless classes in Ireland, and lay himself open to the charge of having disconnected himself from the policy with which his name was identified. At all events, what he wished to say was that a great part of the discussion which had taken place would have been more appropriate on the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; but he would not anticipate the disclosures that might take place to-morrow, or during the remaining nights of the debate. They were all agreed in being thankful that they had at last done with the old Coercion Act. He did not think that the Home Secretary intended by his speech last night to convey that the responsibility of the old Coercion Act rested on the whole House merely because it gave its consent to it. If the Government on its own responsibility introduced a measure of that kind, asserting that the measure was necessary for the maintenance of law and order, the Government was surely more responsible for the effect of that legislation than hon. Members on that side of the House who voted in its favour at their bidding. Though the old Coercion Act might have been a necessity for the moment, he doubted the wisdom of it. It had been rumoured that the Prime Minister, if his counsels had prevailed, would have introduced in January, 1881, a Bill framed on other lines than those of arbitrary arrest. It was found impossible to put in force the law of arbitrary arrest, and it was not long before the administration of the old Coercion Bill passed into a phase characterized by the hon. Member for Galway as "a huge joke." It lost its terrors, and secured the maximum of popular irritation with the minimum of deterrent effect. It became palpable that under it murder and crimes similar to murder advanced with alarming strides. The increase of crime in Ireland had required the introduction of some further measure; and they all remembered what had been called the Kilmainham arrangement. It had been made clear in that discussion that it was not from the principle of an arrangement for the release of the "suspects" that the right hon. Member for Bradford had dissented, but from the terms of that arrangement. The right hon. Member for Bradford stated three conditions, the obtainment of any one of which would have induced him to remain in Office and consent to the release of the "suspects." And the very mention of conditions involved a willingness to negotiate. The first condition was that they should not be released until Ireland was quiet; the second was that they should not be released until they gave a pledge that they would abandon their former action; and the third that they should not be released until some measure was brought in to strengthen the law against crime and outrage. The first of those conditions—that of keeping them in prison until Ireland was restored to peace and order—was much the same as to keep them there until the Greek Kalends, or until, as the old saying went, a man might go to Rome and back in three days. Again, the demand from them of a pledge for their good behaviour argued great ignorance of human nature. It was idle to expect a body of men—most of them young men—who had been, as they conceived, to a great extent successful in their agitation, to abandon, for the sake of regaining their liberty, that agitation when it seemed to them to be within a measurable distance of attaining its ends, and when, in many cases, as he understood, its cessation would have deprived them of the means of subsistence. The third condition was, he thought, a more reasonable one—namely, that they should not be released until some such measure as the Crimes Act was introduced. He was disposed to think that the Government would have done wisely if they had complied with that last condition of the right hon. Member for Bradford, and so have retained his services.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: That last condition was the important point.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he was glad to hear that it was not any truckling to persons suspected of crime; but it was rather his conviction that an unwise decision was arrived at when it was decided to liberate the "suspects" which had influenced the right hon. Member for Bradford.

Mr. CALLAN: It was not stated at the time.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Yes, it was.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he was glad that he had drawn that admission from the right hon. Gentleman. It was important to emphasize the fact that the determination to bring in a measure for dealing more effectually with the murders which had, up till that time, gone on increasing was arrived at by the Government before the assassinations in Phœnix Park. The Bill, in nearly the exact shape in which it was eventually proposed, had been announced on the very day that Mr. Forster left the Cabinet. Therefore, the horrible charge against the Liberal Party, that they had been actuated by passion and revenge, fell to the ground. All the Members on that side of the House, and on the Conservative Benches, seemed to agree that Lord Spencer and the present Chief Secretary for Ireland had administered with firmness, ability, and courage the great powers confided to them in May. The new policy pursued had been, in some respects, a marked success. They were asked in the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) to express a hope that no further concessions would be made to lawless agitation. That seemed to imply a doctrine to which none of those sitting on his side would ever subscribe—namely, that the Land Act and the Arrears Act, to which they had rendered as hearty and a more pleasurable support than they had given to the Crimes Act, were extorted from Parliament by lawless agitation. As far as Irish agitation was directed solely to the attainment of the ends conceded in the Land Act and the Arrears Act, it was a Constitutional and reasonable agitation. He made no apology for threatening language. He had in view merely that demand for reform which did not desire to be stereotyped as lawless agitation. He thought that the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) and others had shown rather less than justice to the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) in the way they had called him so sharply to account for his language in regard to local self-government in Ireland. It might be that the hon. Member for Leeds had no right to lend the authority of his place in the Government to his utterance on that subject; but he thought they might apply the Old Testament extenuation, and, speaking of his Office, say in the words used by Lot, in reference to Zoar, "Is it not a little one?" and consider that the speech was made rather in the character of an independent Member than as one of the Government. He thought that, as a private individual, the hon. Member was right in expressing a desire that institutions of local self-government might be developed and strengthened in Ireland. The time, however, for that kind of reform, in his opinion, was not yet. What had been lately seen in connection with certain local bodies in Ireland did not afford a very good augury for the extension of local self-government in that country. But he looked forward to the time when a new generation should have grown up in Ireland under the wholesome influences of the Land Act. When they had had 30 years of the operation of that Act, they might then apply themselves to the development in Ireland of exactly the same institutions of local self-government as existed in England. To the Chief Secretary for Ireland and his Colleagues, his humble words of counsel would be that they should continue as they had begun; and they might depend upon it that in the fulness of time, not by closing their ears to the cry of acknowledged grievances, but by dealing out mercy where it was needed, and justice without sparing where that was required, the Irish difficulty would pass away, and the prophecies of to-day become the history of to-morrow.

MR. PLUNKET said, he desired only for a short time to occupy the attention of the House in support of the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). He could assure his hon. Friend who had just sat down (Mr. George Russell), that he was not at all disposed to quarrel with some of his statements with reference to those dangerous and mischievous expectations which were being entertained by a certain number of people in this House and in Ireland. The hon. Member had referred to the remarks of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), and had disposed of them in what appeared to him (Mr. Plunket) to be rather a patronizing manner. But although it might be true, as was suggested by his hon. Friend, that the individual who made the observations was himself a very small personage, he must remember that even *Parvus Julus* derived some importance from his relations with *pius Æneas;* and he would like to impress upon the House that words like those of the hon. Member for Leeds and others had an effect in Ireland of which the utterers were often little conscious. He would like to call the attention of the House to what appeared in *The Nation* on February 5, a paper very well written, and by no means one of the most extreme. It was as follows:—

> "Another class of testimony to the advance of the Home Rule idea has become pretty plentiful of late. It has been furnished chiefly by English politicians who from one cause or another have obtained prominent positions in the eye of the British public. We have the son of the Prime Minister denouncing the Castle and declaring it the worst Government in the world. We have Mr. Chamberlain pronouncing against 'separation,' but cautiously avoiding all mention of a less pronounced form of national self-government. We have Mr. Goschen admitting that he sees strange signs in many quarters of a growing belief that Home Rule must be granted, and making frantic appeals to the English constituencies to cry out that it shall never be. And, again, we have Mr. Leonard Courtney, Secretary to the Treasury, sharing Mr. Goschen's feeling about those signs, while declaring that at present he refuses to accept the possibility of granting the concession."

He merely wished to point out the sort of commentary that was made upon the speeches which had been uttered in this country by hon. Members, who, he believed, had used those expressions without the least intention of encouraging such expectations as they had engendered in the so-called National Party in Ireland. Indeed, one of the reasons why he thought that that Amendment had been well brought forward by his hon. and learned Friend was that it gave him, and gave the House, an opportunity of putting on record their views with regard to this very class of politicians. Although he did believe they were not a large section of the Liberal Party, yet they were still a well-defined class, and knew their own minds. Many of them had reasons of their own, owing to the fact of there being Irish constituents amongst those whom they represented. But, for some time past, they had been pressing forward this Home Rule movement in a manner which was doing more harm in Ireland than they could imagine. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) had made a protest in his speech the other day, at Hawick, against this very thing, which, he said, was leading on the people of Ireland to ruin. He said—

> "The Government will not permit Ireland to be organized, and drilled, and excited for the purpose of effecting objects, which would be Ireland's ruin if obtained, and which could only be obtained by civil war. That is the plain fact. As to the peril to which this policy exposes us, we have no illusion whatever. I do not speak of the personal danger. That is a consideration which has never influenced the public conduct of men of our nation. But there is a danger much more formidable in my eyes—that of being charged with deserting the principles of our Party. The persistent and implacable hostility of speakers and writers in Ireland, who give us no quarter on principle, because we are the representative of the Central Government, has begun to communicate itself to some Liberal newspapers in this island; and we are told that no Liberal ought to govern Ireland as we are governing it now."

He, therefore wished, as far as he was concerned, to make a very short but serious appeal to hon. Members who, perhaps, did not agree with him in other respects, and to ask them to take care lest, when making those speeches, they might be causing a mischief, and incurring a danger in Ireland, the gravity of which they could not estimate. He would ask the House also, whether, after the speeches they had listened to that day from the Irish Members below the Gangway, were they prepared to intrust the Government of Ireland—the most delicate and difficult task that he supposed existed in the control of any country—to politicians whose views of serious affairs of State were such as they had heard then? He did not intend to accept the not very courteous challenge thrown down by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell); but he wished to say one word as to the speech of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), whose coming into that House was certainly a very important event, because they all knew the circumstances connected with the contest between him and one of the Law Officers of the Crown, and he would fain hope that the words that the hon. Gentleman had spoken had been used inadvertently and unadvisedly. He trusted they were due to the fact that he was speaking for the first time in that House, and that they were not the deliberate expressions of his opinion. He did not know whether the hon. Member was in the House; but if he was, he should be glad that he should have an opportunity of withdrawing or modifying the words which he (Mr. Plunket) had taken down. He had understood the hon. Member to say, with regard to the candidature of James Carey for the post of Town Councillor of Dublin, that he did not know him personally, but that he had known him by reputation and character as an old Nationalist and a hardworking man; and the hon. Member then went on to say that, knowing all the circumstances, his only regret was that he had not a vote to give him.

Mr. O'BRIEN: What I did say I think was that if a similar state of things, *mutato nomine*, were to arise to-morrow—that is, if a man who from all I saw and heard of him was a staunch Nationalist and a working-man were to be a candidate, I should be very glad indeed to repeat my support of him, and should regret very much if I had not a vote.

Mr. PLUNKET said, he was sorry that the hon. Member had not thought fit to qualify that statement by any further expression of opinion in the way of regret; but he would say no more on the subject. As regarded the charges that had been made against not only the Press of both countries, but against both Parties in the House, and against the English and the Scotch people, they were wild charges; but when it came to the attack upon the responsible authorities in Ireland—upon Dublin Castle, because it was the representative of law and order in Ireland—he said it must require a stern heart to bring them forward now in the light of the revelations that had been lately made. He therefore entreated hon. Members opposite, who plunged into the subject of local government in Ireland with a light heart, to pause before they intrusted it to the so-called Irish Party. In that respect, at least, he thought the debate which had been raised by the Motion of his hon. and learned Friend would have done much good. There was another point on which he asked for the support of hon. Members to the Amendment. That portion of the Queen's Speech which alluded to the diminution of outrage and the continued and increasing social improvement in the state of Ireland he was thankful to see, but that sentence should not stand alone. If it did, it might perhaps lead to over sanguine expectations, for in his opinion, notwithstanding the decrease of agrarian crime, the country was in a more critical condition than he had ever before known it within his own experience; and, therefore, he thought it was not untimely, but right, that they should put on record their protest against the course of policy which for two years and a-half had done more harm to the best interests of Ireland than had been done in any 20 or 30 years preceding. He wished to give full credit to those who were now responsible for the conduct of affairs in Ireland. No task could be more disagreeable than that which had fallen to their lot, and he must say of Lord Spencer and the present Chief Secretary for Ireland that they had laboured strenuously, and that they had acted not only with firmness, but with patience and clemency, to restore peace and order to Ireland. But, knowing as he did the danger which there always was of a relapse into the previous policy, because the same causes that existed before were there still, he thought they were justified in supporting the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. He would recall to the House the words addressed by the Chief Secretary for Ireland the other day to his constituents at Hawick in vindicating the character of Judge Lawson. That was all very well; but the House must remember what had happened on a previous occasion, in last August in this House, when the same Judge was bitterly and furiously assailed, and not a word had been uttered in his behalf from the Treasury Bench. Who could say whether the conduct of the Government then might not, however indirectly, have had some effect upon the attempt made on that gentleman's life? However that might be, the course at the time taken by the Prime Minister had, at least, left the impression on many minds that the Law of Contempt of Court in this country was to be altered on account of the conduct of that learned Judge, though he (Mr. Plunket) had good reason to believe that such a proposed change was suggested to the Government by the circumstances of a wholly different case, which had occurred some time previously in England. The effect had been that a gold medal had actually been struck to commemorate the fact that a Member of that House had triumphed over the Judge; and the medal was, in obedience to a vote of a majority of the Dublin Corporation, to be added to the Sheriff's chain to commemorate that event. Public feeling at present ran high, by reason of the recent revelations, against the terrible state of things which was shown to exist in Ireland. They must not, however, be too confident that the old evil influences might not be brought to work again, that they might not see a fresh change of policy, and further surrenders on the part of the Government. When Her Majesty's Government came into Office, they found Ireland, as they all knew, in a state of comparative tranquillity and prosperity. ["Oh, oh!"] On the surface, at all events, things were smooth. The Government were warned by the outgoing Ministers of the dangers beneath the surface, and of the necessity for firm action; but they chose to adopt the optimist theories of that disastrous Mid Lothian campaign, and to cling to them for months, despite the protest of their old and tried Irish officials, and of the Judges in Ireland who were brought every day face to face with agrarian offences and the dangers existing in connection with them; in spite of all that, the Government had left the country without any of those preventive measures which had, unfortunately, at all former times, been found absolutely necessary for the efficient conduct of the government of Ireland. And when the tide of outrage, of violence, and of bloodshed had swelled to such a fearful extent that it was impossible that it should be tolerated any longer, and when the Government had had to admit by the mouth of their Home Secretary that their reckless experiment had failed, then, when at last they got the Protection of Person and Property Act, they found that it had come too late, because the conspiracy and organization for crime and murder had grown so strong that it was possible for it to be carried on with vigour and success even after some of the prominent members of it had been tardily arrested. He was sorry that he felt it necessary to add that the management of the Protection of Person and Property Act, when it was obtained, was of a fluctuating and uncertain type—of a type calculated to produce a great amount of irritation in comparison with the good that it did. He firmly believed that if that Act had been obtained in the autumn of 1881, instead of the spring of 1882, and if it had been vigorously enforced at once against the leaders of the agitation, it would have been effectual for the purpose for which it was intended. But now it was admitted by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department that a time came when it was absolutely necessary that a change of policy should take place. There had been nothing but failure in the government of Ireland for two years and a-half, and the state of affairs was intolerable. Now, what they wanted to put on record by that Amendment was, that the policy proposed to be adopted at that time by the Government, and from which they were only saved by an accident, would have proved a fatal mistake. What was the policy? To release the imprisoned Members and others, and to abandon the Protection of Person and Property Act. And here came a point which he was glad they had now clearly on record. The contest between the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and the Government at the time when he left Office was, that he could not consent to the postponement of the introduction of the necessary Bill which was to take the place of the old Protection of Person and Property Act until such time as the Rules of the House had been passed and the Financial Business of the country got through. Everybody knew what that meant. The Government were saved on that occasion from this terrible state of affairs, when the people of Ireland would have seen the powerlessness of the Government to carry out the law without the assistance of the law-breakers. That was the policy against which they protested, and which they trusted might never again be resumed. It was a curious irony of fate that the sad end of that gallant and chivalrous Gentleman—who freely laid down his life, as many another Englishman had done before him for his country (Lord Frederick Cavendish), on the day of that terrible assassination—it was a curious irony of fate that that should be the very circumstance which led to the reversal of the policy of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had left the Cabinet, and those who drove him out had enjoyed their victory; but the principles for which he sacrificed himself had triumphed and survived. The Crimes Bill was re-introduced at once, and that was the justification of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. The Queen's Speech congratulated the country upon the steady improvement in the social condition of Ireland. As he had already said, he hailed with satisfaction, and he gave full credit to those to whom it was due, the diminution of agrarian crime; but there were other matters to be considered. Just let them realize what was the present state of that country, and let them remember that three years ago it was in a condition tolerably satisfactory. At that moment the Government was engaged in a desperate struggle with lawlessness and disaffection; and how was that struggle regarded by large numbers of the Irish people? He was not now referring to the cheers which greeted the prisoners at Kilmainham, but to the election at Mallow. The Government had sent their Solicitor General to contest the borough, and he was defeated. He referred, also, to the action of those representative institutions in Ireland, such as Corporations, Municipal Councils, and Poor Law Guardians, who vied with each other in doing honour to the men whom the Government had been obliged to send to gaol. He said those were grave and serious matters when they considered the social condition in which they found Ireland. But there was more than that. During the last three years a most remarkable change had come over the public Press of the country. He was not speaking now of the extreme newspapers; but there were influential journals in Ireland, ably managed, and having a large circulation, which at first tried to arrest the agitation, and even refused to publish its proceedings at all, but who were compelled, as the movement grew in strength and was permitted to overbear all other forces, to throw in their lots with it. The Roman Catholic Church, too, in Ireland, had, of course, always possessed an enormous influence with the people; and when these men began their agitation many excellent clergymen and many high ecclesiastics of that Church came forward and opposed them as much as they could; but now their attitude had in many places been altered. In consequence of the success of the agitation they had become identified with it, so that it was impossible for these clergymen and these ecclesiastics to help the Government to control lawlessness. He did not know whether the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) intended to speak in this debate or not. His right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) had asked the hon. Member where the money had come from which had subsidized the perpetrators of the crimes which had disgraced Ireland. He (Mr. Plunket) joined with his right hon. and learned Friend in making that request, for it was not sufficient to disclaim the imputation in the high and mighty manner in which it had been done by hon. Members who had already spoken; and he trusted the hon. Member for the City of Cork would soon address the House. He would now further call that hon. Member's attention to an extract from a speech delivered by the hon. Member in April, 1880, soon after his return from America, at a meeting held in the Rotunda; and, for fear of any mistake, he might say that the speech was reported in *The Freeman's Journal* on April the 30th. After alluding to the determination of America to support Ireland in the struggle with landlordism, the hon. Member said—

> "I have worked hard to do my duty for this country, and I shall endeavour to work for it as long as I live; and now, before I go, I will tell you a little incident that happened at one of our meetings in America. A gentleman came on to the platform and handed me 25 dollars, and said, 'Here are five dollars for bread and 20 for lead.'"

The proceedings terminated there. After that, on May 30, Mr. Boyton, who was the paid organizer of the Land League, used the following words at Dunmanway—

> "There was a little story told by Mr. Parnell, at a meeting in the Rotunda, at the conclusion of his address, to the effect that a certain American gentleman came upon the platform and said, 'Parnell, there is 25 dollars—five for bread and 20 for lead.' Now, that simple little bit of humour has put your hereditary enemy in a great flutter. Therefore, I am not authorized by the president of the Irish National Land League to tell you that was a *bonâ fide* transaction, that the man gave him 25 dollars. I am authorized to tell you here—and I came all the way down to Dunmanway—that those 20 dollars are perfectly safe, and that as Mr. Forster, in the House of Commons on Friday night, refused to tell your Representatives what he was going to do with the £30,000 of secret service money, and that he has displayed admirable reticence in doing so, we, in like manner, are not going to tell Mr. Forster what we are going to do with the 20 dollars that has since swelled into 20,000. The money gives 4 or 5 per cent interest on it, and we are turning it into good round sovereigns, with the imprint of Her Most Gracious Majesty upon them. Therefore, I ask you in the name of God, in the name of every honest Irishman, in the name of your long-suffering country, to stick together like brothers, one and all."

Thus $20,000 were accumlating for the purpose of procuring, not "bread," but "lead." There was yet another matter to which he (Mr. Plunket) should like to call the attention of the House. He wanted to know, and he thought the House and the country would also like to know, what were the relations of the hon. Members below the Gangway, most of whom belonged to the National League, the successor of the Irish Land League, with the promoters of the Irish Press agency which was thus mentioned in *The Irish Nation*—an American newspaper owned by John Devoy (Fenian)—

> "The promoters of the Irish Press Agency will primarily attempt to counteract this evil (the want of accurate information about Ireland). For the present they will send a cablegram weekly. The cablegram will be intended as a summary of the chief events that make up the Irish history of the week. The Agency will be in direct and constant communication with the leaders of the Irish movement, and any statements it may make with regard to their policy may be accepted as authoritative."

He should be glad to know from the hon. Member for the City of Cork whether that was correct or not, especially as the name of Mr. John Devoy was coupled with the announcement in *The Irish Nation*. The leaders of the Irish Party in this country were in communication with the Party in America, and how were the Dublin revelations dealt with in this paper? Here were some of the headings that appeared in a recent number:—"Mockery of Justice;" "Dublin Citizens Undergoing the Tortures of a Sham Trial;" "The Old, Old Story;" "Hired Informers Swearing Away the Lives of Innocent Men;" "Manufactured Evidence;" "The Most Glaring Inventions Accepted as Genuine Evidence;" "Medical Approvers;" "Knives Secreted by a Police Spy and Found when Wanted;" "Star Chamber Terrors;" "Bribery and Intimidation at Work in Dublin Castle." He (Mr. Plunket) should like to know whether it was true that that Agency was supplied with news from the leaders of the Irish National League in this country? In conclusion, he would say, it had been his unfortunate task that day, as it had often been of late years, to draw a rather gloomy picture of the state of Ireland. At the same time, he did not altogether despair, any more than the right hon. and learned Gentleman his Colleague (Mr. Gibson) did, of the future of that country. His hopes were founded on very simple matters, one of which was the immense material improvement which had occurred in the condition of the country within his own recollection. Except in that unhappy and desolate portion of the land which was washed by the Atlantic, the progress of Ireland in prosperity, in education, and in other respects had been very rapid of late years. But now he asserted there were agencies at work which were undoing all that had been done to improve the condition of the people. Numbers of men whom he knew before the exercise upon them of the influence of the Land League to be honest, contented, and unwitting of disloyalty, had been worked upon for two years and a-half by the tremendous influences of bribery and terror alternately applied. They had yielded more quickly, perhaps, than men of other countries would have done; but, on the other hand, few people would more quickly recognize the existence of a Government bent on administering the law with firmness. Therefore, it was all the more necessary now that the Government should let them understand that they meant to be firm. He would tell hon. Members opposite, who formed the extreme section of the Liberal Party—men who fancied they sympathized with the Irish people—that they could do no more cruel thing than to subject them alternately to the influence of a great relaxation of discipline and then to the rigour of severe Coercion Acts. That was the shortest and surest way to evoke their worst passions, and to cause hatred of England. It would be far kinder, if hon. Members opposite did not intend that Ireland should remain an integral portion of the United Kingdom, to say so at once and act up to that declaration. But the cruellest course of all which could be pursued would be to profess an intention of governing Ireland under the laws of the Queen, and to lack the courage and the capacity to enforce those laws.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, the speeches from the Conservative side seemed to contain a negative and a positive proposition. The negative proposition was that all remedial measures for Ireland should be postponed for an indefinite period. The positive proposition was to continue the policy of force alone. As regarded the question of extending local government in Ireland, he maintained that almost all the constituencies in the Kingdom—certainly those which contained a large number of voters of the industrial class—were slowly, but surely, coming to the conclusion that extensive powers of local government, always within the limit of sustaining the unity of the Empire, must be, as soon as possible, if not immediately, given to the people of Ireland. He regretted that the hon. Member for Aylesbury (Mr. George Russell) should have described the advocacy by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) of the institution of a system of extensive local government in Ireland as an offence. The speech of the hon. Member for Leeds, to which the hon. Member for Aylesbury had referred, had been much misrepresented; but he (Mr. Collings) contended that there was more loyalty, or at least as much, and far more statesmanship, in that speech than in almost any that had come from the other side of the House. The present debate had made plain the fact that the absolute failure of the Coercion Act had been acknowledged on all sides of the House. It had been admitted by the Opposition, by many on that (the Ministerial) side who had supported it, and, he believed, by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) himself. Yet, in the face of that acknowledgment, they had heard little more than speeches in favour of more coercion. When the first Coercion Act of the present Administration was proposed, some hon. Members on the Liberal Benches were against it, not only because they considered it would be useless, but because of the mischief they thought it would lead to. For his part, if he (Mr. Collings) thought that Act would have been merely useless, he should not have opposed it so strongly as he did; but all history told them that, while there were wrongs to be remedied, Coercion Acts were worse than useless—they were full of mischief, and produced results which, too late, they all deprecated. Still they continued to hear the same line of argument pursued in favour of other and severer Coercion Acts. The recent revelations at the Kilmainham Court House enabled them to conclude that the fruit of the Coercion Act had been realized. It had been the direct cause of the formation of secret societies. ["Oh, oh!"] The evidence that had been paraded in that House showed that it needed no great power of argument to show that if they closed every means of legitimate agitation secret societies would assuredly be formed. Carey himself had declared at Kilmainham that the "inner circle" was formed because the country was under coercion, and its leaders were in prison, all constitutional action being denied, and that, therefore, recruits for the infamous work were easily obtained. That point should be accentuated, because it would dispose of the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Mover of the Amendment (Mr. Gorst). That Amendment, and that suggestion, read by the light of the speeches of other hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, was designed to fasten on the Government complicity with assassination, and fellowship with those who were charged with crime. But that was a dangerous suggestion to send down to the unthinking portion of the constituencies. It was also attempted to connect the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and other Irish Members, with the recent outrages; but a comparison of dates would show that they were under lock and key at Kilmainham when the conspiracy was concocted. It had been admitted that Ireland was in a bad state before May last, and that it had improved since. Did hon. Gentlemen regret that the assassins had been unearthed? He asked the question because he had not heard a single word of commendation from the other side for what the Government had succeeded in doing. It was not at all too soon in May last to change the policy up to that time pursued, and to set free the Members of Parliament who were in prison. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, on the 4th of August, three months after their liberation, said that the Government had been firmly convinced that there would be no disadvantage in releasing the Members of Parliament, and that their decision had been justified by the result; that there were 255 "suspects" in prison when Lord Spencer went over, and in the course of three months 200 of them were released, while crime had diminished as rapidly as could have been hoped, and was still diminishing. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) let out yesterday the real meaning of the Amendment, which was, if possible, to create a panic in the minds of the people of England and of the Government, so as to make any further remedial legislation for Ireland impossible. But the unfairness of bringing forward such an Amendment for such a purpose at that moment had been pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). The right hon. and learned Gentleman showed what was in his mind when he said that he trusted that legislation of an experimental character should be postponed, and when he only discussed the relative value of different kinds and qualities of force and coercive measures, and went on to explain the original cause of the prevailing discontent in Ireland. But that cause was getting more and more understood in England—it was clearly a land system which had destroyed all sense of security on the part of the tenant, and had made many of the people of Ireland, through the poverty it inflicted, despair of improvement, thereby engendering in their hearts a hatred of England. The result of that was the state of things they had seen. The history of the last 50 years showed that nearly all remedial measures for Ireland had, in that House or in "another place," been either kicked out or so mutilated by Amendments as to be rendered useless. When the present Government came in, their first remedial measure — the Disturbance Bill — was thrown out by the House of Lords, and a feeling of despair took possession of Ireland. Then came the Coercion Act, which, operating on the minds of a people convulsed with passion, produced bad effects, which were intensified when it was perceived that that Act was a mere rent-collecting measure, or one to superintend evictions. At first the people of Ireland regarded the Liberal Government with hope, but they failed to understand that the Government might not be able to carry out their wishes. It would be folly—folly almost amounting to crime—to presume to be surprised at the dreadful state of affairs recently existing in Ireland. The reasons for their discontent were well known, and had led to a state of things in which he was now glad to acknowledge an improvement, from whatever cause. If the situation in Ireland had really improved, as he believed it had, it was important to discover the cause of the change and keep it in operation. Many hon. Members thought the change due to the careful enforcement of the Crimes Act; but that he entirely denied. The condition of Ireland had lately been better, not by reason of, but in spite of, the Crimes Act, and it was a fatal thing for the present Government that they never brought in a remedial measure but they accompanied it with an irritating and repressive measure which destroyed all the grace, and very often the effect, of the intended remedy. In his opinion, the credit of the improvement belonged to the remedial legislation of the Prime Minister, to the general reduction of rent by about 20 per cent, and to the granting of fixity of tenure. Their effect had been to turn many suffering tenants from the ranks of active discontent. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had said that the Amendment related to the future; and the question no doubt was, what was to be the future of Ireland? The Irish Members themselves proposed Home Rule, the Opposition wished to keep the country in order by bayonets and police; but neither of these remedies would suit a Liberal Government; for on that side of the House the problem was so perplexing as actually to undermine, in the cases of a few hon. Members, the principles of Liberalism itself. Repression could be no cure for the evils of Ireland; and, if he might give advice to the Liberal Government, it was to seize a time of peace, when Ireland was better, when outrage had ceased, when there was nothing but a Constitutional demand, without any of those terrible doings, to bring in measures of reform for Ireland, and bring them in quickly. Otherwise there would be too much foundation for the charge that was abroad that the English Government gave nothing to the sense of justice, but only to agitation. Ask her only peacefully for reform, and the reply was, "There is no demand for it, and we shall not grant it." Agitate, and the reply was, "We cannot give in to tumult." So that, unfortunately, if these two doctrines were to obtain, there were too many who would pay no attention to peaceful demands and who afterwards would say they could not give in to violence, so that between the two they would never yield anything at all, and there would be no chance of men getting their rights. He confessed himself an advocate of the widest self-government in Ireland that was consistent with the unity of the Empire. The taunt that he was advocating this concession to win Irish support did not apply, because he had not one Irishman, he thought, in his constituency. Suppose they sent a message to the Mayor and Corporation of some Irish city that from the 1st January, 1884, they should have the full management of their own affairs and be responsible for the peace of the city, he considered they would, in doing so, be making an advance towards the maintenance of law and order in Ireland which they could never make by Coercion Acts. If Birmingham or Manchester had to submit to a military man sent from Paris to govern them there would soon be riots and uproar. The only hope for the future of Ireland was that they should continue on the lines of remedial legislation. He had risen to speak, because he feared the terrific speeches which had been delivered from the Opposition might frighten the Government into abandoning further remedial legislation. They should not, as Englishmen, grudge two or three, or more, Sessions to legislate for Ireland; because they had to repair the terrible wrongdoings, not merely of generations, but of almost of centuries of English Governments. That would be a difficult task, inasmuch as there were two Irelands to be legislated for, though not in the sense in which one hon. Member had spoken of two Irelands. There was the greater Ireland of the masses of the people, which it was not judicious to rule by coercion. The Conservative Party might adopt that policy; for it was one which they alone could consistently carry out. No Government could govern by coercion unless it resolved to carry it out as in Poland. The Irish people had "kept along," although there had been sufficient coercion to have extirpated them long ago, and he supposed they would still "keep along." They must legislate remedially, until every man in Ireland should feel that he was a self-governing man. They had another Ireland, represented by the territorial classes. They formed a small Party, which was steady in its demands for coercion to sustain laws which they themselves made. It was for the Government to decide which Ireland they would choose. If they went on the lines of remedial legislation they would have the opposition of the territorial Party in England and Ireland—a Party with such ramifications throughout society as gave them immense power, and having ample means of making that power felt. That was the problem before the English Government. The present Government could perhaps hardly solve it, but the time could not be far distant. Irishmen had spread through the English constituencies. At no distant date they would hear at the polling booths English candidates questioned as to remedial measures for Ireland. Then they would have to struggle with the territorial classes, fighting for dear life; but if they proceeded on the lines of self-government, they would have Ireland as peaceful a part of the British Empire as Devonshire.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he had waited partly in expectation that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would have had something to say upon this Amendment, seeing that other Irish Members had addressed the House upon matters that were germane to the Amendment of the hon. Member, and more particularly did he expect that would be the case after the appeal made to him by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson); but, as he had not done so, it must be assumed that he was reserving his remarks until his own Amendment came before the House. He must say his expectation was not mainly founded on the appeal made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson), because, although the appeal appeared to have the sympathy of the House, it was quite within the discretion of the hon. Member to yield to, or disregard it. It was a matter which concerned the hon. Member, his associates, and his Party, with which he (the Attorney General for Ireland) could not suppose the conscience of the House or of the country was immediately concerned. He did not intend to enter into matters which had been dealt with by his right hon. and learned Friend, as it would be especially unbecoming in him to enter into the discussion of matters in reference to which the public mind, however excited, could not have been thoroughly informed. It was entirely a matter for the consideration of hon. Members opposite whether they should observe a different rule, and he presumed that they took their own time and opportunity. He had listened to a considerable portion of the debate that day with some anxiety to endeavour to ascertain what was the precise object with which those who supported the Amendment had brought it before the House, and he thought it was idle to suppose it was anything but a Vote of Censure upon the Government. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who introduced it, had passed a high eulogium upon the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) and his Administration in Ireland, as well as upon Lord Spencer and the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary. But there appeared, according to the hon. and learned Gentleman's statement, to be an interregnum between those two Administrations, during which a change had taken place in the Government policy. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) could only speak of a portion of the *régime* of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford; but, so far as he had had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the motives and objects which had regulated the conduct of both right hon. Gentlemen, there had been no change whatever. The policy of both had been regulated by an anxious desire to do two things—to remove abuses and causes of complaint, and at the same time, by firm determination, to assert as far as possible the authority of the law. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had not at his disposal those weapons which had since been placed in the hands of the Irish Government. However unsatisfactory and incomplete might have been the working of the Act which he was then administering, it should be borne in mind that the Government, at the time, had no other means of grappling with the state of affairs which unhappily existed. If the present Amendment were intended merely to point out the insufficiency and incompleteness of the machinery at the disposal of the Government to grapple with crime, prior to the passing of the Crimes Act, the discussion merely resolved itself into one upon the merits of two different Acts of Parliament, one of which was passed in 1881, and the other last year, though he hardly thought that could have been the intention of the hon. and learned Member, and he declined to enter into such a discussion. The charge which had been made by the hon. and learned Member was one solely in reference to the conduct of the Government in not having introduced the Crimes Act at an earlier date, and in having ordered the release from prison of certain hon. Members of the House. This latter had been discussed over and over again in the course of the present debate; but he had not heard one single statement, fact, or argument which had not been addressed to the House in the course of last Session. No new materials had been produced, because none existed; therefore the discussion in the Session of 1883, so far as the Amendment to the Address was concerned, was merely a repetition of the discussions of 1881 and 1882. The release of the "suspects" was a mere question of public order, and was regulated solely by considerations of public safety. It should be remembered that in any case those prisoners would have been released in September; and no one could contend that it was not the duty of the Government to release, not only the Members of Parliament, but any "suspects," if there were reasonable grounds for thinking that it could be done with safety. No evidence had been forthcoming that any evil had accrued from the release of the imprisoned Members; and, so far as he was aware, no fact or argument had been adduced to show that the Government were in error in taking the course they had taken, or that any mischievous consequences had resulted from their action. It had been stated that the outrage in the Phœnix Park was to some extent a consequence of the release of the suspects; but anyone who had read the evidence recently given in Dublin could not fail to have come to the conclusion that secret societies were in existence, and that there was, long prior to the outrage, a state of affairs which would not unnaturally lead to the commission of crime. But it had also been said that there was a change of policy on the part of the Government, because, after the 6th of May, a Bill was introduced which was of the utmost value to the Executive of Ireland. He could inform the House that such a measure was not only in contemplation, but in course of actual preparation, prior to the 6th of May; and although it was quite true that the introduction of that Bill would not have taken place at so early a period as it did but for the fatal events of that day, it must be borne in mind that its introduction was dependent only on the passing of the Procedure Rules. Had those Rules been passed they would have considerably facilitated the passing of the Crimes Act, which would have come into force at the conclusion of the Session; and although the assassinations in the Phœnix Park had doubtless accelerated the passing of the measure, the policy which dictated it was identical with that previously pursued. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) had advanced an argument that the change of policy was a change from the remedial land legislation to a policy of non-intervention in such matters. That was entirely a different line of argument, but the right hon. and learned Gentleman had also gone further. He blamed the Government for not having, in 1880, renewed legislation which would have had the effect of altering the state of things in Ireland. In order to be logical, and if they were to go back to that period, would the right hon. and learned Gentleman be good enough to inform the House what the course of the last Government was in 1879-80, in reference to the agitation which he condemned? Because he (the Attorney General for Ireland) asserted—and anyone acquainted with the facts would admit—that the agitation which he so much condemned was one which, under the Conservative Government, was allowed to attain dangerous and unmanageable proportions. It was not grappled with by the late Government. There was, to be sure, a sham prosecution, which was never intended to be gone on with, and which was allowed to drop. Even the ordinary powers of the law were not put into force until the powers of the Land League had been developed—until the organization had been completed, until the country had been excited, and the mischief had been done. Government, he admitted, were bound, when they found the powers conferred upon them inadequate for the maintenance of the law, to apply to Parliament for further powers. That they had done, and it seemed to him idle, in the face of the absolute unanimity as to the conduct of the Government in Ireland, to bring forward such an Amendment as that they were discussing. He regretted the tone of the remarks made by his hon. Friend who had just spoken (Mr. Collings). Such remarks might be very well fitted for the study, and little objection might be taken to them on philosophical grounds; but it was a dangerous thing to say that the crimes and outrages which had disgraced Ireland were the natural outcome of the state of things which had so long existed in that country. Such observations would appear to some persons to be a justification of crime and outrage. He did not impute to his hon. Friend for one moment that he ever contemplated such a result of his remarks; and he was sure that his hon. Friend would agree with himself and with the Government that the first duty of a Government was to protect the sanctity of human life—to protect persons and to keep property in safety. When that task was accomplished, then the other wants of the community might be attended to. His hon. Friend had referred to the Crimes Act as an irritating measure. No doubt it had proved irritating, and more than irritating, to the criminal classes; but, as administered by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan), it had not been a source of irritation to anyone else. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had said that the Crimes Act had produced the crimes in Dublin about which so much had been heard; but when it was remembered that the crimes in Dublin occurred on the 6th of May, and that the Crimes Act was not passed until the 12th of July, the House could hardly agree with the deductions of the hon. Member, who, he supposed, referred not to the Crimes Act, but to the Protection of Person and Property Act.

MR. O'BRIEN: I referred to the crimes that have occurred since the Crimes Act was passed.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, there was no doubt that it was the Crimes Act that was referred to, for the charges brought against the Administration in Ireland were charges against the Administration by Judge and jury in Green Street. [An hon. MEMBER: Packed juries.] He absolutely and emphatically denied it, for every person knew exactly that the contrary had been the case. Until the power was obtained of trying persons at a distance from the scene and the surroundings of their crime—until the power was obtained of having them tried by a jury unconnected with them, there was no possibility of getting convictions. But the moment those powers were given and vigorously applied, the result was that the law was vindicated in many cases that otherwise must have gone unpunished; and, as a necessary consequence, that which was foreseen and told to this House followed, and with the punishment of crime the occurrence of crime itself had almost ceased. He believed he could say that since the Maamtrasna outrage, which occurred in August, and could have had no connection with the Crimes Act, the country had been almost free from the crime of murder. He believed one murder had occurred in that time. Let them compare that with the three preceding years, during which upwards of 60 undetected murders were committed. They had heard that freedom of speech and freedom of writing had been interfered with in Ireland. That he admitted to be the truth; but of what kind of writing and speaking was that spoken? There were such speeches and such writing as, owing to the circumstances of the people and the neighbourhood, actually led to the commission of crime, and those he trusted would always be prevented when necessary to the public service. It was not true that freedom of any other kind in speaking and writing was interfered with. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had congratulated the House on the acquisition it had gained by the arrival of the hon. Member for

Mallow, and had said that from the Irish everywhere—from the Islands of the Pacific to the man on the omnibus—would come the cry—"Well done, Mallow!" He had also drawn a picture of the state of Ireland both before and after the *régime* of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford; and he had the courage, standing in that House and among persons who knew the facts, to describe the agitation of the Land League as a Constitutional agitation. No doubt it resembled a Constitutional agitation in this—that it was carried on ostensibly on public platforms; but it was an agitation illegal in itself, illegal in its objects, working by illegal means; the effect of which, wherever it was applied, even in those modes which were thought to be least illegal, aimed at effecting its ends by depriving everyone opposed to it of the smallest shred of personal liberty. They heard a great deal of the liberty of Constitutional agitation and personal freedom. Would any person picture to himself the position of the Irish peasant, of the Irish merchant, of the Irish agent, or of the Irish landlord, who came under the ban of the Land League at the time when it was in a position and power? He had no liberty to contract; he had no liberty to act. His liberty was to be at the mercy of the community, which had been drilled and taught, and in many cases coerced, to deprive him of every civil right. But it was known that it did not stop there; and whether it was intended or not, wherever it went, as had been demonstrated in that House over and over again, its steps had been traced by crime and outrage. The Land League was suppressed in the days of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and that without exceptional powers. The organization was put down, and the Land League was driven out of existence by powers which were the ordinary powers of the Common Law of the land. He knew from personal association with his right hon. Friend the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. W. E. Forster), with whom it was a source of pride to him to have been associated, that the right hon. Gentleman's desire was to act, in every case, in the spirit of the law, and never to interfere where it was possible to avoid interference with personal liberty. There was a very remarkable fact that these recent revelations had brought to light. He did not allude to recent matters in Dublin, but to what had been brought to light in the course of many trials which had taken place since August last. These revelations had shown how just and how true and precise were the knowledge and the information on which his right hon. Friend had acted, because there had been very few cases in which the principal agents in proved crime had not been among the persons who had been arrested during the right hon. Gentleman's *régime* under the Protection of Person and Property Act. With reference to the last speech to which the House had just listened, while he would allow that it had been delivered in a philosophic and calm manner, yet he greatly questioned its prudence. It was a dangerous thing to tell the inhabitants of a country convulsed with a spasm of crime that that state of things was just what, under the circumstances, was to be expected. That a philosopher in his study might understand; but to say that crime was only what was to be expected might very possibly be construed into this—that, under the circumstances, it might not be so very reprehensible after all. The present Government had shown that while they could be firm in repressive measures, it could also have sympathy, it could also have a regard to the social wants of the community it was called upon to govern. He, for one, looked not to so remote a future as that figured out by his hon. Friend the Member for Aylesbury (Mr. George Russell). He looked forward to the effect of the Land Act and other measures of the present Government operating in a very much shorter time; and he hoped in a very few years to find peace, order, loyalty, and happiness restored to Ireland. He had only to submit, in conclusion, that the Amendment before the House could be productive of nothing but mischief.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. J. Lowther.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Tomorrow.*

MOTIONS.

PERPETUAL LEASES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BARCLAY, Bill to enable Corporations and limited owners to grant perpetual leases of land, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BARCLAY, Mr. HOWARD, and Dr. FARQUHARSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 97.]

INCOME TAX ADMINISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HUBBARD, Bill to amend the administration of the Income Tax, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HUBBARD, Mr. WHITLEY, Sir CHARLES FORSTER, and Mr. EDWARD LEATHAM.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 98.]

PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS (NO. 3) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ANDERSON, Bill for the amendment of the Laws relating to Patents for Inventions, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. BROWN, Mr. BROADHURST, Mr. JACKSON, and Mr. HINDE PALMER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 99.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 22nd February, 1883.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, *appointed* and *nominated;* Standing Orders Committee, *appointed* and *nominated;* Committee of Selection, *appointed* and *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Limerick Waterworks) * (3).

OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS AND OFFICE OF THE GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD.

Select Committee appointed: The Lords following were named of the Committee:

Ld. Chancellor.
Ld. President.
Ld. Privy Seal.
D. Richmond.
D. Saint Albans.
M. Lansdowne.
M. Salisbury.
M. Bath.
M. Hertford.
Ld. Steward.
E. Devon.
E. Doncaster.
E. Tankerville.
E. Carnarvon.
E. Bradford.
E. Granville.
E. Kimberley.
E. Redesdale.
E. Lathom.
V. Hawarden.
V. Hardinge.
V. Eversley.
Ld. Chamberlain.
L. Colville of Culross.
L. Monson.
L. Colchester.
L. Aveland.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:

D. Somerset.
M. Winchester.
M. Lansdowne.
M. Bath.
M. Hertford.
Ld. Steward.
E. Devon.
E. Carnarvon.
E. Cadogan.
E. Belmore.
E. Chichester.
E. Powis.
E. Verulam.
E. Morley.
E. Stradbroke.
E. Amherst.
E. Camperdown.
E. Lathom.
V. Hawarden.
V. Hutchinson.
V. Hardinge.
V. Eversley.
V. Halifax.
L. Saye and Sele.
L. Balfour of Burleigh.
L. Colville of Culross.
L. Boyle.
L. Monson.
L. Digby.
L. Carrington.
L. Colchester.
L. Silchester.
L. De Tabley.
L. Sudeley.
L. Belper.
L. Ebury.
L. Hartismere.
L. Penrhyn.
L. Wolverton.

PRIVATE BILLS.

All Petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Standing Orders Committee unless otherwise ordered.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION.

The Lords following; viz.,

M. Lansdowne.
E. Lathom.
L. Colville of Culross.
L. Boyle.

were appointed, with the Chairman of Committees, a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL BOERS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD BRABOURNE, in rising to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the report is correct that the Transvaal Boers have been employing dynamite against the native tribes; and whether Her Majesty's Government have taken any steps to prevent the persecution of those tribes which remained faithful to Her Majesty during the British administration? said his Question required a little explanation. Their Lordships would remember that upon the accession of Her Majesty's present Government to power the rising of the Transvaal Boers against Her Majesty's authority was at its commencement, and there was a very noisy clamour from a Party in this country in favour of restoring the Transvaal to the Boers. On that occasion he thought it his duty to lay before their Lordships an account of the past doings of the Boers and their uniformly bad treatment of the Native Tribes. The noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley), who then held the Seals of the Colonial Office, replied that he hoped that this charge against the Boers was of particular rather than universal application, and things would improve. The Boers at the time to which he referred were generally considered to be rebels; but having waylaid and shot down a detachment of one of Her Majesty's regiments, without any declaration of war, and obtained two or three successes over small bodies of our troops, they received the brevet rank of patriots at the hands of Her Majesty's Government. He would not dwell upon those incidents and events, constituting, as they did, in his opinion, one of the darkest, the most painful, and humiliating chapters in our Colonial history. But there was one bright spot in that darkness and in the transactions which followed, and that was to be found in the solicitude expressed by Her Majesty's Government that the Native Tribes should not suffer from the transfer of Her Majesty's Government to the authority of the Boers. Their Lordships would be prepared to admit that, if the Boers were entitled to the name of patriots, the Native Tribes who were there before them had at least an equally legitimate claim to the title. He had noticed in some of the papers statements that the Boers had employed the resources of civilization against the Native Tribes, and on further investigation he found that the employment of the resources of civilization in this instance signified the employment of dynamite for the purposes of blowing up those who were opposed to them. He wished to know whether Her Majesty's Government could give any authentic information upon the subject, and whether they had thought it right to remonstrate with the Boers for thus blowing up the Natives, many of whom had distinguished themselves by their loyalty to this country? He would like to know whether those people would be protected by this country? He was quite aware that by giving up the Transvaal this country got rid of certain responsibilities; but when a great country attempted to get rid of responsibilities, such trifles as character and reputation were sometimes got rid of at the same time. This country had always preserved a character and reputation for humanity and justice in her dealings with Native Tribes, and we were bound to prevent those from being sacrificed, whose chief offence had been loyalty to our authority and confidence in our goodwill and ability to protect them. He hoped that the noble Earl who now held the Seals of the Colonial Office would give their Lordships some assurance that dynamite had not been used, and that it was untrue that the Natives had been persecuted and destroyed because of their loyalty to this country.

THE EARL OF DERBY: In answer to the Question that has been put to me by my noble Friend, I have to say that I have looked carefully through the despatches relating to Transvaal affairs, and I cannot find any mention in them of the statement to which my noble Friend refers—namely, that dynamite has been used in military operations against the Natives. I confess I do not attach quite the importance which my noble Friend does to the circumstance. It may or may not be right that military operations should be carried on; but if they are carried on, I do not see that there is necessarily more inhumanity in the employment of dynamite than in the employment of gunpowder. The only case in which I have seen it publicly stated that dynamite has been used was in certain operations against a Chief of the name of Mapoch, who owns, or at least claims to own, a territory of more than 3,000 square miles situated in the interior of the Transvaal country, and claims the position of an independent Ruler. This Chief can hardly be said to have been one of those who remained faithful to the British Government, as the only record of him which I can find is this—that during the whole time that the Transvaal was administered by British authorities he steadily and persistently refused payment of taxes, and he never did pay any, but maintained a position of independence. In October last Mr. Hudson, our Agent at Pretoria, wrote that the Transvaal Government were anxious, if possible, to avoid a war upon this Chief; but it appears that it has not been possible to avoid it, and some military operations are going on. In answer to the more general Question of my noble Friend, I have not seen any evidence of that to which he refers—namely, that a systematic persecution has been directed against the Native Tribes who remained faithful to the British Government. Unfortunately, there has been a great deal of filibustering outside the borders of the Transvaal State. That has been carried on by irresponsible adventurers, partly Boers, and partly, I am afraid, Englishmen; and Her Majesty's Government are now in communication with the local authorities at the Cape, with a view to take such measures as may be possible to check proceedings in the country. I am bound to say that I do not feel very sanguine because of the difficulties in the way. We have to deal with a savage country, where there are no roads, and which lies far beyond the borders of the British Empire. Under these circumstances, unless we establish a Protectorate over the country, which I do not think anybody would desire, I do not think it will be easy to prevent disorder; but we shall do what we can; and, as I have said, we are in communication with the Cape Government on the subject. I do not believe that the motives of these filibusters have been of a political character; it rather seems to me that the disturbances have arisen from a desire to acquire land without paying for it. It is impossible to deny that the Government of the Transvaal have not done all that they might have been called on to do, in order effectually to repress these disorders. But it is difficult to give a general account of the state of matters in a brief answer to a Question; and perhaps the best answer I can give my noble Friend is, that the whole of the Papers on this subject are in the hands of the printers, and will be delivered in the course of the next few days; and when he has read them, he and your Lordships will be in a position to know as much as I know what is taking place in that country.

HIGHWAYS—LEGISLATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL DE LA WARR, in asking, Whether Her Majesty's Government propose to introduce any measure this Session on the subject of highways, or in any other manner to afford relief to ratepayers in consequence of the heavy burdens with which they were charged to maintain them? said, their Lordships would remember that a Select Committee was appointed last Session to inquire into all questions affecting highways and the working of the Highway Acts. A large amount of evidence was given, showing that amendments in those Acts were much needed, and that burdens upon the ratepayers had considerably increased, owing, in a great measure, to the charges for the maintenance of main roads, since the abolition of turnpikes, and also in consequence of expenses in the working of Highway Boards. Last year assistance was given in the shape of a payment from the Treasury; but, as there must be uncertainty about this in the future, there was naturally some anxiety as to what Her Majesty's Government proposed to do. There was, no doubt, an increasing feeling in the country that main roads, which were so much used by the public, should be made a national charge, or that some alteration should be made in that direction. He begged to ask the Question of which he had given Notice.

THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD said, that, before the noble Lord answered the Question, he should like to say that he could endorse all that the noble Earl had advanced in regard to highway rates. The noble Earl's Question was asked in the interests of the farmers, whose prospects, he feared, were more depressed than most people were aware. Judging from the Speech from the Throne, he doubted whether the Government sufficiently realized the terrible straits to which the agricultural interest had been reduced. Had the Government been alive to all the sad facts of the case, they would have regarded the relief of agriculture as a question deserving of a prominent place in their list of proposed measures; whereas, in fact, they had mentioned no Bills affecting the farmers, except the Local Government Bill, the Bill for the Conservancy of Rivers and the Prevention of Floods, and the proposal more effectually to secure to tenants compensation for improvements. Most of these measures were unquestionably necessary; and if they were brought forward without any Party spirit, and with a sincere desire to benefit both landlords and tenants, would be well received on that side of the House. Those proposals, however, good as they were, would not give any real help to the impoverished farmers. The depression had, in many cases, been most severe where the tenants were already in a good position as regarded their landlords, and for efficient relief it was necessary to look to the removal of local burdens. Surely it was a monstrous injustice that on the abolition of the turnpikes the whole of the charges of the highways should be borne by the land. Personal property paid nothing whatever for the maintenance of the roads, which, nevertheless, were freely used and cut up by the carts of brewers, coal merchants, and timber merchants. The desired change might be difficult of accomplishment, but could not be impossible. Again, there was the question of heavy education rates, especially where there are board schools, and he would point out how landed property was taxed to the relief of the rest of the community. He hoped to have an early opportunity of discussing this, and the other unjust burdens at present imposed on the land. He trusted that better seasons would come, and that farmers would, with renewed and increased energy, apply themselves to the cultivation of the soil, and not be led astray by agitators who were simply trying to set class against class. He hoped that the Government would put aside all Party feelings, and do their best to pass good measures which would be a relief to the agriculturists, who were as hard working, law-abiding, and loyal a class as any in the Kingdom.

LORD CARRINGTON, in reply, said, that £250,000 was voted by Parliament last year in relief of the highway rates, and it was the intention of the Government to propose to continue the arrangement on the same basis, though, from more accurate knowledge of the sums required, there might be some slight difference in the amount.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (LIMERICK WATERWORKS) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Waterworks in the City of Limerick—Was *presented* by The LORD PRIVY SEAL; read 1ª; and *referred* to the Examiners. (No. 3.)

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till
To-morrow, a quarter past
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 22nd February, 1883.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Canals, *appointed;* Printing, *appointed* and *nominated;* Public Accounts, *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee—Ordered — First Reading* — Isle of Man (Harbours) [101].

Ordered—First Reading—Parliamentary Elections (Closing of Public Houses)* [102]; County Courts * [103].

QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE—MAILS TO THE UNITED STATES.

MR. BAXTER asked the Acting Postmaster General, with reference to the increasing complaints made by the mercantile community that letters to the United States are frequently sent by slow steamers, If any arrangements are being made for the regular transmission of the mails by the fastest boats on the Atlantic to whatever Company they may happen to belong?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, that service is performed by three of the best Companies running steamers across the Atlantic — namely, the White Star, Inman, and Cunard Companies, and the average of their passages compares favourably with those of other lines. My right hon. Friend the Postmaster General, in reply to a similar Question addressed to him last November, stated that there are other elements besides speed to be considered in arranging mail contracts, it being very important to secure as much regularity as possible in the arrival and departure of mails. This would not be attained by employing one or two exceptionally fast steamers in rotation with others of average speed; and for the present there seems to be no advantage in upsetting the existing mail contract, which secures both regularity and efficiency.

TREATY OF TIENTSIN—THE OPIUM DUTIES.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can give the House any information as to the revision of that portion of the Treaty of Tientsin which relates to the Duty on Opium, or as to the ratification of that portion of the Chefoo Convention relating to the same subject?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, no arrangement has yet been concluded between the Governments of Great Britain and China respecting opium; but negotiations on the subject are about to take place with the Chinese Minister, who has just arrived in London for the purpose, and it is hoped that they will result in a satisfactory settlement of the questions referred to by the hon. Baronet.

COOLIE (INDIAN) LABOUR—QUEENSLAND.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Colonial Office sanctioned the arrangements under which Ceylonese and Indians have been exported from Ceylon to Queensland; whether, before these people were exported, under indentures binding them down to labour for a term of years, enforced by a highly penal Law, an Ordinance was passed in Ceylon providing for their protection, in the same way as they are protected in India; whether the Penal Laws enforcing contracts of service, now existing in Queensland, apply equally to whites and blacks; whether it is true that many of the Coolies imported from Ceylon were sent to prison for alleged breach of contracts of service by benches of magistrates themselves sugar planters and employers of labour; whether the immigration of Chinese into Queensland is now free, and not hindered by any special taxation or special Laws against them; and, whether the Colonial Office permits the recruiting of coloured labour, under indenture, for any Colony which restricts the immigration of free Chinese labour?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the Colonial Office did not sanction the arrangements under which Singalese have on a recent occasion been exported to Queensland. There was at the time no Ordinance in force which empowered the Governor to detain them; but since then an Ordinance has been passed under which the Governor is instructed to prevent the exportation of Singalese labourers to any place where the regulations in force for their protection have not been previously approved by the Government. The Acts regulating the relations of master and servant in Queensland apply equally to Whites and Blacks, except that there are some special laws as to labourers brought from Polynesia. We know nothing about the newspaper statements as to the magistrates in the case under inquiry being all sugar planters. The immigration of Chinese into Queensland is not prohibited; but there is a special tax of £10 a head on each Chinaman, payable on landing. The Colonial Office consider these two questions of Chinese free immigration and of indentured labour as distinct, and has never made the allowance of one to depend on that of the other.

IRISH CHURCH ACT, 1869—THE PURCHASERS—FAIR RENTS.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, having regard to the ascertainment of fair rents by the Land Commission in Ireland, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to consider the claims of tenants and other persons who purchased their holdings under the Irish Church Act of 1869 on a rental greatly in excess of what has been ascertained to be fair and reasonable, to relief, either by a reduction of the interest to which they are liable, or of the capital sum for which they purchased their holdings and still remaining unpaid, or by extending the period for the repayment of the purchase money by reduced instalments?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Land Commissioners have at present in course of preparation a Report on the position of the class of persons mentioned. When completed it will be considered by the Government; but, of course, this answer must not be taken as giving any indication of the views held by Her Majesty's Government.

THE EGYPTIAN SLAVE TRADE.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can inform the House what progress has been made in the negotiation with the Khedive for the abolition of Egyptian Slave Trade and Slavery since the Despatch of Lord Granville to Lord Dufferin on November 3rd, 1882?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The despatch from Lord Dufferin, to which I have already had occasion to refer, contains a Report on the question of slavery and the slave trade in Egypt. No decision has yet been arrived at upon the subject by Her Majesty's Government, who are considering Lord Dufferin's recommendations. The Despatch, as was stated by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, will be presented to Parliament at as early a date as possible.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—SEC. 31—APPLICATIONS FOR LOANS.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to a letter in the "Freeman's Journal" of the 13th instant, from six occupiers of land in Roscommon, complaining of the delay in issuing the preliminary forms requisite in applications for loans under section 31, Land Act (Ireland), 1881; whether these forms can be deposited with the local postmaster or others so as to facilitate the working of the system; and whether there is now an adequate staff of inspectors, with their work so arranged as to avoid all needless delay in sending in their reports?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, I have read the letter to which my hon. and gallant Friend refers, and have also seen the explanation in the same paper on the 16th, which shows that the former letter must have been written under a misapprehension. In another case I find there was really a delay of a week, which I regret, but believe it is not likely to occur again, as the office staff has been increased. There are now 18 Inspectors at work, so distributed as to do their work with the minimum of delay; and as these officers are supplied with forms for distribution in addition to those which can be obtained on application to the Dublin Office, I do not think it at present necessary to enter upon the difficulties which distribution through post offices would involve?

INDIA—COOPER'S HILL COLLEGE.

MR. B. SAMUELSON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware that, by a Memorandum of the Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, the Professor of Physics is required to be a Protestant, and is required "to attend morning Chapel and Sunday Service with reasonable regularity;" whether it is true that, whilst these conditions are attached to the appointment, no mention was made of the fact in a recent advertisement announcing the vacancy of the Professorship; whether similar conditions are attached to the appointment of other Professors in the College; and, whether they have been brought under the notice of the Secretary of State, and have not been disallowed by him?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I am sorry to say that the facts of the case are correctly represented by my hon. Friend. The Memorandum in question was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State before any appointment had been sanctioned; and an advertisement was at once issued from the India Office inviting further applications for the post up to the 31st of March, and stating that "the appointment will not be subject to any requirements in respect of religious tenets or observances." No conditions as to religious requirements have been required of any of the Professors in the College.

SCOTLAND—DEPOPULATION OF LAND IN ORDER TO MAKE DEER FORESTS—EXTENSION OF THE PRACTICE.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the system of depopulating large tracts of land in Scotland for the purpose of making deer forests, which has so extensively prevailed in recent years; whether he is aware that a Mr. Winans has an area of over 150 square miles exclusively devoted to deer; whether there has been a case before the Supreme Court in Scotland, at the instance of Mr. Winans, to procure the eviction of crofters for the purpose of further extending his deer forest; and, whether the Government contemplate any measure for preventing the further depopulation of the Highlands for this purpose?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): It is the fact, Sir, that large tracts of land in Scotland have been made into deer forests in recent years, and it has been asserted that these tracts have been depopulated for that purpose. On the other hand, this assertion has been denied; and it has been stated that the tracts of land in question had previously, in so far as occupied at all, been under sheep, and that as many persons are employed in the care of the deer forests as were engaged in tending the sheep. I am not in possession of evidence to show which of these opposing allegations is correct. I am aware that Mr. Winans has a very large area—I might almost say an enormous area—devoted to deer, and that he is at present suing an action in the Supreme Court of Scotland for the purpose of having Mr. Mackenzie, of Kintail, ordained to remove the tenants and other occupants from certain parts of Kintail let to Mr. Winans as a deer forest. This action is resisted by Mr. Mackenzie, who asserts that it never was intended that the crofters should be removed; and he has obtained a judgment in his favour from the Lord Ordinary, who has refused to decree specific performance of what Mr. Winans maintains to be Mr. Mackenzie's obligation. That judgment is at present under appeal. I am not in a position to promise legislation on the subject of this question.

EDUCATION—SCIENCE AND ART—THE NATIONAL GALLERY—INSUFFICIENCY OF SPACE.

Mr. COOPE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether, regarding the present inadequate accommodation for the pictures (the property of the Nation) in the National Gallery, as well as for such works of art as may be presented or bequeathed, he is now prepared to sanction a considerable enlargement of the building at the rear of the present Gallery, on property already in the hands of the Government; and, pending this extension, whether he is willing to sanction the lighting of the Gallery by electricity, so as to give increased facilities to those desiring to visit the Gallery, and especially to those who, owing to their avocations, can only do so in the evenings, after their day's work?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, the hon. Member will be glad to hear that the Government recognizes the necessity of adding to the buildings of the National Gallery; and I shall submit a Vote in the Estimates of this year for commencing these buildings, and I am now in communication with the Trustees of the National Gallery. With respect to the lighting of the Gallery by the electric light, I can only repeat what I said last year, that the responsibility for lighting the Gallery at night rests with the Trustees; but that, apart from other objections, I could not, with reference to the little experience we have of the electric light, especially as regards its safety, advise them to adopt it.

METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE.

Mr. COOPE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, with a view to the greater protection of life and property in the Metropolis from fire, he is disposed to take steps whereby the Metropolitan Board of Works may be empowered to increase the force of the Fire Brigade to such an extent as may ensure the much needed security to life and property, and avert from the Metropolis the calamity of a great conflagration?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am informed, Sir, that the Metropolitan Board, who have already largely increased the force of the Fire Brigade, intend this year, in a Money Bill, to make application to Parliament to remove certain limits which restrain them from extending that force as desired. This seems to be a proper application on the part of the Metropolitan Board.

CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Government have as yet arrived at any decision with regard to the question of the Channel Tunnel?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, the decision of the Government upon the present state of this question was announced in the last Session in the month of August, when I said, in moving that the Order for the Second Reading of the Channel Tunnel Bill should be discharged, that the Government had felt it their duty to appoint early next Session a Joint Committee of both Houses to consider the question. In accordance with that decision the Government intend shortly to propose the appointment of a Committee to inquire and report whether it is expedient that Parliamentary sanction should be given to a submarine communication between England and France; and, if so, on what conditions. It will probably be expedient that the second reading of the two Bills now before the House should be postponed until that Committee has reported. The proposal is that the

Joint Committee shall consist of five Members of this House and of five Members of the House of Lords.

EGYPT—RE-ORGANIZATION—REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Her Majesty's Government will instruct Lord Dufferin and Sir Edward Malet not to assent to any scheme for the future government of Egypt which does not secure to the people of that country, within the limits of international obligations, a share of control over their own interests, financial or otherwise, by means of representatives yearly elected by the people?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the proposals of Lord Dufferin for securing the objects indicated by the hon. Member are contained in the despatch from his Excellency to which I have already referred in this House, which is now under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and which will be laid before Parliament at an early date; but neither Lord Dufferin or Sir Edward Malet are empowered to assent to any scheme for the future government of Egypt without instructions from Her Majesty's Government.

MAIN ROADS (ENGLAND)—GRANT FOR MAINTENANCE.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What assistance it is in contemplation of the Government to give this year to ratepayers in the matter of the maintenance of main roads?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I need only state now that he will see in the Civil Service Estimates for 1883-4 that the arrangement made for the current year is provisionally continued on the same basis, although there will be a slight difference in the amount arising from more exact knowledge of the sums required.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT asked whether the sum would be more or less than before?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he thought the hon. Gentleman had better wait till he saw the Estimates.

EGYPT—REBELLION IN THE SOUDAN.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government have any reason to believe the alarming reports of the progress of the rebellion in the Soudan and the imminent danger of Khartoum; and, if so, what steps they have advised the Egyptian Government to take to replace the raw conscripts who are represented as being chained in batches and driven like slaves to join the headquarters of their regiments at the front?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE Sir, Her Majesty's Government have received information that Obeid and, it is believed, Bara have fallen into the hands of the rebels, but that there is no reason to apprehend danger to Khartoum. The suppression of the rebellion in the Soudan is a matter which has been left entirely to the Egyptian Government, as has been stated by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, and neither Lord Dufferin nor Sir Edward Malet has been concerned in any of the arrangements made. No information of such a treatment of conscripts as is referred to by the noble Lord has been received at the Foreign Office; but, as the recruits are said to be under misapprehension as to the condition of the recruitment, the Khedive has permitted some English officers to be present at the places of enlistment.

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether, looking to the fact that the Soudan was only a recent conquest of Egypt, and had been the scene of massacre, Her Majesty's Government would instruct Lord Dufferin to use his influence—which was considerable—with the Egyptian Government to prevent the further invasion of that Province by the Egyptian Forces?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE requested that Notice should be given of that Question.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—REPAYMENT OF ADVANCES.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, With reference to a statement in the "Volksstem," the organ of the Government of the Transvaal, on the 16th of December last, that there was in the Transvaal Treasury "on the

30th September last a favourable cash balance of over £15,000," and that "£30,000 besides have been put aside for future payments," what is the amount that the Transvaal Government engaged to repay to the British Treasury within the year 1882-3 on account of the sums paid out of British funds in settlement of compensation claims, and what is the sum that it has actually repaid on this account?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Whether that balance was in the Transvaal Treasury or not in September last, I would remind the hon. Member that by the Convention the British Debt is only a second charge on the Transvaal Revenues; so there were other demands to be met first. Apart from the interest payable on the whole British Debt, which has been hitherto paid, the only capital sum which the Transvaal Government engaged to pay within the year 1882-3 was £100,000, in terms of the Convention, since reduced, with the consent of the Colonial Office, to £50,000. Of this they have paid as yet nothing.

THE INSTITUTE OF SURVEYORS.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Vice President of the Privy Council, To explain under what circumstances, or under what powers, a Royal Charter came to be granted to a body calling itself the Institute of Surveyors, in restraint of Trade, and tending to establish a privileged monopoly?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, a Charter was granted in 1881 by Her Majesty, with the advice of Her Privy Council, to the Institute of Surveyors on the petition of that Society. The effect of that Charter is to incorporate a very important and useful body, whose position has been specially recognized by Parliament. The hon. Member is mistaken in supposing that the Charter confers any monopoly, or interferes in any way in restraint of trade.

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Vice President of the Privy Council, The cause of the delay by the Charity Commissioners in laying before the House the new scheme for the administration of Christ's Hospital; and, whether he will promise his assistance that the intentions of the Founder, King Edward the Sixth, shall be scrupulously carried out?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member's Question, I have received the following answer to my inquiries from the Charity Commissioners:—

> "The scheme which we published some time since for the great foundation of Christ's Hospital in the City of London, and to which objections so voluminous have been taken as to call for minute and protracted investigation on the part of one of our Assistant Commissioners and of ourselves, is still under our anxious consideration."

In reply to the second branch of the hon. Member's Question, I can only promise to be guided by the Acts of Parliament under which these schemes are framed. A good deal has happened since the days of Edward VI.

THE CITY LIVERY COMPANIES—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, The cause of the delay in the presentation of the Report of the Royal Commission on the City Livery Companies, when such Commission will resume its sittings, and when the Report may be expected to be laid upon the Table of the House?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the Commission had resumed its sittings, and he understood that it was expected to make its Report in the course of the present Session.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether an official shorthand writer was present at the whole or any part of the examinations of witnesses in Dublin Castle by Mr. J. A. Curran, Q.C., under the sixteenth Clause of the Crimes Act; and, if so, whether he will lay upon the Table a transcript of the shorthand writer's notes; and, whether he will state the length of time during which such witnesses were under examination, and whether it is true that they or any of them were proffered intoxicating drink during their detention at the Castle, or that they or any of them were subjected to threats or improper inducements by the presiding magistrate, or by any police officer in his presence?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, an official shorthand writer was present during the greater part of the inquiry, but I cannot undertake to lay a transcript of his notes upon the Table of the House. The length of time during which the witnesses were under examination cannot be given. They were not subjected to threats or improper inducements during the inquiry, which was, I am assured by those responsible, conducted with propriety. No intoxicating drink was proffered them. The consequences of connecting the notion of intoxication with a judicial inquiry have already proved so dangerous to life that I trust nothing more will be heard of this utterly unfounded suggestion.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) ACT—SEED LOANS.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Irish Government has fully considered the representations made by the Castlebar Board of Guardians and the Boards of other Unions as to their inability to pay the remaining portions of the seeds loans advanced under the Relief of Distress Act; and, whether, in view of the distressed condition of the Unions referred to, he will introduce a short Bill for the remission of the loans?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the representations referred to have been fully considered. The purchasers of seed in the Castlebar and many other Unions have already been granted much indulgence in respect of the repayment; and the Guardians of the Union named have been informed that the Government does not contemplate the introduction of any further legislation on the subject. I cannot hold out any prospect of that decision being altered.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—SEC. 31—APPLICATION FOR LOANS.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he can now inform the House what steps the Treasury propose to take so as to allow tenants to make joint applications for loans on the joint security of their tenant right, in accordance with the thirty-first section of the Land Law Act?

Mr. COURTNEY: The suggestion which my hon. and learned Friend makes has been carefully considered by the Irish Government and the Treasury; but I am sorry to say we are not yet in a position to announce a decision.

STATE OF IRELAND—DISTRESS IN THE WEST—THE DEPUTATION OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What decision has been arrived at in reference to the proposals laid before His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by a deputation of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops on the 9th of January last, and which relate to the distress in the West of Ireland, and the condition of the small farmers in that part of the Country?

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that this question had interested the Irish Office very much; but the answer to it would, he thought, come in official form from the Treasury, with whom the decision rested.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he hoped that if the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) moved the Amendment of which he had given Notice, the Chief Secretary would take the opportunity, in the further stages of the debate on the Address, to give the House some information on this subject.

COREA—TREATIES WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

Sir EDWARD REED asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the United States Senate has ratified the Treaty with Corea; and, whether the Treaty between that Country and Great Britain has been ratified; and, if not, whether he will state the grounds upon which the ratification is delayed?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the American Treaty with Corea has been ratified by the United States Senate, but it is understood that the text will not be published until promulgated by the President. The Treaty between this country and Corea has not yet been ratified, and is still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, who are, at the present time, in communication with various Chambers of Commerce on the subject.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACTS—THE COMPULSORY CLAUSES.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been called to certain recent decisions of Sheriff Lamond, one of the Sheriff Substitutes of the county of Fife, to the effect that the requirements of the Compulsory Clauses of the Scotch Education Acts would be sufficiently satisfied by children being sent to school at twelve years of age, as the necessary amount of education might be given in the twelve months before the age of thirteen years was reached; and, whether, if the Law is correctly laid down in these decisions, he is prepared to amend the Act, so as to prevent the intention of the Legislature from being virtually disregarded?

MR. PRESTON BRUCE asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether the School Boards affected by these decisions had any right of appeal; and, if not, what means they had of testing, by reference to a higher Court, Sheriff Lamond's interpretation of the Education Act?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, with regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Fifeshire (Mr. Preston Bruce), I may say that I believe the School Boards had the right of appeal, but they did not exercise it within the prescribed time. In answer to the hon. Member for the University of Glasgow (Mr. J. A. Campbell), I have to say that I have read with some surprise the decision to which the hon. Member refers, which, if correctly reported, is distinctly at variance with what I understand to be the correct interpretation of the law. But there has been a great variety of conflicting opinions as to what constitutes "gross neglect" on the part of a parent in providing elementary education. This has seriously interfered with the enforcement of the compulsory clauses of the Education Act in Scotland; and we, therefore, propose to introduce a short measure which will remove all doubts on the subject, and thus facilitate the work of School Boards in the discharge of their responsible and important duties.

TREATY WITH MADAGASCAR—ARTICLE 5.

MR. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, before the departure of the Malagasy Envoys to the United States, Her Majesty's Government made any progress with the revision of the Treaty between England and Madagascar, and, in particular, whether he can confirm the statement that Article 5, relative to the occupancy of leasing land by British subjects, in the amended form, has been signed on behalf of the respective Governments by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Envoys?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, an agreement has been come to with regard to Article 5, and the declaration embodying it is already in the hands of hon. Members. The other points which have been the subject of negotiation are reserved for decision until the return of the Ambassadors from the United States.

JUDICATURE AMENDMENT ACT, 1875—THE JUDGES' RULES—JURISDICTION OF ENGLISH HIGH COURTS OVER DOMICILED SCOTCHMEN.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Lord Advocate, What steps have been taken for the removal of the hardship inflicted upon domiciled Scotchmen, in being summoned to the English High Courts, under Rules framed by the English Judges under the English Judicature Act of 1875?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Sir, representations have been made in the proper quarter for the purpose of having the Rules in question altered, and alterations intended to remove the grievance are now in draft.

ARMY—THE AUXILIARY FORCES—THE IRISH MILITIA.

MR. GREER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of the Government to call out the Irish Militia for training this year?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: It is intended, Sir, to make provisions in the Army Estimates for the ensuing year for the training of the Irish Militia, and orders have been issued to re-open recruiting. Of course, the actual training will depend upon the state of the country at the time.

EGYPT—NEUTRALIZATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the proposals of the Government relative to the neutralization of the Suez Canal are likely to be accepted by the European Powers and the proprietors of the property; and, whether, if the proposals are ratified, negotiations are to be opened with the Porte for the purpose of purchasing the suzerain rights of the Sultan on lines similar to those agreed to with Denmark for the abolition of her pecuniary rights in the navigation of the Straits of Elsinore?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the answers as far as they have been received are, in general terms, each of a favourable character. The Sultan has no direct pecuniary interest in the navigation of the Suez Canal.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR BOLTON, CROWN SOLICITOR FOR TIPPERARY CO.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY (for Mr. Sexton) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. George Bolton, Crown Solicitor for the county of Tipperary, and Solicitor to the Valuation Office in Ireland, is the same person who was concerned as a defendant in the case of MacDermott and King *v.* Bolton and others, lately heard before the President of the Probate and Divorce Division, London; whether Mr. Bolton, being examined as a witness in the case, admitted that he had acted as a solicitor in drawing up his own marriage settlement; that his wife instituted against him a suit in the Chancery Division in respect of the said marriage settlement; that she charged him on the pleadings with unprofessional and fraudulent conduct; that she swore his reply to her statement of claim was untrue; that he had induced his wife to agree to the sale of shares to the amount of over £16,000 to pay for a property which cost only £15,000; and that he instructed his counsel in the Chancery suit to submit to a decree against him; whether he further admitted that Mr. Justice Fry, the judge who tried the suit in the Chancery Division, had written respecting his conduct in the matter to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland; whether the President of the Probate and Divorce Division declared, in his charge to the jury, that, apart from the question of fraud, the marriage settlement drawn up by Mr. Bolton, on his own behalf, was a most astonishing settlement, and how any man, whether solicitor or no solicitor, could have thought otherwise it was not easy to see, since it was the A.B.C. of marriage settlements that a woman should have the first interest in the property which she brought into settlement, whilst the effect of the settlement drawn up by Mr. Bolton was to denude the woman (the wife) of the great portion of her property; whether the jury found against Mr. Bolton, and the judge gave costs against him; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to retain him in the public service in Ireland?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Bolton, Crown Solicitor for Tipperary, is the same person who was concerned as defendant in the probate suit mentioned in the Question. As to the alleged matters of fact referred to in the second part of the Question, the case stands thus:—Mr. Bolton was defendant in a Chancery suit brought some years ago by his wife for the purpose of setting aside the marriage settlement. In that case a decree was pronounced against Mr. Bolton, but with his consent, after negotiating with his wife, and before the defendant's evidence was heard; and the truth of some of the allegations which had been made could not be established without re-hearing the cause. It is a fact that Mr. Justice Fry, before whom the Chancery suit was heard, did make a communication to the then Lord Chancellor of Ireland under the late Government, the Right Hon. John T. Ball, who, in conjunction with the Law Officers, fully considered the matter, and they all came to the conclusion that it was not a case calling for the interference of the Executive. In the probate suit recently heard, no additional facts appeared in reference to the Chancery litigation, and the Government cannot go back on the decision arrived at some years ago on the same state of facts after mature official consideration.

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE—H.M. MISSION IN PERSIA.

Mr. WARTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What is the cost of Her Majesty's Mission to Persia; and, what portion of that cost is borne by the Imperial and Indian Revenues respectively?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the average annual cost of the Persian Mission, including interest on the capital, outlay on buildings, and their maintenance and repairs, is £15,000. The Indian Government contributes £10,000 per annum towards this amount.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—WARDERS IN CONVICT PRISONS.

MR. R. N. FOWLER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will shortly announce the measures of relief which he is prepared to grant to the warders of Her Majesty's Convict Prisons, in response to the nearly nine hundred petitions which they have recently sent to the Home Office, praying for amelioration as to their scales of payment and hours of duty?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: There is a Committee sitting on this question, and we shall be shortly able to come to a decision upon it.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE TRUCK ACT.

MR. M'LAREN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is able to take any steps to check the contraventions of the Truck Act which are habitually taking place in Staffordshire and East Worcestershire, among the nailmakers, chainmakers, and boltmakers there; and, whether he will cause an inquiry to be made respecting the defective inspection of workshops in those districts, with the view of ameliorating the condition of boys and girls of tender years now employed in those trades?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; I will make inquiries into the matter.

THE DIPLOMATIC PENSION LIST.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether no unnecessary addition will be made to the Diplomatic Pension List until the House has had an opportunity of deciding upon the Resolution standing in his name, that such additions are inexpedient?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, no appointment which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, will cause an unnecessary addition to the Diplomatic Pension List will be made, but his discretion will be exercised under the ordinary conditions of Ministerial responsibility.

EGYPT—OMAR SUFKI PASHA.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Omar Sufki Pacha, now Egyptian Minister of War, is the same Pacha who was Governor of Alexandria when the massacres occurred in that town, and who took no steps to hinder them until the Foreign Consuls had telegraphed to the Khedive and to Dervish Pacha, informing them of what was transpiring?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The present Egyptian Minister for War, Omar Sufki Pasha, was Governor of Alexandria at the time of the riots. Her Majesty's Government have no information connecting him with the massacres, but my hon. Friend will find all information on the subject in the Parliamentary Paper, "Egypt," No. 16, pages 5, 6, 9, and 11, which was laid before Parliament at the close of last Session.

EGYPT—SALE OF DOMAIN LANDS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has been informed that seven lots of Egyptian domain land were sold on the 15th inst. to Baron Menasce for £84,000; what was the extent of land comprised; and, whether any conditions of resale to Egyptian cultivators were attached to the purchase; and, if not, whether Lord Dufferin has been instructed to call the attention of the Khedive's Government to the matter?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, this question was answered in the last paragraph of the reply which I gave to the hon. Member for the Kilmarnock Burghs (Mr. Dick-Peddie) on Monday. I may, however, add that it is believed that the sales referred to were confined to house property in Alexandria, of which the extent is not known, and were in accordance with the Decree which I quoted.

ARMY (INDIA)—THE NATIVE INDIAN ARMY.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that soldiers in the Native Indian Army are required to serve for thirty and forty years, and that no pension is due until after some thirty years of service; whether the duration of the service of Native Officers in the ranks, previous to promotions to Commissions, varies from twenty to thirty and forty years; whether it is true, as stated in the "Bombay Gazette," that the pay and service are so unpopular in Bombay that "only the scum of the Dekkan" enter the Native Army; and, whether it is proposed to introduce any reform?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, soldiers in the Native Indian Army are not required to serve for 30 and 40 years. In time of peace they may take their discharge, at their own pleasure, at any time after three years' service, provided that their troop or company is not 10 per cent below established strength. They are entitled to pension after 32 years in the Line or 40 in a local corps; and, if invalided, they are entitled to pension or gratuity according to their length of service. The duration of the service of Native officers in the ranks, previous to their promotion to commissions, varies from short periods up to 30 years. Occasionally Native gentlemen are appointed to commissions without serving in the ranks, but such appointments are made on probation. The proportion of soldiers from the Deccan in the Bombay Native Army is less than one-fourth. I have no reason to suppose that these men are the "scum of the Deccan." It is not proposed to introduce any special reforms on this subject.

INDIA (MADRAS)—GOLD MINING COMPANIES AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, The result of the inquiries promised in answer to Question of the 23rd November regarding the connection, in 1880, of the officiating Deputy Adjutant General of the Madras Army, and certain Secretaries to Government, with the promotion of certain Joint Stock Gold Mining Companies, having a capital of one million sterling; and, Return of Lands alienated in the Native State of Mysore, asked for in the same Question?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the late Secretary of State requested the Madras Government to furnish the information asked for by the hon. Member, and the reply of that Government was received by last mail. If the hon. Member will move for an Address for Copies or extracts of this Correspondence, the Papers will be presented.

INDIA—NATIVE STATES—MYSORE.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, When it is intended to carry out the engagement of the Imperial Government to allow self-government to the Rajah and People of Mysore?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the Province of Mysore was transferred to the rule of the present Maharajah on the 25th of March, 1881.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—WATER SUPPLY TO CARDONAGH, DONEGAL.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What progress, if any, has been made by the sanitary authorities of Cardonagh, Donegal, towards procuring a pure water supply for that town?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It appears, by a resolution adopted by the Board of Guardians on the 19th instant, that they have given attention to this matter, and expect the steps they are taking will meet the requirements of the town.

LAW AND JUSTICE—CASE OF ELIZABETH WHEELER.

Mr. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to an inquiry recently held at the House of Correction, Tothill Fields, Westminster, touching the death of Elizabeth Wheeler; if he can state whether it is true that the woman was sentenced, when in a dying state, to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, her offence, as specified in the warrant, being that

> "she was found lodging in an outhouse, not having any visible means of subsistence, and not giving a good account of herself;"

whether, when seriously ill, she was removed during severe weather from Guildford to London; whether Dr. Lewis, the medical officer of the prison, declared at the inquiry that her conveyance to London was most injudicious, and that he had no hesitation in saying that her death was accelerated by her removal; and, whether, if the facts be as alleged, he can take any steps to punish the responsible parties for their conduct?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: This Question of the hon. Member seems to have been founded on a report of the first day's inquiry, when there seems to have been some impression that the police at Guildford had injudiciously removed the woman. I do not know why that impression prevailed; but I should like to call the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that the foreman of the jury, at the conclusion of the inquiry, expressed an opinion to that effect, but two or three jurymen then remarked that they did not agree with that opinion, and thought the authorities were not to blame. I think, therefore, the further proceedings removed the former impression that prevailed.

MR. MACFARLANE asked if the right hon. Gentleman had communicated with the magistrates in regard to the sentence of three months' imprisonment passed on this woman for sleeping in an outhouse, a sentence generally passed upon men who had almost killed their wives?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, the question of the grounds of the sentence has not come before me; but if the hon. Member thinks that an inquiry should be made, perhaps he will give me Notice to that effect.

RAILWAYS (RATES AND FARES)—THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. TOMLINSON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Board of Trade is the proper public authority to carry out the recommendations, numbered 4, of the Select Committee on Railways (Rates and Fares); whether the Board of Trade, or any other public authority, will provide that, during this Session, attention will be directed, on the application by a Railway undertaking for Parliamentary powers to the proposed, and, in the case of an existing Company, to the existing rates or fares, with a view to their consideration by the Committee; and, whether any provision has been made, or will be made, for giving persons affected by such rates or fares a locus standi before such Committee?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, this matter is regulated by Standing Order No. 90 of the House of Lords, which provides that no Bill under the powers of which maximum rates for the conveyance of passengers, goods, and animals are increased shall be read a second time until a Report of the Board of Trade in reference to it has been laid on the Table of that House. In accordance with that Standing Order, it is the practice of the Board of Trade to make a Report to the House of Lords; but I am not aware that any practical consequences have resulted from such Report. There is no such Standing Order in this House. As regards the latter part of the Question, that is rather a matter for the Authorities of the House, and I am not able to give the hon. Member the information he desires.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—PAYMENT OF ARREARS.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the payments on account of arrears will be made to landlords or others interested?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed, Sir, by the Land Commissioners that orders have been made for payments to the extent of about £70,000, and that payments in these cases await the application of the landlords entitled. Up to this date payments have been actually made to the amount of £30,000, in the case of 4,259 holdings. It is expected that by the end of May orders for payment will have been made in all joint applications.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—STANDING COMMITTEES.

MR. RAIKES asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will undertake to afford facilities for the proposal and discussion by private Members of Resolutions for the regulation of Procedure in Standing Committees; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will now reconsider their intention to refer to those bodies important Bills without any direction as to the order of business in dealing with them?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: It has already been pointed out by you, Sir, that the Standing Order relating to Standing Committees provides that the procedure in such Committees shall be the same as in Select Committees unless the House shall otherwise order. I have no reason to suppose at present that any important modification in that particular will be required in the case of Standing Committees; but I may point out that Standing Order 220 C. provides that on the appointment and nomination by the Committee of Selection of the Chairman's panel, that panel shall appoint from among themselves the Chairman of each Standing Committee. It is very evident that when that Committee shall have been nominated, the appointment of the Chairmen of the Standing Committees will be an important appointment; but until the Committee of Selection have been nominated it is not desirable, even if it were in the power of the Government, to give facilities for the proposal and discussion by private Members of Resolutions for the regulation of procedure in Standing Committees.

Mr. RAIKES: I beg to give Notice, in consequence of the answer of the noble Marquess, that in the event of no such course being taken, on the first occasion when it is proposed to refer a Bill to a Standing Committee I will move—

> "That, in the absence of any definite regulation for the procedure of such Committee, it is inexpedient to transfer to such bodies the jurisdiction over Public Bills hitherto exercised by this House."

MERCANTILE MARINE—SIGNAL STATIONS.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the Committee of Lloyd's applied to the Admiralty in August last for a few yards of land near Dungeness for the purpose of establishing a signal station for the benefit of the shipping and mercantile community, and how soon a decision on the subject will be arrived at and communicated to the Committee?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I hope, Sir, we shall be able shortly to send an answer to the Committee of Lloyd's. There has been some delay in the matter, partly because the question of signalling duties being undertaken by the Coastguard was involved, and partly because the piece of land referred to is the property of the War Department, and, therefore, correspondence between the two Offices was necessary.

ARMY—ARMY PAY DEPARTMENT—PAYMASTERS.

Captain AYLMER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, seeing that twenty-five regiments are without paymasters owing to the difficulty in inducing Volunteers to serve in the Army Pay Department, he is prepared, with a view to giving confidence to those qualified, to place that department on the same footing as other departments—namely, with one of its own officers at its head to represent it at the War Office?

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER: Sir, in reply to the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone, I beg to say that the question of representing the Army Pay Department at the War Office by one of its own members has been, with other questions affecting the Pay Department, under the consideration of a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War. The Report of the Committee has just been concluded, and will shortly be laid before the Secretary of State for his decision. It would be premature to anticipate his decision on this particular point.

SPAIN—INTERNATIONAL LAW—SURRENDER OF CUBAN REFUGEES.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (for Sir R. Assheton Cross) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with reference to the illegal expulsion of certain Cuban refugees from Gibraltar, What steps have been taken to procure their release by the Spanish Government; and when any further Papers will be laid upon the table of the House?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, a despatch has been addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, for communication to the Spanish Government, stating the views of Her Majesty's Government on the case, and the grounds on which they still entertain the hope that the appeal made to the generosity of the Spanish Government on behalf of the prisoners will meet with a favourable response. No reply from the Spanish Government has yet been received. Further Papers will be laid on the Table at as early a date as possible.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SIXTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [20th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February.]—[See page 98.]

And which Amendment was,

In paragraph 10, line 4, to leave out from the word "upheld," to the end of the paragraph, in order to insert the words "and we venture to express our earnest hope that the change of policy which has produced these results will be maintained, and that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's Rule, by concessions to lawless agitation; and that the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country will continue to be met by unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive,"—(*Mr. Gorst,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. J. LOWTHER said, there appeared to be some misapprehension on the part of many of the speakers on the opposite side with regard to the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), which he thought it was desirable should be removed from the mind of the House, especially as those misapprehensions had found their way into the speeches of the two right hon. Gentlemen who had addressed the House from the Treasury Bench. The misapprehensions to which he referred were these:—First, that the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend in any way expressed approval of the action of Her Majesty's Government prior to the date to which it more particularly called attention. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, by a method of reasoning which he (Mr. J. Lowther) could not follow, attempted to fasten upon his hon. and learned Friend the position that he approved of the official career of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). With regard to that, he would simply say that, having ceased to be a Minister of the Crown, any comments upon his official acts might not unfairly be characterized, as some others had rather unfairly been described, as partaking of the character of ancient history. At the same time, he knew the right hon. Gentleman would not think he was acting with any discourtesy towards him when he said that the Home Secretary having drawn that inference from the statement of his hon. and learned Friend, he felt bound to disclaim in any shape or form its being assumed from his silence as to the specific acts of the right hon. Gentleman's administration that he endorsed his official procedure. The right hon. Gentleman would not expect him to pass any opinion on the Disturbance Bill, or the Land Act, or on the appointment of Land Commissioners. Those matters did not come within the purview of the Amendment, and, so far as he was concerned, he was disposed to pass them by. But Her Majesty's Government, as the Home Secretary informed the House, would continue to be responsible for every action performed by the right hon. Gentleman's administration during his existence in Office; and, therefore, so far as Her Majesty's Government was concerned, he did not feel equally at liberty to allow them to remain under the impression that their official acts during the first two years had been forgotten by the country or condoned by those on that side of the House. The other misapprehension to which he had referred had found its way into the speech of the Home Secretary, and more notably into that of the Attorney General for Ireland. The latter said that there came from that side of the House nothing but encomiums on the administration of Lord Spencer; and, therefore, as they were erroneously supposed to endorse the proceedings of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and had heaped nothing but encomiums on Lord Spencer, there must be very little indeed open to their censure. But the misapprehension to which he had now drawn attention was as gross a one as that of which he had previously spoken. Now, the administration of Lord Spencer had not even been referred to by his hon and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst), with one exception—namely, the administration of the Crimes Act. With the other proceedings of his administration the speech of his hon.

and learned Friend had nothing to do. He had said that the Government of Lord Spencer, so long as it persevered in this course of action, would have the support of that side of the House. But he must not be supposed for one moment by saying that to express an opinion that Lord Spencer, as a Member of the Cabinet, responsible for the government of Ireland during the last three years, had any right to claim the gratitude of his countrymen on any grounds other than those to which he had just now referred. There was one act in the official career of the right hon. Member for Bradford which he did not hesitate to say deserved the recognition of the country, and one act only, and that was his withdrawal from the position he occupied. In the same way Lord Spencer would upon one ground alone command the confidence of those who sat on the Opposition side of the House; and that was as long as his Government persevered in the vigorous course of action upon which it had recently entered. Now, he did not like to make invidious comparisons. But the Home Secretary said the other night that he would accept the assistance of anybody, whoever he was, provided that his energies were enlisted in the maintenance of law and order. He would not make so general a statement as that; but he would suppose the case of a person offending against the ordinary canons of domestic life—let him say in being guilty of the imprudence of smoking in bed, and thus being the cause of setting fire to his room; and then saying to the household—"Do not raise an alarm; the fire engine will be of no service, for I do not believe that water is at all an effectual element with which to subdue fire. I have got a patent extinguisher in my possession; it is charged with the produce of an American oil well; it commonly passes by the name of petroleum; and though there may be a popular superstition as to the highly inflammable character of this oil, yet, if you trust to me, and not call the firemen, I will put out the fire." He thought that that was very much what had been done by Her Majesty's Government, including Lord Spencer, up to a certain time. If, however, the unfortunate man who had been the cause of the fire, whose remedy had failed to extinguish the fire, and, on the contrary, had promoted its growth, had in the last resort risked his own life with great personal bravery in assisting to rescue the inmates of the adjoining house, they would not be justified in declining to avail themselves of the aid he proffered to those who suffered from the calamity he had done so much to bring about. That was the position of the Government and Lord Spencer with regard to Ireland at the present time. Their exertions now in the cause of that law and order they had done so much to put down were gladly accepted by the Opposition, and they would strengthen their hands in every way in their power. On Thursday, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary—who was not now in his place—made a very special appeal to him. He went so far as to intimate that he (Mr. J. Lowther) was in honour bound, as an English gentleman, to offer an apology for certain expressions that he made use of last year with reference to what the right hon. and learned Gentleman—taking advantage of the absence of his Chief—made bold to call the "Kilmainham negotiations." He thought it rather too bad of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to so describe it. He should remember that the Prime Minister said—"It is an act done without any negotiation, promise, or engagement whatever." Without playing upon words, however, he would remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman and the House that on a previous occasion his attention had been called to the observation referred to. He remembered very well what took place, because the incident was impressed on his mind more especially from the fact that during the time that he had mixed in public life it so happened that, with that one exception, it never fell to his lot to apologize for, explain, or qualify any observation that he ever made. But on that occasion he pursued a course which was peculiar, as he had said, in his political career. He was charged by the Prime Minister with having used what he considered to be strong language on this subject. He was charged with having said that the Kilmainham—the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary having entered the House, he would say "arrangement," came within "measurable distance of infamy," and was scarcely distinguishable from an act of the grossest political corruption. Well, he at once, when called on, offered to the House the fullest apology in his power when he said—"I must offer my apology for the extremely inadequate language in which I referred to this incident, and the exceedingly mild terms which I applied to the matter." That was the apology he offered at the time; and since then a great deal had happened in connection with this subject. They had had conversations, explanations, and references to it, of various kinds; and if what had since taken place had thrown any materially fresh light on the question—had enabled him to form an opinion different from that to which he previously gave expression, he would, in the interests of the honourable character of public life in this country, gladly withdraw those expressions, and regret that he ever used them. But he was sorry to say that the more consideration he had been enabled to give to the matter had more fully confirmed the impression he originally formed. Charges of that kind, however, in his opinion, ought not to be freely bandied about between the opposing sides of the House of Commons without any notice being taken of them; and, therefore, he would remind the Government that every opportunity had been presented to them of instituting full and impartial inquiry into the whole of the circumstances connected with this incident, but that that opportunity had not been availed of by them, and that if the Government of the Queen did not think it consistent with their sense of honour to remain under charges of that kind, the remedy was in their own hands. The right hon. and learned Gentleman more especially drew attention to the fact that he (Mr. J. Lowther) said that the proceedings which culminated in the withdrawal of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) from Office were set in motion by a state of things that had its ramifications within the circle of the Cabinet. What he said was, he thought, an expression of an opinion which was shared in by the great mass of people in all parts of the country. They had seen that articles had constantly appeared in certain journals which were popularly believed not to be wholly dissociated from the influence of the Caucus. And the Home Secretary desired a withdrawal of the statement—why? Because it was denied by the right hon. Member for Bradford. He would remind the Home Secretary that they had it on high authority that "in vain is a net spread in the sight of any bird." The right hon. Member for Bradford was the last man to be aware of the machinations, and he would go a step farther, and acquit the Home Secretary of any likelihood to possess any information for precisely similar reasons, for he must confess to having a not very indistinct suspicion that the right hon. Gentleman himself (Sir William Harcourt) was marked out as the next victim. It had been pointed out that the Government as a whole were responsible for every official act committed during their continuance in Office, and it was a principle which they could not ignore. More than once he had said that the present Government, finding in Ireland a comparative state of order, had succeeded in producing a condition of affairs the most deplorable that ever existed in any country in the world. He was scarcely an impartial authority; but what did the Chief Secretary say of the state of things when he took Office? He said that he found the best elements in the country depressed, and the worst elements triumphant. This was after rather more than two years of that benign rule which they were told was to bring peace, happiness, and contentment to Ireland. The Chief Secretary went on to give the reason. He said—

> "When we went to Ireland last May, we found society profoundly disorganized; we found the best elements in it depressed, and the worst elements triumphant. And how should it be otherwise, when, instead of the law being a terror to evil-doers, evil-doers were a terror to the law-abiding and industrious? There is no country in the world which would not go from bad to worse as long as crime was unpunished in proportion as it was grave, and that was the case in Ireland."

The right hon. Gentleman was not alone in that opinion of the result of his Predecessor's policy; but he felt a natural delicacy in expressing any opinion of his own tenure of Office. However much anyone might differ from him, no one would accuse the right hon. Gentleman of a self-seeking spirit. But he was able to turn to another impartial authority for a clear and definite expression of opinion as to the net result of the action of Her Majesty's Government in Ireland from their accession to Office up to the present time. As to the results of the mingled policy of conciliation and coercion, the President of the Board of Trade, speaking on the 1st of February, said—

> "Ireland is still hostile and unreconciled. Coercion has failed to extort submission. Concession has been powerless to soften her animosity. I do not wonder sometimes that disappointment should fill the minds of men when they see the efforts, the unexampled and unremitting efforts, which were made in the last two Sessions by the English Parliament to do justice to Ireland, met by words of malice and insult, and followed by worse than words, by deeds, by crime, by violence, by cowardly assassinations."

Personally, he had been subjected to a certain amount of, perhaps, not over scrupulous criticism; he had been hunted out of Office and out of Parliament; he had been denounced up hill and down dale all over the country; but he was happy to think that no one was ever able to pronounce upon his official career such a deliverance as he had just read. In the Queen's Speech there was a return to the old optimist delusions which had too long figured in Royal Speeches on the subject of Ireland; there was still the old fallacy of material improvement in the state of the country. He was perfectly well aware that the state of the country since the present Government had been in Office had always presented this one feature, which might hold out the promise of rapid improvement—that it was in such a state that human ingenuity could not conceive of the possibility of its being worse. This condition of things prevailed last year. So widely did the opinion gain ground that some of his own Friends were disposed to concur with the Government last year in thinking that at last they were about to touch the bottom of the apparently fathomless abyss, and that they might expect improvement. He was unable to share these optimist delusions, and, at the risk of being denounced as a pessimist, he pointed out that the grounds upon which the Government based their hopeful outlook were misleading, and should be excluded from the considerations of practical men. One reason assigned was that at the then recent Winter Assizes convictions had been obtained in cases of agrarian outrage; but he pointed out that these signs were delusive, because the jurors, who had courageously done their duty before their God and their country, were special jurors, and did not represent the popular opinion of the country. For that remark he brought down upon his head the strong denunciation of the Prime Minister, who asserted that the verdicts indicated an improved state of public feeling. On the contrary, he pointed out that the jurors in question were drawn from a superior class of society, instead of from the low class of which juries were composed under that most mischievous of measures, Lord O'Hagan's Juries Act. There was, as he had before remarked, a recurrence of the old fallacy in the present Queen's Speech. It was said that there was a sensible diminution of agrarian crime, and that the law was upheld, and this was regarded as a sign of improvement. But the fact was ignored that the jurors who had done their duty were special jurors, and in no way represented the masses of the people. It was suggested that popular feeling had been acted upon, not by the Crimes Act or by the vigorous administration of the Criminal Law, but by those disturbing elements which were popularly known in the mouths of Ministerial speakers as remedial measures. No one pretended or could suppose that murderers could be reached by measures of that kind. If there was an improved feeling one might expect to find it in the attitude of the people towards criminals; and yet they found that crowds assembled daily to cheer persons whom the Home Secretary, with his judicial mind, termed "culprits," but whom he (Mr. J. Lowther) preferred to describe as men charged with very grave crimes. That brought him to a point upon which he would like to say a word—namely, the popular feeling in Ireland with regard to British rule. He had stated on many occasions that, in his opinion, a large numerical proportion of the people of Ireland were bitterly hostile to British rule. It was a fact which he deeply deplored; but, in his opinion, no one deserved the name of a statesman who declined to recognize disagreeable facts when they were presented unmistakably to his view. He was told of someone who said of his statement to that effect last year—"It is perfectly true, but he should never have said so." On the contrary, he did not believe in playing the *rôle* of the ostrich, and, burying their heads in the sand, decline to recognize palpable and unpleasant facts. It was said that in Ireland Government was unduly centralized. Nobody disapproved more than he did of undue centralization. He looked upon the judicious co-operation between the ordinary elements of society in local affairs as a great national boon. He had always considered the action of the unpaid magistrates in Ireland, the *ex officio* Guardians, the fiscal powers exercised by country gentlemen on the Grand Juries, and the respectable middle classes in the Municipal Corporations as of very great advantage in Ireland. What was the state of matters now? Where were the country gentlemen? They were in London or Paris. Where were the unpaid magistrates? Their lives were threatened—and in too many cases they had been actually taken—in the discharge of their duty. Where were the *ex officio* Guardians? They were hunted out of the board rooms. That was the centralization which now existed, brought about, he ventured to say, entirely by the action of the Government. What was the remedy for this centralization? They heard it popularly remarked that some Members of the Government entertained crotchets very closely bearing upon the wildest schemes propounded by the Party of Home Rule; and he hoped before the close of the debate to hear some authentic expression of opinion from the Government as to their views and intentions on this important subject. Scarcely any criminal was indicted for an offence who could not quote in his defence arguments which had been used by some Minister of the Crown. He noticed the other day the proceedings in the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland in the case of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy). He would read some extracts from an account of what passed on that occasion. This was not ancient history, but what occurred only the other day, and it conveyed a lesson which Her Majesty's Government should lay to heart as a warning against indulging in vague and reckless language in the future. This was what the hon. Member for Wexford said—

> "But, my Lord, I would ask who stated that the Government we have in Ireland is the worst form of Government in Europe? If I said that I can imagine the thundering declamation that would be hurled against me by the Attorney General. It was not I who said it; it is the statement of the son of the Prime Minister, the son of the Gentleman at the head of the Government who is bringing forward this prosecution. 'The principle that a country has a right to regulate the affairs of neighbouring countries for its own convenience is a lawless and revolutionary principle, and no doctrine more utterly and intensely evil was ever hatched within the precincts of the Commune.' It was not I who uttered that statement. It is the statement of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government."

Again, the hon. Member for Wexford said—

> "Who told the Lancashire electors that. . . . the disestablishment of the Irish Church had been brought about by the intensity of Fenianism? Is that a justification of Fenianism, or is it not? . . . . That expression which I have quoted is entitled to be used as the charter of every secret society in the country. Who said that the blowing down of Clerkenwell Prison brought the disestablishment of the Irish Church within the range of practical politics? If it were used by me. . . . it would be said I gave encouragement to secret conspiracies to indulge in similar blowings up, in burnings, in assassinations."

It was not necessary for him to state who the hon. Member for Wexford informed the Court was the author of that most mischievous saying. In his opinion, Her Majesty's Government having stamped out every independent element that stood between the Executive and the masses of the people, having deprived themselves of the co-operation of the gentry and of the upper and the upper-middle classes in Ireland, now stood face to face with a hostile and disaffected people. It was right that the Government should clearly realize the position in which they were placed. If any idea were entertained that the support of the people could be purchased by further instalments of the property of the loyal and well-affected classes—if any, indeed, remained for further confiscation—such an idea might be dismissed as illusory. The Government should clearly realize the fact that they had to face the task of governing a country against the wishes and the opinions of the great mass of the people of that country. This was not a pleasant task, but it was one which could not be made more pleasant by an ignorant and an arrogant optimism, and by denying the existence of palpable facts. He did not say that the great mass of the people of Ireland would always remain in a state of ferment. Discontent in Ireland was always seething more or less vehemently, and although the dragon of discontent was sometimes scotched, it was never killed.

The Government, by a wise administration of the law, and by encouraging the loyal element of society, might succeed in building up some support of the British Crown. They had got rid of the pillar of the Church, and they had got rid of the pillar of those who supported law and order among the owners of property. The land, under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government, had practically been handed over to the disaffected elements of society; but, nevertheless, by a vigorous administration of the law, and by protecting those who were in favour of the maintenance of British rule, the Government might succeed even now in preserving some form of society in Ireland. In conclusion, he expressed a wish that in the discussion of the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham, the House would realize the fact that there was an intention on the part of Members on that side of the House to support the Government in the maintenance of law and order, without for a moment withdrawing the opinion they had always consistently held, that the greatest evil which had hitherto befallen Ireland was the legislation introduced by Her Majesty's Government.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Lowther) began his remarks by kindly saying that he should pass by all my actions in the Office in which I succeeded him. Perhaps he will not be surprised if I think I may return the compliment by saying that I can, without much interference with the arguments which ought to be brought forward this evening, pass by his speech. Only one remark I will make with regard to it. I think the right hon. Gentleman has really produced the best defence of hon. Members who sit below the Gangway from Ireland, and whom I shall have further to allude to before I sit down. The right hon. Gentleman's speech is the strongest defence ever made for them, and far stronger, I think, than any they made for themselves. Considering the deplorable facts we have to contend with, of magistrates being murdered, of *ex officio* Guardians being hunted out of Boards, what did he say? Not that it was owing to what we considered to be unscrupulous and reckless agitation, but that it was brought about by the action of Her Majesty's Government. There could not be a greater apology for hon. Members below the Gangway. But I would remind him that we found that the agitation was already begun, and in striving to put it down we had no assistance from what had been done under his administration. There was one remarkable omission in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He had before him a very important Amendment—an Amendment which is really a Vote of Censure; and he, perhaps, of all Members of the Opposition, is the one who would be expected to give their reasons for that Vote of Censure, as it concerns that administration which he himself at one time conducted. Not one word has he said in support of the Amendment. He never alluded to it, except just at the very end, when he said that he hoped some result would come from its discussion. I think he must have come to the opinion which, I imagine, is felt a good deal on the other side, that although there is an advantage in the discussion, it was a mistake to have brought forward the Amendment. The Amendment, if carried, will have the effect of destroying the Government at a critical time. No one can doubt that. It must be intended for the purpose of weakening the Government. If it was considered necessary to bring it forward, no argument has been shown or proof adduced in favour of that necessity; because the hon. and learned Member who brought it forward, and those who supported him, say they wish to secure that there should be firm administration of the law in Ireland; and, at the same time, they have said that they fully approve of the policy as regards law and order since my noble Friend (Earl Spencer) assisted by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary, and with the Cabinet supporting them, assumed Office, and that they really can find no fault with that policy. That being so, there can be no necessity for the Amendment. It may be said—"Oh, this is only a mode of raising a discussion, and bringing forward in strong language a Vote of Censure; but we know it cannot be carried, and we mean it to be a sham Motion." But I must be allowed to say this matter is too serious to be treated in this way. I really do not know that there is more to be said regarding the Amendment itself; but I suppose some remarks must be made on the discussion which has followed the introduction of the Amendment. Several allusions have been made to myself, and to the difference which I was forced to realize between myself and my Colleagues. I wish the House to understand that I should not have referred to that matter unless it had been thus brought forward; and I do not know that I should have referred to it now, but that there are one or two mistaken impressions which I feel it is due to myself, as well as to the House, that I should endeavour to remove. Just before I allude to them, may I make one statement with regard to what the right hon. Gentleman has said, and what other Gentlemen have said. All difference with my Colleagues was confined to that point upon which I resigned. I am responsible for all that was done before my resignation. I joined with them in this responsibility, and—I wish to make this statement—I received from them loyal support. Allusions have been made to newspapers. It has not been my habit in this House to make any allusions or reference to articles in newspapers, and can it be that I am supposed to have been driven out of Office by articles in newspapers? Is there any Member on either Front Bench at this moment who would be hounded out of Office by articles in newspapers? We have to deal with articles in newspapers often enough, and we take those personal articles for what they are worth, knowing very well the country is not misled, or even very much led by them. I am sorry to have to make any reference to this, because there are questions of infinitely more importance than the comparatively personal one whether I was right or wrong. I think that my right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary, in his speech, produced two impressions—I do not know whether the House felt them—but I think I must, to some extent, allude to them. I think the impression was given that I originated—I do not like to use the word "negotiation"—correspondence or communication——

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I did not say that; I said you promoted it.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: My right hon. and learned Friend said I promoted it. That is hardly the case. This communication had begun, and the result was that I stated that I should take the same course with regard to the three Members of Parliament who had been arrested as "suspects" as I should take with any other "suspects;" that if I had reason to believe that from any public promise they had given it would be safe to let them out, I should let them out. I did not ask for such a promise—I should never have thought of asking for it—but if it had been offered, I should have undoubtedly thought it advisable to accept it. Why should I have accepted it? Mainly on this account—that this public promise would have deprived those hon. Members of what I conceived to be their power for evil which they had been using. I may add that directly that promise had been made, all the American subsidies to the Land League would have disappeared. What has since happened has caused a very great disappearance of those subsidies. I must say that I did not expect this promise. My hon. Friend the Member for Aylesbury (Mr. George Russell) is right in that supposition. I thought it was just possible that the promise might be made. I thought that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) might have found out whither the course he was following was leading. But I was not sanguine in that matter. My right hon. and learned Friend mentioned some words that I used with reference to the visit of the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea), in which I said there was hope and expectation. But he did not give the words which immediately followed. The words were—"I must say I was not sanguine as to the result of the visit of the hon. Member." The next impression which I wish to remove is this. My right hon. and learned Friend seemed to suppose, and perhaps the House would suppose, that it was solely because the assurances were not satisfactory to me, but were satisfactory to him and the rest of my Colleagues, that I left the Cabinet. That is not the way in which I should put it. It was because, not receiving assurances which I repeat I did not expect, I did not get the fresh powers which I thought absolutely necessary. It is true the assurances were not satisfactory to me because they were conditional upon the Arrears Bill, and because I did not want assistance from Mr. Sheridan, or from any other organizer of the Land League. I must admit that I thought these assurances were not only not satisfactory, but I did not desire any private communications with the "suspects." I felt that it would do more harm than good—that it would give the impression in Ireland that we could not govern without the assistance of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. I may also mention that the name of Sheridan shocked me. I am quite sure that, had my right hon. and learned Friend had my experience, it would have shocked him also. Nothing can be more mistaken than the supposition which has been made, that Sheridan has been made use of by the Government. That is an absolutely unfounded supposition. From the moment that the Crimes Act was brought forward, or Notice given of it, Sheridan, I believe, took very good care not to be in Ireland. It was perfectly true the warrant under the Protection Act was not cancelled, and even when that Act expired Sheridan did not return. The chief and main reason why I could not, under the circumstances, assent to the release, was that we had obtained no fresh powers. What was our position? It was clear that we wanted those fresh powers. I am not going to fight the battle over again with regard to the Protection Act. I do not propose now to defend my administration of it. [Mr. CALLAN: Hear, hear!] I am ready to answer any detailed charges with regard to our policy if anyone makes them.

MR. O'KELLY: Mr. Speaker, before the right hon. Gentleman—— ["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is in possession of the House. He is entitled to proceed without interruption.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I do not suppose that the hon. Member was going to make the charge that I have heard, that I was too lenient in the administration. Undoubtedly that Act would have been more efficient if we had had it two months earlier. It was stated that it would have been more efficient if a larger number of arrests had been made at first, or if the leaders of the agitation had been then arrested. I would ask those hon. Members who entertain that opinion to consider what would have been the feeling of the country, or of the House, if that course had been taken. You must judge by what was the state of things at the time—by the knowledge of the country generally of the agitation, and not by my own knowledge. I had to consider, from time to time, what could be done, and I had to sacrifice—as I believe any man in my position who attempted to do his duty would have sacrificed—sometimes my own opinion, and sometimes, as I well knew, my own reputation, for the good of the country. It would have been no advantage to the cause of law and order in Ireland to have brought forward measures which we knew would be contrary to the public opinion of the country, and could not be passed. Nothing would have been a greater success to those who were opposed to law and order than for us to have taken such a course. With regard to the Protection Act, I must say this. It would have been very much more efficient if we had combined with it some of the powers now possessed by my right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) and the Lord Lieutenant. But I do not believe that the House would have granted the powers at that time. I must say, in addition, that at that time it would not have been safe to rely solely upon even such an Act as that which has been passed. That Act depends upon witnesses giving their evidence; and without something like the Protection Act that I brought forward those witnesses would not have been so ready to appear. While the hon. Member for the City of Cork was in the full power of his agitation, I do not know that even the Crimes Act would have stopped the agitation. While he was in full power witnesses were afraid to come forward; and this, at any rate, the Protection Act did do—it struck from him his principal weapon to a great extent—the weapon of "Boycotting." Respectable Boycottors did not like Kilmainham, and it enabled me to depose the "uncrowned King of Ireland," as the hon. Member for Dungarvan called him.

MR. O'DONNELL: I never said anything of the kind.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: It enabled me to depose the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It also enabled me to break up the Land League; and, undoubtedly, by the help of that Act, we were beginning to produce a somewhat better state of things. It is not true that there were more murders. The murders were diminishing.

April was a hopeful month; and if Kilmainham was very little terror to the murderer, it certainly prevented his committing murder. Murders were stopped and checked in many districts of Ireland. No wonder. For instance, I could mention a district in which at one time I had shut up almost every possible murderer. Undoubtedly we wanted greater power against secret societies. The Protection Act gave us little power to contend with secret societies. I daresay we shall be told—"Does not that show what a great mistake you have made. It was you who caused the secret societies." [*Loud Irish cheers*]. Those Gentlemen cheered the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Lowther). I wonder he does not cheer them in return. What does that cheer mean? It means that the Government should allow an open defiance of the law—should allow a system of terrorism to take advantage of laws which have been made for a perfectly different state of things, and not dealing with such an agitation as we have had to deal with—that they should allow that terrorism to continue unchecked, and let the unwritten law replace the law of the land, because, if those trying to break the law were defeated in that object, they might resort to secret societies. It is not my opinion that we ought to take that course. We were bound to assert the law of the land against the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends. And if secret societies followed from our so doing, the blame lies on him and his Friends; for when action at their instigation—"Boycotting," for instance—was found difficult, or impossible, or dangerous, then the men who were following their advice took, not very unnaturally, to secret societies, to outrage and murder. I must just say one word with regard to the Crimes Act, which, I am glad to say, has been passed and firmly acted upon since I left Office. I desire to correct one unintentional misapprehension with regard to that Act. I should not have mentioned the matter had not reference been made to it by my late Colleagues; but it is not quite correct to say that the provisions of the Crimes Act had been accepted by the Cabinet before my resignation. I had let my Colleagues know what I thought should be the main provisions of that Bill, the introduction of which I regarded as necessary and urgent, and I had had a draft prepared; but, in point of fact, the Cabinet had come to no actual decision with regard to those provisions, although it was admitted by all of us that some Bill of the kind was absolutely necessary. I should have made no allusion to anything about the Cabinet having come to a conclusion, had it not been for the remark made by my right hon. and learned Friend (Sir William Harcourt). Let not the House for one moment suppose that my Colleagues had opposed those provisions, or that I had any notion at the time that they would oppose them—all I say is, that they had not agreed to them before my resignation. That was the condition of affairs when the question of the release of the three Members of Parliament came before us. Then came in the question of time, which, to my mind, was a very serious question. I do not know that I can do better than read to the House what I stated to the House at the time of my resignation. After saying that I believed that since that battle was begun—that is, the battle of law and order, which was begun in the time of the right hon. Gentleman my Predecessor (Mr. J. Lowther)—there never was a time in which it was more dangerous to relax the authority of the law, I went on to say that—

> "There was a third condition, and that was the one to which I myself looked forward as the condition upon which we should be able to open the prison doors. That was the passing of a fresh Act, which seemed to be required by the special circumstances."

I then said that I did not think that if my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister had been in Ireland he would have given the Rules of Procedure the preference. After alluding to what I conceived should be the chief and main provisions of the Act—namely, greater certainty of punishment and more appeals to districts to make them interested in the prevention of crime—I went on to say that—

> "The Act should be passed, and then I had fully hoped that we might, at any rate, have tried the experiment not merely of releasing these three Gentlemen, or those who were arrested on similar grounds, but of releasing all whom we had detained without trial."

This matter of the difference of time of release before the fresh powers were obtained may seem unimportant; but I had to consider the government of Ireland, and, to my mind, it would have made all the difference. I believe that if these terrible murders had not happened—if there had been no other immediate outbreak, somewhat similar to those murders, obliging a Crimes Act to be pressed forward—Ireland would speedily have become almost ungovernable; and the people of Ireland would have thought that, in fact, it was the hon. Member for the City of Cork who was governing Ireland. Now, I have very nearly said all I have to say upon this matter. There has been a great deal of almost grotesque statement with regard to it; but I will give what I believe was the simple meaning. My Colleagues had not been in Ireland, and I had. Had I been in their place, I might, perhaps, have thought as they did; but if they had been in mine I believe many of them would have done as I did. That is the only difference. We agreed upon other matters; and I cannot say how entirely I support their action ever since this difference of opinion occurred. I was delighted to hear how hon. Members on both sides of the House acknowledged the firmness, discretion, and ability of the administration of Lord Spencer and of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan). One word I must say with regard to the administrative changes to which my right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary alludes, and I simply say that in vindication of the police both in Dublin and in the country. My right hon. and learned Friend did not, I am sure, intend to make a charge against them; but naturally they are a sensitive body—they cannot but be so, with their dangers. What has happened with regard to the police is this. I am not aware—and I think my right hon. Friend my Successor will confirm me in saying that I am not aware—of any administrative change that has been made. There has been the appointment of a most able and courageous gentleman (Mr. Jenkinson). The only other administrative change, so called, was one which I myself initiated, and that was the dividing the disordered parts of Ireland into districts, which were put under special magistrates, in whom we had full confidence, and which I am glad to find has not only not been discontinued, but has been continued and further developed by Lord Spencer. But it is said that the police are more effective now than ever they were. Yes. But why? Because they have more powers. I do not like to name them individually, because I do not know how far they would be safe were I to do so, as it might increase their dangers; but there are men, both in and out of Dublin, whose lives I know, and they themselves knew, were in the greatest possible danger from day to day, owing to their attempts to detect crime. They were frequently on the right clue; but they were unable to follow it up until these fresh powers were given them. Take, for example, one clause of the Act to which hon. Members opposite below the Gangway objected—and I am not surprised at it—which has enabled witnesses to be privately examined. [Mr. O'KELLY: The Inquisition.] Inquiry was necessary into the murders that were going on. That clause has undoubtedly given the power by which men who murdered innocent men will, in all probability, be brought to punishment, and by which innocent men are made safer in the future. Under that clause it will become more difficult, nay, perhaps almost impossible, for agitation to be carried on by the fear of those innocent men that they may be murdered or maimed. That has become less likely on account of this inquiry, which has given great power to the police. I will just say one word more about the Amendment. May I make an appeal to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), or, if he is not very accessible to it, to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, whether it would not be advisable, as we are all agreed, with very slight exception, in admiration of the present government of Lord Spencer, and as such an Amendment as this, if carried, would destroy, and cannot do anything but weaken that Government, to be content with the discussion and to withdraw the Amendment? I feel I cannot sit down without making some other remarks. Just one remark on a speech that was made yesterday. I am not in the habit generally of replying to any thing that is said by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell). But there are some charges which cannot be made by anyone without the necessity of some reply being made to them. I understood him to say that I had been the cause of frequent collisions with the people, and of numbers of women and children falling before buckshot cartridges. I must just state what were the losses of life during my term of Office. I confess that I do look back with some satisfaction to the fact that, notwithstanding the comparatively powerful resistance to the law at the time, notwithstanding the efforts to stimulate misguided men in that resistance, I did manage to get through with so little collision, and that by accumulating large forces where collision was expected, and by giving warning that that force would, if necessary, be used, I did manage to prevent loss of life beyond what I believe was expected on either side. There were six persons killed besides policemen during my tenure of Office. On the 1st of June, 1881, a large force of police were assembled at Bodyke, in County Clare, to protect a process-server. A riot took place; the police had to charge the people, and one man was killed. Am I to blame for that? In Kilkenny, at a Land League meeting at Ballyragget on the 9th of October, 1881, a collision took place between the police and the people. Twenty police were injured, and one of the mob was killed by a bayonet thrust. Am I or the police to blame for that? In County Sligo, on the 2nd of April, 1881, four policemen, protecting process-servers, were attacked by a mob, and one of them was most brutally murdered; the police fired, and killed two men. They were perfectly justified in doing so. Nor in another case—which I admit was a sorrowful one—was anyone to blame. It was not a case of protecting servers of process for rent, but of protecting those who were serving notices for the poor rate. On the 27th of October, 1881, at Gratnill, County Mayo, the police were resisted, and were put in great danger, and then they fired, and I am sorry to say two women received wounds resulting in death. [Mr. O'KELLY: From bayonet wounds.] No; I satisfied myself upon that point. They were not bayonet wounds.

MR. O'KELLY: Why did you not allow the police to be tried? [*Cries of* "Name!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must call upon the hon. Member for Roscommon not further to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman. If he does, I shall have to Name him to the House.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I am well aware of what was stated by the Coroner's Jury, and of the verdict of the Coroner's Jury, I am sorry to say that, if the Coroners' Juries had been left alone, many legal murders would have been committed. [Mr. CALLAN: Ballina.] I have nothing to do with that. It took place after I left Office. [Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: The day after.] Now I will say nothing more about the hon. Member for Dungarvan. [Mr. CALLAN: Quite enough.] I had fully expected that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would have spoken in this debate. I should have troubled the House earlier, but I thought he would think it right to do so. It is quite true that the recent disclosures are not proofs; but it is also true that they have increased, not merely in this House, but throughout the country, the suspicion which formerly existed that the Land League organization, of which the hon. Member is the Chief, was concerned in the outrages that took place. I think that public opinion was expressed in this House and the Press—[Mr. O'KELLY: The English Press]—when it was said that Members of this House did expect that the hon. Member, considering what the charge was, would have attempted to remove that suspicion. [Mr. PARNELL: What charge?] That it was expected that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would have done so at the first meeting of the House without this Motion—[Mr. BIGGAR: What is the charge?]—at any rate, that he would have taken the opportunity afforded him by this Motion. I understand that he will address the House either in this debate or in moving his own Amendment. Now, I wish to state that, in my opinion—and I believe that it will be the opinion of many others—no mere disclaimer of connection with outrage will be sufficient. We have had disclaimers before; I am told that James Carey even wrote a letter of condolence to Miss Burke on the murder of her brother. Do not let the hon. Member suppose that I charge him with having planned any murder, or with complicity with murder. But I wish there to be no mistake that this I do charge the hon. Member and his Friends with. He and they allowed themselves to continue the leaders—he the avowed Chief—of an organization which not merely ostensibly advised and urged the ruin of those who opposed them, and avowed that doctrine of "Boycotting," which was to make life almost more miserable than death, but which set on foot an agitation, which organized or promoted outrage and incited to murder, of which the natural result and outcome was murder, and the hon. Member ought to have known this to be the natural outcome. It is very hard for me to understand how he did not know it, and how he did not separate himself from it altogether, and disavow and denounce it. Now, let me illustrate my meaning. We have heard of cases in which Gentlemen get into this House, and get out of it, by bribery. Very often the candidate or the Member is not found guilty of bribery himself. What happens is this—that he gives money, but takes very good care not to know what are the acts of bribery. But the bribery becomes rampant; and it is very hard, I believe, in some cases to say that these candidates have not known very well what were the means by which they hoped to get a seat in the House. The hon. Member for the City of Cork was not merely in the position of a candidate; he was also in the position of the Chairman of an Election Committee. He was the man who, more than any other, derived advantage and power, until we took it from him—power by help of this terrorism. What I say is—he has to show us how it was that he did not find out that this terrorism was so used, and what steps he took to find it out, or what steps he took to discourage it; but we know that he took none, and we know that he remained content to reap the advantages of this agitation. The hon. Member, I have no doubt, will make a full speech. It is rather difficult to discover whether he means to persevere in his Amendment. All I have heard was that we should get a few remarks to-night, and possibly might have the Amendment also. I should like to give him some assistance in framing his speech upon the Amendment. There are several points, and detailed points, upon which I think the House would expect information, and the country would be glad to get information. Questions have been asked about the funds of the Land League. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) was very bold with regard to these funds; but nobody suspects him of being in the counsels of the League. I cannot conceive any sane men, connected or bound together for any purpose, bad or good, admitting the hon. Member into their counsels. Now, Sir, what I want to know is whether the hon. Member for the City of Cork, either before his arrest or since his release, has found out what has been done with those funds? The hon. Member for the City of Cork will, no doubt, say that during the time he was in Kilmainham he knew nothing. Certainly I did all I could to prevent communications between him and his associates outside. I earned opprobrium by sending Mr. Brennan away and isolating him. Supposing, however, that the hon. Member was, as I hoped he was, but as I fear he was not, shut out from communication with his friends, what steps did he take before this arrest to find out how these funds were used, and what step has he taken since his release? I have two or three questions perhaps more detailed to ask, and they shall relate to the period before the arrest, so that the hon. Member will not be able to plead his residence at Kilmainham as a reason for not according the information. I will first, however, make one remark with regard to crime before and after the hon. Member's release. It does so happen that as regards the most serious offence, murder—and I ask my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) to pay attention to this—that for the three months before the release of the hon. Member for the City of Cork there were five agrarian murders, and in the three months afterwards there were nine, not including the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke as agrarian murders. Now, I will ask questions relating to the period before his arrest, and I will give dates and particulars. I ask them because I want to know how far the hon. Member inquired into the actions of those with whom he was associated? He was, and is, responsible for them; and the only ground upon which he can escape responsibility is utter ignorance of their conduct; and if there was utter ignorance, it was a careless and, I may say, a reckless ignorance. I cannot believe in his absolute ignorance. Did the hon. Member, for instance, inquire into the actions of his trusted colleague, Mr. Brennan, the paid Secretary of the Land League of which he was

President? [Mr. PARNELL assented.] The hon. Member says he did inquire. I ask whether these facts came before him? He must recollect that in the winter of 1880-1 an unfortunate child was murdered at Salford by an explosion of dynamite. Reference was made to the subject in the House of Commons, and the hon. Member, being the President of the Land League, then expressed himself thus—

> "The only reason for this panic," said the hon. Member, "was that a tin containing dynamite was exploded at Salford, and the circumstances pointed to its being meant as a practical joke."

What did his paid Secretary, the man who had been with him in America—["No!"]—well, with him at the same time when he was in America? ["No!"]

MR. O'DONNELL: The well-informed Chief Secretary!

MR. W. E. FORSTER: We are now talking of what he did while he was the Secretary of his Land League. On that very day this "practical joke" was thus spoken of. Mr. Brennan wrote to *The Irish World*—

> "All sorts of theories are afloat concerning this explosion; but the truly loyal one is that Fenianism did it."

This is what Mr. Brennan, writing as Secretary of the Land League, said to his friends in America, in order to keep up the flow of subscriptions. This is the impression he gave—Dynamite and conspiracy are succeeding; the light is beginning to spread; give us more money. Did the hon. Member not see that letter? [Mr. PARNELL dissented.] Oh! he did not. Then it does surprise me that the hon. Member did not read *The Irish World*. Why, his agitation was living at that time upon *The Irish World*; and I will venture to say that there was one column in *The Irish World* that week after week would be brought to the hon. Member's attention, and that was the subscription column. [Mr. PARNELL dissented.] The hon. Member shakes his head. Plenty is said about the *Irish World* to excite his suspicion; and was he really that innocent individual that could think it safe or right to have his friends supported out of this money, and to have these charges made against this paper, and never look to see what this paper was doing? There is another of his colleagues—Mr. Sheridan. I am not asking what Mr. Sheridan may have done lately, with respect to which there is only, after all, the statement of Carey; but I am asking what the hon. Member must have known he was doing before his arrest. He called him the organizer of the Land League. Well, I refer to a speech on August 1, 1880. Did the hon. Member read that speech? It is very curious if he has not, because it is a speech which I believe was produced at the trial. Mr. Sheridan in that speech said—

> "Organize yourselves; join the National Land League; and by this means you will see your country what she once was—a free and prosperous country."

What followed?—

> "If we do not get these things through our Members of Parliament, I would ask you then to ring out your voices from the muzzles of Minie rifles, as well as from many platforms."

Did the hon. Member approve of this? [Mr. PARNELL: Hear, hear!] Well, then, he did approve of what led to a great deal of violence. I do not myself believe he did; but he was content that the League should be thus organized, and that his power should be thus increased. This is the charge I make upon him—that he was reckless of the conduct of his colleagues, and was content to derive advantages from their violence, instead of doing what I should have thought any man of his education and position would have done—that is, that he would have declared, "This is a wicked and dangerous matter, and I will disavow all connection with it." There is another organizer of the Land League—Mr. Boyton. On the 5th of March, 1881, he said—

> "We have seen plenty of landlords and agents that deserve to be shot at any man's hands. I have always denounced the commission of outrages by night. If you have to blow out a man's brains, you should blow them out by daylight."

MR. PARNELL: With regard to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman respecting Mr. Boyton, I think it right to say at once that immediately he heard that this was a charge on which he was reasonably suspected of inciting to murder, he wrote to this House to deny it. That denial was published in this House. He denied having made use of these words, or anything like them. The right hon. Gentleman is aware of the fact that Mr. Boyton made that statement.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I am also aware of this fact, that when a man has incited to murder, and proof has been obtained of it, he is very likely, indeed, to write and deny it. But that speech was quite consistent with others which he made, and which he did not deny. What I wish to ask the hon. Member is this. It was not in his power to drive out Mr. Boyton from the Land League after this speech was made, because he was arrested and shut up in Kilmainham. What I want to know is this—Did he know what sort of man Mr. Boyton was, who was his organizer? He had given him fair warning of what he was likely to do. Here is another speech, delivered on June 13—

> "I want you to lift your voices and hands to fight for the green soil of Erin. . . . . For the short time this movement has been on foot no leader has ever gained so much for us"—

and he might have added "for himself"—

> "as our illustrious leader, Parnell."

Did the hon. Member for the City of Cork ever inquire into the action of another of his assistants—Redpath—an intimate ally of the Land League leaders? Redpath spoke at the Land League Convention in Dublin—he was Mr. Sexton's right hand man; and at a banquet he publicly avowed his intentions to commit murder. I never heard any denunciation of Redpath afterwards. [Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Read the words.] I will—

> "No English nobleman would ever cross the Mississippi, or hunt deer or buffaloes on the American plains, without the risk of being shot by an Irish bullet."

Did the hon. Member keep himself in ignorance of speeches such as that? Can we imagine that he did not know what effect they would have? They had two effects—they brought money into the Land League treasury, and thereby increased his power — they stimulated to murder, and incited to outrage. We have heard John Devoy alluded to. He made very strong statements with regard to an extensive system of firing cities. Has the hon. Member thought it worth while to try and find out what sort of agitation Devoy was conducting? He ought to have done so before he made use of it. It was proved in evidence that the printing manager of the Land League printed 5,000 copies of Devoy's letters for distribution. There is some little difference of opinion with regard to this Devoy. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy)—there is a point where he began to show some symptoms of a desire to disavow this agitation, though he was always overruled, but eventually this Devoy was too much for him—the hon. Member declared for himself, and those with whom he acted in this House —I doubt, however, whether he spoke for anybody but himself at that time—that he

> "utterly repelled the charges of the right hon. Gentleman, and he declared deliberately that they had no more to do with these schemes, plots, and plans than the right hon. Gentleman himself."

But the hon. Gentleman was followed by the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon), who said—

> "He, for one, would not remain silent and hear the cowardly and miserable attack made on his absent friend Mr. John Devoy. He never in his experience read of anything more cowardly or contemptible than that a man with the ear of the world"

—that is, my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary—

> "should use his power to destroy and blast the character of an honourable gentleman whom he (Mr. Dillon) had the honour to call his friend."

Did not that stimulate the hon. Member for the City of Cork to find out for himself what sort of a man Devoy was? Has he taken any steps to find out? If so, will he give the result of his investigations? There is another friend of the hon. Member, or at least he was a friend of his—Patrick Ford, editor of *The Irish World*. He was a powerful and helpful friend of the hon. Member for months before his incarceration. There is some quarrel now as to how the money has been spent. At that time he was the main pillar of the Land League. Did the hon. Member find out how the money which came to him from week to week was got? I must take *The Irish World* as the recognized organ of the Land League? [Mr. PARNELL: No, no.] That is denied. For months the special Irish Correspondent of *The Irish World* was Mr. Brennan, the then paid official Secretary of the Land League. This is beyond dispute. His signed contributions appeared weekly until the time of his arrest. Here is what appeared in a letter of his—

"No copies of *The Irish World* have been received in Ireland during the past two weeks. It is thought the Government have intercepted them. Let those who have so generously assisted us in spreading the light, relax not in their good work; let them continue to aid us in the holy work in which we are engaged. *The Irish World* will find its way into Ireland in spite of the efforts that are made to keep it out.—(Signed) THOMAS BRENNAN."

Again, on January 2, 1881, I find these words—

"In the name of the Land League, I beg to tender to the readers of *The Irish World*, and to all co-operators, its sincere and most grateful acknowledgment.—(Signed) THOMAS BRENNAN."

It was not only Mr. Brennan; but here is a letter, dated January 26, 1881—no, it is a not a letter, but a telegram; they could not wait for a letter, but a special cablegram was despatched to *The Irish World*, commencing thus—

"The Land League has scored a victory. The ten-to-two disagreement of the jury, in face of the tremendous pressure of the Court, is everywhere accepted as having the effect of an acquittal."

And the conclusion is as follows:—

"Thanks to *The Irish World* and its readers for their constant co-operation and substantial support in our great cause. Let them have no fear for its ultimate success."

And that is signed "Charles Stewart Parnell." No wonder the hon. Member at that particular time thanked *The Irish World;* for on November 20, 1880, there had appeared in *The Irish World*, immediately before the opening of the trial, the following threat; and this, bear in mind, appeared in a paper a large number of copies of which were sent to Ireland and circulated from the office of the Land League:—

"I dare them to convict," says the writer, "I say, 'dare' advisedly. Let my words go forth. Accursed be the juryman who will dare to find these men (the traversers) guilty of any crime against the people of Ireland."

No wonder, then, the hon. Member for the City of Cork thanked *The Irish World*. Did he not know what *The Irish World* was then doing besides helping him and trying to obtain for him an acquittal? On July 31, 1880, a dreadful agrarian outrage was committed in Mayo, in which a man was shot, who, after long weeks of lingering, at last died. On this *The Irish World* says—

"Somebody said long ago that it made no difference among neighbours who dies first. Those killings on both sides have been too long continued for us to hope that they will be discontinued. But every pistol shot will stimulate action . . . There are stirring times before us. Awaken your neighbours. It will soon be daylight."

Is not that an incitement to murder? Another foul and brutal murder was committed. Did the hon. Member see this? Who was it took pains to conceal from him this paper? Another foul and brutal murder was committed, and this is how the organ of the Land League—the unofficial organ, perhaps—heads the paragraph—

"Another Land Thief Executed."

Here, again, is an article in *The Irish World* of June 20, 1880, after reading which I should have thought the hon. Member would have said—"Not one penny more shall come to any Society with which I am connected from such a source as this." Here is what appeared in a paper circulated not merely in America, but in Ireland—

"Some think it an open question whether the political agent called 'dynamite' was first commissioned in Russia or first in Ireland. Well, it is not of much consequence which of the two countries takes precedence in this onward step towards civilization. Still, we claim the merit for Ireland. True the introductory blast was blown in England, and in the very centre of the enemy's head-quarters. But the work itself was no doubt done by one or two Irish hands, which settles both the claim and the priority.

Again, on March 12, 1881, *The Irish World* says—

"London, consisting of 4,000,000 of the wealthiest people in the world, is at the mercy of its criminal classes, who number 250,000, guarded by only 2,500 regular troops, 10,000 policemen, and 10,000 men in Volunteer companies—the latter mere holiday soldiers. Make a note!

Did the hon. Member, I ask, make a note? The article goes on—

"Spread the light! O, spread the light!

No wonder, Sir, we have murders and outrages when we have a man of the energy, eloquence, and position of the hon. Member for the City of Cork condescending to carry on an agitation by the help of such means as this, and which could not be conducted without the money which was obtained by this ruffian print. I have now come nearly to the end of the questions that I have to ask the hon. Member in order to help him in his speech. Has he read the articles in *The United Ireland?*

Mr. PARNELL: I have.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Does he approve of them?

Mr. PARNELL: Yes.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: He does. Does the hon. Member for the County of Longford approve of them?

An hon. Member: He is part proprietor of the paper.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: I do not know what the articles are to which you refer.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: The hon. Member is part proprietor of *The United Ireland*. Does he approve of the articles?

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: What I have seen and read I do approve of.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I suspect the hon. Member has been very careful not to read the articles to which I allude. Is he aware that murder, arson, robbery, insults to the dead, attacks upon women were habitually described in this paper —which the hon. Member for the City of Cork approves of, and which the hon. Member for the County of Longford does not disapprove—as "Incidents in the Campaign?"

Mr. O'BRIEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman state at what period any such paragraph appeared in *The United Ireland?*

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I am glad to find the hon. Member (Mr. O'Brien) does not approve of them, although the hon. Member for the City of Cork does; and he is one of the largest proprietors of the paper. There is no question about this—that the heading is "Incidents in the Campaign."

Mr. O'BRIEN: Excuse me. ["Order!"]

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: And another heading describes these atrocious deeds as "The Spirit of the Country." Is that the way in which to put these murders and outrages before the people of Ireland? I am not now making a charge on the hon. Member for Mallow. I am not perfectly sure whether he was in Kilmainham at that time or not.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Hear, hear!

Mr. PARNELL: You know it very well.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: My charge is not against the hon. Member for Mallow, but against the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It is this—that he remains part proprietor of this paper; and I have not heard that he has attempted to disavow all concern with the articles published in that paper. Well, I have a general question to ask. It has been often enough stated and shown by statistics that murders followed the meetings and the action of the Land League. Will the hon. Member deny and disprove that statement? I will repeat again what the charge is which I make against him. Probably a more serious charge was never made by any Member of the House of Commons against another Member. It is not that he himself directly planned or perpetrated outrages or murders; but that he either connived at them, or when warned—

Mr. PARNELL: It is a lie. [*Loud cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name, name!"]

Mr. O'KELLY: It is a lie. ["Name!"] It is a lie. ["Order!"] It is, I say, a lie. ["Name!"] It is a lie. ["Name!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Roscommon has again interposed, and interrupted the right hon. Gentleman, notwithstanding my caution that he should not interpose. I must now carry out what I stated would be the course I should pursue, and I hereby Name Mr. O'Kelly to the House as disregarding the authority of the Chair.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Mr. Speaker, as you have, in the discharge of your duty, Named Mr. O'Kelly as disregarding the authority of the Chair, I have to move that he be suspended from the service of the House.

Mr. PARNELL (ironically): Hear, hear!

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. O'Kelly be suspended from the service of the House."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Mr. MONK: I rise to a point of Order. The hon. Member for Roscommon addressed to the right hon. Member for Bradford these words, "You lie," more than once. The question I wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, is this—Ought not the hon. Member to be desired by you to withdraw those words before the Motion is put?

Mr. SPEAKER: The judgment of House in regard to the conduct of the hon. Member will be expressed by its vote. The Question I have to put is, "That Mr. O'Kelly be suspended from the service of the House."

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 305; Noes 20: Majority 285.—(Div. List, No. 8.)

MR. O'DONNELL: I rise to Order. At the moment my hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon gave the lie direct to the right hon. Member for Bradford, the right hon. Member for Bradford had just said, "I find that some Members of this House connived at murder." ["No, no!"] It was in that form that the expression reached this side of the House; and I wish to ask you, Sir, as a point of Order, whether that language is permissible; and whether the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford should not be called upon for an explanation—an explanation in this House—which he will probably decline to give outside of it?

MR. SPEAKER: No notice can now be taken of the words stated to have been used by the right hon. Gentleman. If my attention had been called at the time, I should have acted as I thought right in the matter; but it is too late now to raise any question. Mr. O'Kelly will now withdraw.

Mr. O'KELLY left the House after the Division had taken place.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. W. E. FORSTER: What I intended to state when hon. Members did not permit me to finish my sentence was, that though I did not charge upon the hon. Member for the City of Cork that he himself directly planned or perpetrated outrages, I gave him an alternative, that either he connived at outrages, or when, warned by facts and statements, he determined to remain in ignorance; that he took no trouble to test the truth of whether these outrages had been committed or not, but that he was willing to gain the advantage of them. I have only one other question to ask——

MR. O'DONNELL: On a point of Order, Sir, as the measure of our language on a future occasion, I rise to ask, is the language of the right hon. Member for Bradford, which he uses under the Privilege of Parliament, in Order according to the Rules of this House?

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is not out of Order.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I have only one further question to ask. The hon. Member for the City of Cork and the hon. Member for Mallow purported to show that they felt indignation against the perpetrators of the Phœnix Park murders. Will the hon. Member for the City of Cork, when he makes his speech, give us the terms in which he expressed indignation against previous murders? I will not detain the House more than a few minutes; but I must be allowed to make one or two statements. I daresay the hon. Members will tell us that they made certain attempts to discourage assassination. Let me give the House the form in which these attempts to discourage assassination were clothed. Very early in the agitation, before the Protection of Life and Property Act and the Crimes Act were passed, long before the hon. Member was sent to Kilmainham, a terrible murder was committed in Kilkenny. The hon. Member had an opportunity of using his influence to prevent murder; he had an opportunity of showing that he disapproved it, and of imitating the example of O'Connell—an opportunity of showing that he would not gain advantages by crime and outrage. But how did he deal with this murder, in which one man was killed, another wounded, and by which their father, who was on the car, was made miserable for life? He said—

> "I have wished, in referring to a sad occurrence that took place here of shooting, or attempting to shoot, a land agent in this neighbourhood, that recourse had not been had to such measures, as it is entirely unnecessary"

—that is the way in which the hon. Member discourages assassination—

> "and absolutely prejudicial, where there is a suitable organization amongst the tenant themselves."

The hon. Member knew that there had been agrarian murders before in Ireland; he knew what the temptation would be to commit them; he had had the opportunity of showing how he would head what he called, and what I think my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) called yesterday, a Constitutional agitation; and this is the way he discountenanced crime. Well, I must give one further quotation. I do not know whether the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) is in his place. I am sorry he has gone. I dare say the hon. Member will speak in the debate on the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, by which the hon. Member would, if he could, make these crimes as unlikely to receive punishment now as before. The hon. Member for Cavan, in a speech at Castleisland, on October 10, again before the Protection Act was passed, discouraged assassination in this way. He said—

"There is another question which has been raised very much. The Land League has been unfairly charged with shooting landlords. It is no part of the duty of the Land League to recommend the shooting of landlords, for a great variety of reasons."

This is no new quotation; it was given at the trial at which the hon. Member for the City of Cork was acquitted, or, rather, was not found guilty—thanks not a little to the threats of which I have already read one from *The Irish World.* Then the hon. Member goes on—

"I never gave any advice of the sort. Mr. Hussey may be a very bad man, but there are plenty of other men as bad as Mr. Hussey; and if anyone is charged with shooting or offering violence to the landlord or his agent, it is the duty of the Land League to see that the person who is charged shall have a fair trial."

[*Home Rule cheers.*] Oh, exactly! We know the old story of "Don't nail his ears to the pump!" Was there ever a better exemplification? We do not particularly advise the shooting of Mr. Hussey; he is a very bad man; but if you do shoot him, you will be well defended. There is another speech in the same month—

"It is your duty to give your assistance in a manner which you can easily do. We do not recommend the shooting of landlords; that is an extreme measure, and certainly we cannot recommend it."

[Mr. BIGGAR: Hear, hear!]

"And besides, it is held undesirable for the interest of the cause that it should be done, for this reason—that when such things take place they are blazoned forth in all the English newspapers, and prejudice is excited in the English mind against the Irish Party, which is calculated to interfere to a material extent with the advocacy of my friend Mr. Parnell and others on behalf of the tenant farmers."

When the hon. Member talks about attempts to discourage assassination, what I say is this—that no speech could have been made more calculated to cause fresh murders, and at the same time to keep the man who made it free from the law as it then was, than this speech. Well, the hon. Member for the City of Cork had a substitute for murder, which was to make murder unnecessary. It was "Boycotting." I do not need to quote again the speech of the hon. Member at Ennis. It was not a mere outburst, but a plain proclamation of the mode in which the agitation was to be carried on—that a man should be tabooed in his shop, in his family, and even in his church; that his life should be made a perfect misery to him; not only that he should be ruined, but that mere pecuniary ruin should be nothing compared with the suffering he was to undergo if he was not to keep the unwritten law of the hon. Member, and obey the will of himself and his myrmidons. That is the mode in which the hon. Member would have made murder unnecessary. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, in a powerful speech made last year, used these words in reference to "Boycotting," and they are very true. He said—

"The creed of 'Boycotting,' like every other creed, requires a sanction, and the sanction of 'Boycotting'—that which stands in the rear of 'Boycotting,' by which alone 'Boycotting' can be made thoroughly effective—is the murder which is not to be denounced."

Was the hon. Member so ignorant of the passions of his fellow-countrymen that he did not know that this must be the result? What was the effect on the minds of the people of Ireland? They did not draw the line. Those miserable wretches who planned the murders in Dublin; they took not, indeed, the letter of the hon. Member's advice, but what seemed to them its spirit. They said—"We do not know how to draw the line between ruining a man and killing him; we find killing the easier, and we will carry out that as the principle which has been pointed out to us." And, talk about this as a Constitutional agitation! Some Members yesterday were referring to it as such, and appealing to us that we should not allow liberty to be invaded by putting down a Constitutional agitation. There never was such an attack on liberty as was this terrorism. This is the first time in the history of either England or Ireland, so far as I know, in which an agitation has been conducted by appeals to personal injury to individuals, and not by appeals to the voter or to public opinion. There has been strong language, there has even been rebellion; but it is a new experiment in agitation, of which the hon. Member for the City of Cork may claim the great credit—that he would endeavour to succeed, not by appeals to constituencies and public opinion, but by terrorism and injury of individuals. No wonder that from such an agitation as this has followed the first political assassination which has disgraced our annals for hundreds of years. Now, at last, the meaning of this agitation has been discovered, and there is an abhorrence of it in England and Scotland. I believe there are many hon. Friends of mine who have considered me irreconcileable with the hon. Member for Cork; but I have felt that until he expressed his regret and repentance for having set on foot such an agitation as this, I would hold no communication or conference with him. I said there was abhorrence in England and Scotland; but there is also abhorrence in Ireland, but not so much as there ought to be, because of the success of the efforts of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends in demoralizing the Irish people by intimidation and by terror. But they are beginning to find out the meaning. [An hon. MEMBER on the Irish Benches: Mallow.] Yes, the constituency of Mallow was threatened. But they are beginning to find out the meaning, even although the shopkeepers of Mallow did not dare to vote against the hon. Member, because of the threats that were brought to bear upon them. There are many grounds for discouragement in the state of Ireland. It is not for any man who has been connected with its government to deny them, or to be sanguine. There have been illusions, and they have disappeared. There is, however, one ground for hope—nay, there are two grounds for hope and encouragement. One is that the Irish Government has now the power to uphold the law, and will use it; and the other ground is that the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his fellow-chiefs in this so-called agitation have been found out, and that the hideous cruelty and wickedness of this agitation have been unveiled and unmasked and exposed. I have only one further remark to make. I repeat, I have so framed my questions that the hon. Member will find that he cannot plead his residence at Kilmainham as a reason for refusing to answer them.

MR. J. R. YORKE said, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was no doubt the best judge of what was required from him in regard to his honour and interest in this matter. If he did not rise on the moment to take up the challenge which had been thrown down to him, he presumed that the hon. Member had good reason for it. His silence, however, could not be long protracted, and when it was once broken the result might be a considerable prolongation of the debate. He differed with those who had thrown doubt on the opportuneness of the Amendment before the House, believing that, as there had been so many changes in the policy of the Government, it was especially important at the present moment that they should record their satisfaction at the existing state of things, and should express the hope that no further changes would be introduced. In spite of the warnings given, and especially of the warning of Lord Beaconsfield, there had been no less than four changes of policy by the Government in Ireland. It was needless to recapitulate the misfortunes which resulted from this unwise course of action; they were well known, and could be clearly traced to the effect of the vacillating policy he had referred to. He admitted that there was one objection to debating the subject at present, and that was the absence of the Prime Minister. Had the right hon. Gentleman been present, he might have imported some heat into the discussion; but as he was absent they had to be contented with the utterances of minor authorities, and therefore they found themselves reduced from the high level at which the subject was treated by the Prime Minister, to the comparatively low degree of moral treatment to which it had been subjected at the hands of the Home Secretary. The Prime Minister had always denied that there were negotiations with the "suspects" in this matter. The Home Secretary, however, had abandoned that ground, and had specifically admitted that there were negotiations, and that there was no objection to that term being used. Yet they had the words of the Home Secretary to show that he was fully as well aware as the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had shown himself to be of the character of those persons with whom he entered into negotiations; indeed, on the 3rd of March, 1881, the Home Secretary used practically the same language as the right hon. Member for Bradford had done that evening, only in a more compendious form. The Home Secretary was, therefore, under no illusions on this point; and according to his own showing, the only difference between him and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was that he was a successful, while the right hon. Member for Bradford was an unsuccessful, negotiator. It was plain that from the first the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) recoiled from the ignominy of engaging in transactions with such men as Kilmainham contained. Besides the abortive negotiations between the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for the City of Cork negotiations were entered into by the hon. Member and the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade. The latter right hon. Gentleman was disgusted with the terms offered for acceptance, and so, after five hours consultation between the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea), it was decided by those Gentlemen that an offer of co-operation with the Liberal Party in Liberal business should be made, and a promise given that the "no rent" manifesto should be withdrawn. A letter containing these terms was then submitted to the Cabinet, and yet the Prime Minister afterwards stated that there had been no negotiations or engagement. It was the object of those who approved the Amendment before the House to condemn the communication which undoubtedly took place, and to induce the House to place on record its desire that there should be no more tampering with treason. The Government last Session denied the negotiations, and challenged the Opposition to move a Vote of Censure. Circumstances, however, occurred which rendered it almost impossible at the moment to bring on such a Motion. His right hon. Colleague (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) did indeed give Notice of a Motion of Censure; but it was only given on the day preceding the Phœnix Park murders. Amidst the general consternation which that event created, one thing became evident—that the Government policy must be reversed; and, although there was a strong feeling among Members on the Opposition side that some decided action should be taken with respect to the Kilmainham negotiations, the time was allowed to slip by, and the Opposition, feeling even more strongly than the Government the necessity of passing some measure to prevent the recurrence of such horrors, gave their best assistance in passing the Crimes Act, and deferred the discussion of the other questions. The matter crept up last Session, when he (Mr. R. J. Yorke) endeavoured in vain to obtain from the Government an opportunity of discussing it; but his efforts were successfully parried by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. Another point was that the letter of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), but with a passage suppressed, was allowed to be read, and the President of the Board of Trade declared that he had forgotten all about it. Finally, all the terms which were the subject of the negotiations were carried out on one side and the other, and were actually in force at the present time. With regard to the Irish policy of the Government, if anyone desired to challenge it, he was always told that it was either too early or too late, and that it was the duty of an Opposition not to criticize, but to propose an alternative policy. But, surely, when the Government blundered inexcusably, it was not the duty of the Opposition to suppress their opinion and to withhold from the country what they believed to be the real truth of the matter. He wished to place upon record his opinion that it was the duty of the Government, as soon as the Prime Minister returned, themselves to move for the institution of an inquiry. In vindication of their own conduct, as well as in the interests of the country, the Government ought to assent to a Committee of Inquiry. He believed it would come to that sooner or later, and no oratorical ingenuity, no casuistry of argument, no persistency of affirmation or vehemence of denial would hide from the country the truth of these transactions or prevent it from being ascertained that the Government had, by the institution of negotiations with men whom they knew to be traitors, jeopardized the public peace and betrayed the best interests, not only of Ireland, but of the entire Empire.

MR. BARRY said, he held a very decided opinion that the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was inexpedient and inopportune; and he thought it was unfair and unjust to discuss in the House a matter involving life and death, more especially when that matter was only in the first stage of magisterial investigation. He thought that the enormity of the crime with which those persons were charged, and the terrible penalty which society would insist upon, and the law inflict, if that charge was sustained by the evidence, would have been grave considerations, which should have guided the hon. and learned Member for Chatham, and saved a lamentable display of Party tactics. He would not have taken any part in the discussion, holding the opinions he did as to the inexpediency of the Amendment, but for the indirect charge which had been made against Members of the House, and the cowardly chorus of abuse and insinuation which had been poured forth from the British Press within the last few days, and which did not deserve from Irish Members anything than a feeling of unmixed contempt. Was it because a handful of desperate men, driven to desperate courses by a wild and irrational exercise of the power of the Government; was it because of that the Leader of the Irish people, and the whole body of the Irish Representatives, were to be charged with sympathy with crime and complicity with murder? It had been extremely hard that night to sit and listen to the tirades of abuse and villification thrown out by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster).

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. BARRY, resuming, said, that in the course of the debate an attempt had been made to hold up the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) as the saviour of society, and who was thwarted in his efforts by the Cabinet. The appearance of the right hon. Gentleman in such a light would be laughable and ridiculous, were it not for the ghastly accessories attaching to his unfortunate period of Office. If they only took the statement made the other day by that infamous wretch James Carey—and he certainly could not believe his statement to be true—but taking the statement as he told it, they said that at the very time when the policy of the right hon. Gentleman was in full swing, when he had from 900 to 1,000 men in gaol, when he was sweeping into the prisons the *élite* of Irish society, the only men who could walk the streets of Dublin with perfect immunity were those who were planning and plotting crime. If that story was true—and it seemed almost incredible—the late Chief Secretary himself was being followed about by bodies of armed men. Such a statement was the most sweeping condemnation that could be imagined of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman, who used the forces of the country in every direction for the purpose of crushing legitimate opinion in Ireland, and who made the profound mistake of confounding discontent with crime. He was not going to reproduce the terrible series of horrors that had marked the administration of the right hon. Gentleman; but for a great deal of the crime which had taken place in Ireland, he in his heart and soul believed him to be responsible. It could not be said that the Government were not warned of what would be the result of their policy of coercion. They had the experience of history, which of itself should have warned them. Was it not there recorded that in every country where liberty was trampled upon and freedom crushed, that the people took refuge in secret conspiracies and combinations? The Government were repeatedly warned from those Benches that if they insisted upon coercion, that if they persisted in closing up every avenue of political life in Ireland, that if they would not listen to discontent and remedy the grievances, the result would be that the people — the wilder and more reckless spirits—would inevitably be driven into secret combinations, and the ranks of conspiracy would be largely augmented. This warning came from men who were treated with indifference—from the Representatives of the Irish people — men who ought certainly to know the feelings of those whom they represented—and it certainly came very badly from those who were thus warned now to turn round and taunt the Irish Members, if not with being the actual instigators, at least with being sympathizers with outrage and crime and murder. He had often noticed in that

House that a certain complaint had been urged against the Irish Members of the Land League because they did not denounce the crime that took place in Ireland. He had had the honour of addressing a meeting in Ireland during the most heated period of the Land agitation, and he denounced it with his own lips, and heard ministers of religion do so in scathing language; and it was characteristic of the Land League meetings throughout Ireland that crime was deprecated and outrage denounced. How, then, could crime be associated with their name? Upon no higher ground than upon that of policy, outrage and crime were the worst things that could take place for the Irish National League. The one thing which could retard their progress and damage their movement was that crime should take place and be associated with their organization; and he contended that if it had not been for the Land League and its influence, there would have been infinitely more agrarian crime than took place during the most heated period of recent events. In 1847 and 1848—the last period before the present acute agrarian agitation—considerably more agrarian murders took place than in 1881 and 1882. Since he had been a Member of that House he had noticed that whenever there was a great display of national antagonism or an opportunity offered of insulting the people of Ireland, the two Members for the Dublin University were always well to the front, eager to fan the passion and prejudice that might be for the moment aroused against them; and so long as that passion and prejudice remained, so long would that small territorial class in Ireland dominate and rule the country. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin, in his speech, seemed to be greatly alarmed lest the Government should show an accession to popular opinion in Ireland, and particularly alarmed lest his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) should get any power in the government of the country. He would tell the right hon. and learned Gentleman that at least they had not behind them the prestige of failure; he would tell him that they had not gained the hatred and contempt of the great mass of the Irish people; he would tell him that in spite of Tory opposition and weak indifference, the extension of public liberty in Ireland was coming, and that a government for the people and by the people was very soon likely to be realized, and that neither Tory combination nor Tory and Whig opposition, though it might retard, would prevent the fulfiment of what he had predicted. In dealing with the Amendment, it was extremely difficult to speak fully whilst the men were being tried, and whilst the only evidence against them was the testimony of an infamous scoundrel; and it would have been more in keeping with the usages of the House if the hon. and learned Member for Chatham had chosen some more fitting time for the discussion of this question. The speech made that night by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) certainly did not take the Irish Members by surprise, because it was only a repetition of the dreary indictment which they had been accustomed to hear from him during the last three years; but, in spite of the attempt made by him to stir up feelings of hostility in the breasts of his countrymen against the Irish Party, he was certain it would fail, because, in the course of a few days, when passion had passed away, and when it became perfectly clear in what a limited though vicious circle this latest development of Irish politics moved, and how free from any complicity in the evil business were the Members of the Irish Party, he was sure the English people would be ashamed even of having permitted themselves to be led away by speakers like the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and by the great body of the British Press.

Mr. J. N. RICHARDSON said, that during the debate observations had been made which called for comment from Irish Members sitting as he did upon the Ministerial side of the House, and unless he seized the opportunity of expressing his opinions he should be doing a serious wrong, not only to himself and his constituents, but to the Lord Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary, who were charged with the serious duty of administering affairs in Ireland. In making these comments he must take exception to many remarks which had been made on the other side of the House; but he agreed with the majority of the speakers on his side in regarding as unnecessary and uncalled for, and as calculated to embitter Party feeling, much that had been said in support of the Amendment. Both sides of the House, he considered, might be much better employed in endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of affairs in Ireland, whatever the cause of that condition of affairs might be. It was urged that the debate would nerve the Irish Executive to a certain point of vigour, and induce them to carry on the government as they had done of late; but he could not see the necessity for action of that sort. No one, he thought, could imagine that either of the two great Parties in the State considered that Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary required any such assistance to encourage them to continue to carry on the government of Ireland with vigour. He had listened yesterday with a feeling of pain and consternation to the speech of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell). Although he was willing to acquit the hon. Gentleman of any intention of conveying the idea which his words certainly conveyed to himself, yet he contended that throughout that speech there ran a tone of palliation and condonement for the fearful and awful crimes which had stained his unfortunate country, and had culminated in the terrible tragedy of the Phœnix Park. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvan said he willingly repudiated assassination; but he added—"Of what avail will such repudiation be?" Again, the hon. Member went over a long series of crimes committed in other countries, and quoted the case of the Cato Street Conspiracy in London, the object of which, he said, was to murder all the Members of the Cabinet, and said that surely, compared with this, the scheme described by James Carey might be regarded as a quiet and a modest one. Again, he would acquit the hon. Member of knowing the exact meaning of the words he used. It had often been said by public speakers, and he applied it to himself as much as to any other Irish Member, that Irish Members got up to speak without the least idea of what they were going to say, that they continued to speak without having the least idea of what they were saying—[*Cheers and laughter*]—and that they sat down without the least idea of what they had said [*Renewed laughter*]. If hon. Gentlemen opposite by laughing meant to offer that as an excuse for the words used yesterday, he should be satisfied; but otherwise he must deprecate such a speech, not as being dangerous in that House, but as being, in the present state of the country, highly dangerous when reported and circulated broadcast among a most excitable people. Turning now to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), he observed that the noble Lord said that after three years of Liberal rule the Government had so increased the detestation of Irishmen for England that in this country the very name of Ireland had become one of reproach. The noble Lord was a master of rhetoric, sometimes heedless rhetoric. But when he spoke of the detestation with which Irishmen regarded England, he used the words Irishmen in a large sense. He (Mr. J. N. Richardson) should not have complained if the noble Lord had qualified his remark, and said, "many" Irishmen; but when he said "all" Irishmen he denied his proposition altogether. The noble Lord left out of his calculation a large number of respectable, law-abiding Irishmen not living in Ulster, but in the other parts of Ireland. He also left out the men living in Ulster, who were just as much Irishmen as any others. He was not surprised that the noble Lord should have ignored Ulstermen, because last Session he stated roundly that the Government did not care twopence halfpenny for the Ulster Liberal Members, and the noble Lord gave it to be understood that he valued them at about the same appraisement. But if the noble Lord should ever become, as was by no means unlikely, a Member of a Tory Administration, he would find that the Irishmen dwelling in Ulster were not altogether to be ignored. On behalf of himself and those about him, he offered, as an Ulster Member, his respectful but cordial support to Her Majesty's Government in this trying crisis. He believed it was a matter of congratulation to themselves and the country, not so much on account of the rich and powerful, who were able to protect themselves, but of the poor herdsmen and bailiffs, who could not, that such men as Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary were in Ireland carrying out the principles of law and order. It was no light thing for men, let alone tender ladies, to leave their quiet homes in England for a spot which was not only within gunshot, but within a stone's throw of the place where a dear Colleague lost his life. Yet such had been the action of those two gentlemen and their families, and such had been the action of one who, in the earlier part of Lord Spencer's *régime*, was known as "Spencer's Fairie Queen." It would hardly become him to say anything in support of such a nobleman. His words were feeble, but he should not be doing his duty to his constituents or to the Government if he did not express his sincere pleasure and congratulations at being able to sustain Her Majesty's Government in their present efforts.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was surprised to find an Irish Member supporting Her Majesty's Government. It was the Members from the North of Ireland who had encouraged the Government in the fatal course of coercion which had so nearly ruined their country. For his own part, he execrated the Land League; but he thought the time to have attacked it was when it was strong, instead of waiting until it was covered with the opprobrium, deserved or not deserved, of the recent terrible events. He could not but admire the honesty and courage of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), although he did not consider him to be a heaven-sent administrator. But, in the striking and forcible speech in which he attacked the extreme Irish Party, and accused them of connivance with, and responsibility for, the terrible crimes which had been committed, how could he acquit his own late Colleagues of a large share? The state of things was well known to the Cabinet, and yet the Government were willing to employ one of the worst agents of the assassination conspiracy, Mr. Sheridan, under the disguise of restoring order. All the charges which the right hon. Gentleman had brought against the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) might have been brought against the present Ministry. The Home Secretary, in an extremely laboured and flaccid speech, had praised the right hon. Member for Bradford, and yet denounced the Administration of Ireland before the late Chief Secretary's fall. But the right hon. Member for Bradford's position had been seriously weakened before he left Office. He had for six or eight months before his retirement urged the necessity of fresh powers. He had expressed the wish that his Colleagues should have visited Ireland to see the necessity of such powers. The right hon. Gentleman had referred with contempt to the Press; but he ought to have remembered that it was owing to the influence of a Press directed by his own Colleagues that he fell. He had himself, six weeks before the right hon. Gentleman's retirement, heard that he would leave the Government. In journals directed by the President of the Board of Trade, it was said that the right hon. Gentleman would have to retire. The weakness of Irish Administration was caused, not by the fault of the right hon. Gentleman, but because he was thwarted by his Colleagues. The notion that the right hon. Gentleman's life was in danger was also ridiculed by journals of that class. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman, if he ever contemplated the possibility of again being in a Liberal Ministry, would realize the importance of those matters, and the existence of intrigues which were not even yet at an end. The right hon. Gentleman had cut away from the Government the sole argument on which they relied—namely, the superior organization of the police. The right hon. Gentleman had demonstrated that there really had been no improvement in the police. The detective force remained practically the same as before. The first result of the change of Administration from Earl Cowper and the right hon. Member for Bradford to Earl Spencer and the present Chief Secretary was a revolt among the members of the Police Force. But the right hon. Gentleman had truly said that the reason of the improvement was that the police had powers now which they had not then. It was those powers which had enabled the police to bring the gang of assassins to justice. If such powers had been granted to the right hon. Gentleman in the autumn of 1881, the improvement in the state of the country would have taken place at an earlier date. But the right hon. Gentleman had said that Parliament would not have granted such powers. What did that mean? It meant that the Government would not have supported him in asking for such powers. His Colleagues were not loyal. The Home Secretary had admitted what, of course, he could not deny. That right hon. Gentleman had also admitted that the hands of the Government were weak before the introduction of the Crimes Act. Why was that so? It was because the Cabinet were divided, and refused to give the right hon. Gentleman the powers which he asked. The Home Secretary had tried, without success, to prove that the late Government were responsible for the condition of Ireland. Now, there was no doubt that there was a considerable increase of crime during the latter part of 1879, and in November of that year the number of outrages rose to 170. The late Government, however, took immediate action. Mr. Davitt and his colleagues were arrested, and from that moment the average of crime steadily decreased, until, in the middle of 1880, it reached the lowest point of 63 agrarian crimes in a month. The present Government then came into Office, and reversed the policy of their Predecessors, with the consequence that in the December of that year the number of such agrarian crimes reached the enormous number of 866 in the month. The statement of the Prime Minister, with regard to the absence of crimes in Ireland, had been made deliberately in answer to Lord Beaconsfield's warning as to the state of things in that country; and it was by the accuracy of the respective views of those two statesmen that their political capacity should be judged. The fact was that Ireland was in a state of peace, order, and comparative satisfaction when the present Government received the reins of power, and that before they had been two years and a-half in Office crime in that country had attained its maximum. No doubt, the germs of evil were in Ireland; and it required firmness and statesmanship to cope with them. These requisites were forthcoming under the late Administration; and the history of the country under the present Government showed how deficient they were in those much-needed qualities. With regard to the Kilmainham compact, he held that the Government had conceded everything and practically obtained nothing in return. They had conceded the release of the "suspects" and the release of Mr. Davitt; they gave the promise of the Arrears Bill and of further Irish legislation; and had the advice of the most advanced section of the Cabinet been taken, even further concessions would have been made to Irish lawlessness. If any Member of that House could be justly charged with being responsible for the present state of things in Ireland, it was the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. The Prime Minister had made his statements at Mid Lothian with regard to the condition of things in Ireland in ignorance of the facts; but the President of the Board of Trade had spoken with a full knowledge of the real state of the case. The President of the Board of Trade, in referring to the Land League, stated that its objects were legal and praiseworthy, and were deserving of support, and went on to assert that to stifle that agitation would be to prevent reform. Yet this was the agitation which had been so forcibly denounced that evening by the right hon. Member for Bradford. Now, the Irish Party were covered with ignominy—[*Cries of* "No, no!"]—he meant that the recent disclosures in Dublin had rendered them intensely unpopular in England; and it was unworthy of the Government, looking to what had happened in the past, to denounce them, when nothing fresh had been discovered that the whole world did not know before. The fact was that the Government had availed themselves of the services of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, to say nothing of one of the worst men connected with the League—Mr. Sheridan, of Tubbercurry—as long as they were useful to them, and now they could not sufficiently denounce the hon. Member's conduct. The real "No. 1," indeed, of Ireland, who was responsible for the demoralization of Ireland, was Her Majesty's Government. Her Majesty's Government, which was willing to use the Irish movement for its own purposes, was mainly responsible for the terrible demoralization of the Irish people. That demoralization was both moral and political, moral as shown by the sympathy and encouragement accorded to the assassins, and political as shown by the result of the Mallow Election. It was impossible, in the present state of Ireland, to introduce any scheme of county government, for all men of respectability were being chased off the boards, and were being replaced by what he might call the very lowest and most violent class of the Irish people.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN: No, no; nothing of the kind. They are the most respectable men in the community.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he had great respect for the hon. Member (Mr. T. D. Sullivan); but he believed that no class in Ireland had more cause to rejoice at the presence of the British garrison in Ireland than the moderate and respectable section of the extreme Irish Party to which the hon. Member belonged. He believed that what happened in the French Revolution would be repeated in Ireland, but for the existence of the British power. The hon. Member, after having done away with the landlord, would himself have fallen a victim—[Mr. Sullivan: Oh, no. Not at all.]—to the Bradys and the Kellys and the M'Caffreys, who would even have deposed the uncrowned King of Ireland. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his recent Pindaric ode on anarchy, had said that anarchy was the beginning of a new birth. That was false, for no country had ever benefited by anarchy. Anarchy was as fatal to Ireland as it had been to France. In praising anarchy in view of what the Government had done in Egypt and Ireland the hon. Member for Liskeard had done a most mischievous thing. The time had come for the country to ask itself what good from first to last had the Irish legislation of the Liberal Party done to that country. From 1868, when they disestablished a loyal and civilizing Church, down to 1882, when they passed the Crimes Act and the dishonest Arrears Act, every single bit of their policy had been fatally ruinous and cruel to the unfortunate country. Many earnest Roman Catholics would have preferred the civilizing influences of the Protestant Church to have remained. In 1870 was passed a Land Act which the Prime Minister promised would be final. Ireland then had a slight period of repose through the intervention of a Conservative Government and a wise and statesmanlike Administration. It had been frequently said that the mischief of Ireland came from abroad and that the agitation was imported from America. No statement could be further from the truth. The difficulty of the United States was the Irish population, and the difficulty in this country, was the Irish population. He believed that the Irish required to be treated like a high-spirited and noble steed, not one moment throwing the reins on its neck and the next cruelly curbing it. They required a firm, quiet, resolute, and statesmanlike rule, such as they experienced at the hands of Lord Beaconsfield. When well, steadily, and firmly governed no country was so easily managed as Ireland. But when the reverse it would always be a trouble. From 1868 Liberal policy in Ireland had had but one result—that of unsettling and disturbing the country. The Prime Minister boasted that he was going to destroy a Upas tree. The first branch of that tree was Protestant ascendancy. That he had destroyed, and what was the result? The Protestants were leaving Ireland. [*Cries of* "No!"] In the county of Tyrone alone 15,000 Irish Protestants had left. The second branch to destroy was British garrisons; and the third branch, or rather the trunk of the tree itself, was the Union between England and Ireland. But the people of this country were determined that, whatever might be the power and eloquence of the Prime Minister, he should not destroy the ties that bound England, Ireland, and Scotland together. The Prime Minister, in destroying one Upas tree in Ireland, had set up another Upas tree—that of sedition, lawlessness, and revolution.

Mr. A. ELLIOT said, the eloquence of the hon. Member who had just sat down had been largely founded on the mere gossip of the Lobby, and the hon. Member was not the only Member on that side of the House who based his observations on such grounds. The hon. Member had told them of an intrigue in the Cabinet by which the right hon. Member for Bradford had been driven out of it; and he had told them that that intrigue was supported and managed by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. That charge rested simply and solely on the gossip of the Lobby. [An hon. Member: And newspapers.] He had told them that not only did the President of the Board of Trade take that course, but that he had supported himself by newspapers under his direction, one of these being *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and another *The Birmingham Gazette*. He had yet to learn from other sources that the President of the Board of Trade was proprietor of these papers. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had taken the same course as the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) when he said that Lord Spencer had entered into an intrigue, the object of which was to drive from the Cabinet the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, because he demanded those powers which, when he (Lord Spencer) became Lord Lieutenant himself, were found to be necessary. That was what he ventured to characterize a most improper statement to make. All the talk about treason and truckling to crime was little better than mere Party capital. The whole matter had been brought before the House by the right hon. Gentleman himself, and also by the Home Secretary, and there was very little difference between them in their account of it. It would appear that a Bill for the further maintenance of order was in contemplation, and had been accepted before the right hon. Gentleman's resignation; but there was a difference as to when it should be brought forward, and the reason the right hon. Gentleman resigned was because it could not be brought forward then and there. He, for one, was entirely opposed to any such scheme as making the maintenance of order conditional on the passing of any particular measure. But the main reason why he (Mr. A. Elliot) rose to address the House was that, after the strong feeling excited throughout the country by the revelations made in Dublin, and the excited feeling that would be caused by the very remarkable, the very strong and telling speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford, it would be most disastrous that that feeling should pass away without strong measures being taken to root out those conspiracies and organizations which were disgracing Ireland. They had to do there with a state of things which was quite unique, almost a state of revolution, and no ordinary measures would suffice to put it down. The Government had now got on the scent of much of the crime that existed, and were tracing it up, and he hoped they would leave no stone unturned to root out fully all these abominable conspiracies. But he said the state of things was exceptional, and an exceptional remedy should be found. He ventured to recommend to the Government that they should take the measure which was taken so very strongly in 1867 with reference to the Sheffield Trade Union outrages. What was done then was to send down a Commission, armed with exceptional powers. A Commission should be sent to Ireland, movable from one end of the country to the other, with the express object of tracing up, as far as they could be traced, the branches of these organizations. They should have power to put witnesses on oath, and compel them to answer, and to give them an indemnity that they should not be proceeded against in the event of their bringing out matters which incriminated themselves. The Crime Act was not sufficient, and should be supplemented by such powers as he had indicated, in order that the British and the Irish public might know with whom they had to deal. Now was the time to do it. They really must investigate thoroughly, without fear or favour, and trace up the conspiracy as far as they could. No private investigation would do. The British and the Irish public had a right to know how they stood in regard to these conspiracies, and whether their public men were affected. Certain newspapers were still denouncing the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. But supposing they were—why, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was one of the most popular men in Great Britain. The right hon. Gentleman had been down in Scotland, and there was probably only one other man—the Prime Minister himself—who would have had the sort of reception that was given to him. If there was one thing more than another that endeared him to this country, it was the way in which he was held up to detestation by those who were always minimizing and palliating and apologizing for the perpetration of crime. The hon. Member for Wexford County (Mr. Barry) had told them that it was quite a mistake to suppose that these crimes were not denounced by Irish Members. It was denounced at meetings in Ireland. But really it was presuming too much on the ignorance of England and Scotland to make statements like that. They might, perhaps, judge of what Irish Members said at meetings in Ireland from what they said in that House; and it was an absurdity to tell the House that if Members went to Irish meetings, they would hear outrages denounced there.

Mr. BRODRICK said, he thought there were many matters connected with the resignation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) that deserved the notice of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that the effect of the Protection of Person and Property Act would have been much greater if it had been reinforced by some of the provisions of the Crimes Act; but they had a right to have an explanation from the Government as to why that course was not taken long before the right hon. Member for Bradford resigned Office. There would have been no difficulty in bringing forward a thorough measure for the government of Ireland, but that there was a feeling that among the Radical Members there would not be a very loyal support. There was a general disposition among hon. Members speaking from the other side to ignore the extent to which the agitation in Ireland had been the result of the injudicious speeches and action of the Government and their supporters. The government of the country, however, could only be carried on by a vigorous and consistent policy; and he contended that the policy of the present Administration had been weak and vacillating. When they came into Office the Ministry declared, in May, that they had no intention to introduce any legislation of an exceptional character for Ireland. That was followed three months later by the introduction of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, and also by the gratuitous announcement of the then Chief Secretary for Ireland, that he would not undertake to govern Ireland in the coming winter without the passing of some such measure. The great difficulty which the late Chief Secretary for Ireland had to contend with in his administration mainly arose from the fact that when he most needed support there were Members of the Government going about the country who, by their indiscreet utterances, led the Irish people to believe that the Cabinet were disunited. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), for example, made his remarkable speech at Birmingham, in which he declared that "force is no remedy;" and his right hon. Colleague the President of the Board of Trade expressed opinions equally tending to weaken the hands of the right hon. Member for Bradford in executing the law. The hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) had also expressed sentiments calculated to force the hands of the Government on a subject on which the present Leader of the House had announced that the Ministry were not prepared to act without some guarantee for peace and order in Ireland being first obtained; and he (Mr. Brodrick) was much surprised, and much regretted the fact, that that hon. Member had not attempted in his place in the House to justify the remarks he had thought fit to address to his constituents. The hon. Member for Leeds had been challenged on several points. Were his views, for instance, in accordance with those of the Government to which he belonged; and, if so, to what extent were the Government bound to give effect to them? On the other hand, if his views were not in accordance with theirs, how came the hon. Member to think himself justified in delivering views in opposition to Her Majesty's Government? James Carey had stated at Kilmainham Court, on Saturday, that the reason why Mr. Bourke had been murdered was an article which appeared in *The Freeman's Journal*—a paper notoriously inimical to English rule. That article declared that a total and radical change in the *personnel* of Castle officialism in all its branches must be effected if the heart of the Irish people was to be won back to any respect for the law or any confidence in the Administration. Now, the hon. Member for Leeds, speaking in December, characterized the form of Government in Ireland as being as bad as it could be—as, in fact, the worst in Europe; and, on a later occasion, he had also uttered in the country sentiments conceived in the same spirit and couched almost in the same language as that article in *The Freeman's Journal.* Were speeches of that reckless character calculated to assist the Chief Secretary and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in their arduous duties? Made as they were by the junior Member of the Government, and by one who had better means than any other Minister of impressing his views on the man who had the most power to give effect to them, surely such rash and inconsiderate speeches were worthy of the severest condemnation, if they were not capable of being justified in that House. He (Mr. Brodrick) entirely disapproved of the encouragement given to those who were agitating for the severance of the Empire by such utterances as those of the hon. Member. If the speech of some anonymous scribbler in an obscure journal had such an effect in Ireland, it was quite clear that the speech of the hon. Member for Leeds, who was not a mere private Member, must be particularly dangerous, seeing they must inevitably raise hopes which, unless fulfilled, would unquestionably lead to agitation. He desired to hear some explanation given for the extraordinary change in the policy of the Government in May last; for otherwise, if they had no reasons to give for it, the House might some day find them returning equally unexpectedly to their old method of treating the country.

MR. GIVAN said, that much had been made of the remarks of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) and his alleged advocacy of Home Rule; but need he remind hon. Members opposite that the present Conservative candidate for Dublin County had himself supported such a measure. The observations of hon. Members opposite were, therefore, somewhat inconsistent. He did not desire to occupy the attention of the House with a lengthy speech; but he wished to call attention to one remark which fell from the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett). The hon. Member, while censuring the present Government for the crimes which had taken place in Ireland since they had come into Office, made use of one significant expression which he (Mr. Givan) entirely agreed with. He said—"No doubt, the germs of the disease existed in Ireland at the time they took Office." That was true, for not only the germs of the disease, but the disease itself existed. And how could it be otherwise, since the Government, between 1874 and 1880, had done scarcely anything to relieve the people from the grievances under which they laboured, as regarded the Land Laws? So that not only did the germs exist, but the disease itself was to a considerable extent developed. As he had said, it was not his intention to discuss at any great length the Amendment before the House; but he could not help stating that many of the speeches which had been made, both below and above the Gangway on the opposite side of the House, had been delivered for the purpose of wasting the time of the House, of casting discredit upon the Government, and of weakening the hands of Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the onerous and delicate duties they were now discharging in Ireland. He had listened very carefully to the speeches of hon. Members opposite, but nothing had been said as to what could be done for Ireland in her present condition; nothing to throw oil upon the troubled waters; there had not been a single suggestion or hint as to the solution of the problem connected with the Irish affairs. Various charges had been levelled against the Government. Hon. Members below the Gangway complained that the liberty of the Press had been restricted, and that the Irish people were under a despotic and alien rule. He had endeavoured to form some judgment with regard to the charges, and he had come to the conclusion that hon. Gentlemen above the Opposition Gangway were far from right, while those below the Gangway were wholly wrong. As to the Kilmainham Treaty, that charge had been disposed of long since by the Prime Minister, in language as unequivocal as the English language afforded. Complaint had been made of the release of the "suspects;" but nothing which had since occurred in Ireland had changed his (Mr. Givan's) opinion, that in releasing the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the other "suspects" the Government exercised a sound and wise discretion, and to their doing so could in no way be traced the crimes which succeeded. In the Province with which he (Mr. Givan) was more particularly connected, and which had been almost free from crime, and where they, as a matter of course, had no sympathy with criminals, a part of Ireland that had always been, and he trusted always would remain, loyal to the British Crown, the release of the "suspects" was entirely approved. Some time previous to its taking place, a resolution was passed at an influential meeting in Belfast, as to the inexpediency of further detaining the hon. Member and the other "suspects," and was presented by himself (Mr. Givan) and the hon. Member for County Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson) to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster), who sent what they considered a very reasonable reply—namely, that although he was willing to release them, he could not conscientiously do so until he saw a cessation of crime in the districts to which they belonged, and that immediately that took place he would order their release. In the right hon. Gentleman they had the fullest confidence; and he was bound to say that they believed that he conscientiously discharged his duty, and that no man could have fulfilled it better towards even those who now turned round upon him. He agreed with hon. Members opposite that Ireland could not prosper until life and property were secure, and the Crimes Act was working to that end. Under the "Boycotting" rules of the Land League, there was no liberty, nothing but terrorism; and those who were loyal to the Crown, and wished to discharge their ordinary duties, were under restraint by reason of its terrorism. Thanks to Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, a different state of things was being brought about; and he hoped that the Government would not be deterred by any of the speeches made during the debate, or by any other consideration, from persevering with the further remedial measures which North and South alike demanded. Thus alone would peace be firmly secured, and the country restored to a condition which would be satisfactory to the people of England as well as to the people of Ireland.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that, of all the remarks made by hon. Members, the remarks which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had made the other day appeared to him (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) to take the most sensible and rational view of the Amendment then before the House. The right hon. Gentleman had appealed to the House whether it was fair to assume the truth of the statements which, at the present moment, were only in the shape of evidence at a preliminary inquiry. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) thought he might also submit this to the House—that the charge upon which these men were committed for trial was a charge involving their life or their death. And that had also been urged by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon. But, at the same time, he could not help remarking that that view did not strike the right hon. Gentleman or his Friends till the Treasury Bench were attacked. In every previous speech from Liberal Members the guilt of the persons accused in this preliminary investigation had been assumed, and it was not until the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) made an assault on the Ministry that this spirit of fair play had suddenly dawned upon them. It was extremely disappointing that so grave and serious an occasion had been thought worthy of no better purpose than the exchange of Party recriminations that had taken place. The welfare of the people of Ireland, who were so deeply concerned in the results of present events, and in the policy which the House of Commons might be induced to adopt, might have suggested to hon. Members on both sides considerations more dignified than those which had been brought forward. He was more than astonished at the manner in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) and others had attacked the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) respecting the speech he had recently made there. They had behaved to him as if they had been Zulus assegaing an enemy. The hon. Member for Leeds did not require his (Mr. T. P. O'Connor's) advocacy, and he certainly did not seem to have received much advocacy from his own side. Yet, speaking for his hon. Friends around him, he could assure the hon. Gentleman that the majority of the people of Ireland would always regard with feelings of gratitude the truly statesmanlike observations he had made. The debate that evening had been opened by a right hon. Gentleman who formerly occupied the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. J. Lowther), and whose policy in that capacity, he thought, had been the most disastrous—always excepting the inimitable example of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther), having held that Office, had favoured the House with his statesmanlike views of the policy which, he thought, ought to be adopted towards Ireland. He first of all said that the *ex officio* Guardians had been driven from the Poor Law Boards, and that the resident gentry had been expelled. By whom and by what means? He next said that the whole course of the Liberals had been wrong. They had disestablished the Church, and given over control of the land to the disaffected. In other words, he thought that the tenure of the English power in Ireland would be on a securer basis if the majority were compelled to pay for a Church which they did not believe in, and if 5,000,000 of people could be starved and evicted by 10,000 upholders of English rule. The right hon. Gentleman had used various architectural figures of speech. He spoke of the Church as a pillar of English rule. He spoke also of the building up of the organization of English rule. The plan and policy which he suggested would be just as reasonable as to fix a pyramid on its apex. The right hon. Gentleman was followed by his immediate Successor in Office (Mr. W. E. Forster); and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had heard several commentaries on that right hon. Gentleman's speech, mostly of a eulogistic kind. It had been spoken of as a great effort, a powerful speech, but mainly as a magnificent indictment; but the hon. Gentleman who applied these epithets forgot that the best way of describing it was that it was a grand indictment divisible into two parts. One part applied to the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Parnell), but the other part was against the right hon. Gentleman's own Colleagues. With regard to those two sections of the indictment there was a marked distinction—that which applied to the hon. Member for the City of Cork was stale and flat; that which was against his (Mr. W. E. Forster's) Colleagues had the merit of novelty and vigour. The right hon. Gentleman's attack on his Colleagues was more than justified; and, if it could be substantiated, there never was anything to equal in political perfidy, if such a phrase were Parliamentary, the throwing over of the late Chief Secretary for Ireland by his old Colleague the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The right hon. Member for Bradford had often been described as an honest, candid, and dexterous debater. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) never doubted his dexterity, whatever he might think of his other qualities; and never did he display his dexterity more than in his reply to his old Colleague the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He was full of shrugs, and smiles, and innuendoes. He began by saying he had always received the loyal support of his Colleagues, and then, taking up the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, there was not a point in that speech which he did not traverse and contradict. Said the Secretary of State, by way of accounting for the change in the condition of Ireland—"The police had been re-organized;" said Mr. Forster—"The police had not been re-organized." Said the Secretary of State—"There has been no change in policy, because the new Coercion Act, the Crimes Act, was sanctioned by the Cabinet, before Mr. Forster left it;" said Mr. Forster—"It is a mistake to say that the Crimes Act was accepted by the Government." Said the Secretary of State—"Our policy was continuous, because the Government accepted the Crimes Act which Mr. Forster drafted." "But," said Mr. Forster, "the Crimes Act was accepted with this difference, a difference of time." And that makes all the difference in the case. The right hon. Gentleman wanted it taken up immediately; but the Government wanted to postpone it till after certain financial arrangements, and after the Procedure Rules were passed. The plain and inevitable inference to be drawn from the whole matter was that the Government meant to introduce, but did not mean to pass that measure. It was intended that the Crimes Bill should be hung up, or inserted in a pigeon-hole, had it not been for the appalling tragedy in the Phœnix Park. Still, said the right hon. Gentleman, he received nothing but loyal support from his Colleagues. But he immediately added, with a meaning smile, if the Prime Minister had lived in Ireland, as he had, he would have given the Crimes Bill precedence. In fact, the indictment of the right hon. Gentleman against his late Colleagues went to show that the policy he advocated and which he pressed, and in regard to which he always complained of being opposed, was only taken up by the Government in consequence of their hands being forced by the Phœnix Park affair. Passing from that to the second part of the indictment, which related to the hon. Member for the City of Cork, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would venture to describe it as stale, flat, and unprofitable. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Was there a single count in that indictment that had not already been brought by the right hon. Gentleman on previous occasions against the hon. Member? Was there a single passage from any speech or journal which had not been quoted over and over again, either by himself, or by the enterprizing young gentleman who fought his battle in the Press, and was kind enough to put words into the mouth of the ex-Chief Secretary? It was a hash of an old dish. There were crises when the English people were seized with the spirit of blood frenzy. ["Oh, oh!"] That was what one of the best of English writers said. Had there not been blood frenzy in the course of the Indian Mutiny; and had not the Liberals said the Conservatives were guilty of blood frenzy when they set their faces against Russian aggression? And now there was the blood frenzy against the Irish people. ["Oh, oh!"] He knew very well what he was saying was true, and they knew it too. It was when the tide ran high, especially if it were a foul tide, that political tricksters trimmed their sails. Political adventurers were always able to gain advantage in crises such as that, especially if their malignant passions were concealed with an unctuous exterior, and under a tongue apparently rugged, and manners so boorish, that good nature suggested them to be artificial. He could not but admire the coolness with which the right hon. Member stood up in the face of recent events, and, to use his own expression, "without one word of repentance for his guilty and mischievous past." He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would say this deliberately—that not only on the testimony of those Benches, but on the testimony of his own "loyal" Colleagues, there never was an administration in Ireland so disastrous, so mischievous, so futile, as the administration of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. What spoke his own "loyal" Colleague, the Secretary of State for the Home Department. What said the hon. Member for Aylesbury (Mr. George Russell), who seemed to be even more Forsterite than the right hon. Member for Bradford himself? They said that the coercion which was introduced on the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman, and passed principally and through speeches made by him, was the most disastrous of all recent legislation. "We found," said the Secretary of State, "that the Coercion Act was a miserable failure, because the more persons we imprisoned the more outrages were committed." Therefore, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would say, according to the testimony of the "loyal" ex-Colleague of the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland, that the Coercion Act introduced by the right hon. Member for Bradford was chiefly responsible for the large and disastrous increase of agrarian outrages. There never had been in Ireland, at least since 1847, more grave, more serious, or more odious crimes than those of the last two or three years. That no one would deny; but, at the same time, there never was a more bitter hatred of the law; there never was a more sullen feeling of discontent than at the present moment. What was the cause of all that? Who was the man? Who was the origin of this increase of crime? Who was the man that caused the increase of disturbance? Who was the man? ["Oh, oh!"] I will tell you if you wait. Listen, and I will tell you, by the words of your own Friends. The man who was the cause of all this was the man who led the van of coercion. Let them go back to the origin of this measure. What was the real case upon which it was founded? It was the increase of crimes in the months of December and November, 1880; and if they looked to the Blue Book which was placed upon the Table they would see the shocking indecency of the manner in which the statistics of offences of that time were concocted. Did not they remember the look of horror, astonishment, and bewilderment that came over the Irish Benches—that came, too, over the face of the Prime Minister, and of almost every other hon. Member in the House—when the Blue Books were produced; and when single offences were made to appear sometimes as three, sometimes as four, and sometimes even as seven distinct offences, and when the knocking off the head of a haystack and the breaking down of three perches of a fence was dignified to the same category as if it were murder? That was the man who was responsible for the state of affairs in Ireland. On him, on his head, lay all the guilt, all the horror, all the crime. He was its creator, he was its parent. As his titular Chief said, he was the man who was to drive discontent under the surface; and, by his attempt to do so, he brought forth that terrible harvest of crime that had shocked and bewildered the civilized world. He was the real culprit. And yet, in the face of all that, the right hon. Gentleman had the audacity to come down to that House and charge the hon. Member for the City of Cork with the crimes which had been committed. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the Land League in severe terms. It carried out its decrees, he said, with violent speeches, with "Boycotting," with murder. ["Hear, hear!"] Hon. Members cheered that observation; but did hon. Members on the Ministerial side of the House forget the seriousness of the charge involved in it against the Government they supported? If the League carried out its decrees by outrages, by "Boycotting," by murder, why did not the Government suppress the League? The Government had the same powers in May that they had in October, and in October the Land Leagne was suppressed. No new powers were bestowed on them in October that they had not in May; and by virtue of the powers existing, or which at least they said existed, in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant long before they came into Office, they could have suppressed the League in May. Therefore, if their charge were most true, as he would say, it was most false that the Land League carried out its decrees by violence, by outrage, and by crime, then he would say that the real responsibility for all that occurred rested on Her Majesty's Government—on the head of the right hon. Member for Bradford, and not upon the heads of the leaders—the popular leaders—who were merely the creation of popular forces, but upon the heads of the responsible Government that had all the forces of the Empire at their back. He was assuming their own case. He did not say whether it was true or not. He did not like to use any expression with regard to the statements of the right hon. Member for Bradford, but he would say this—What did hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition Benches say? What did their organs in the Press say? What conclusion might any person fairly draw from all that had occurred? What conclusion but this—that the reason the Government did not suppress the League in May, in place of in October, was not because there was any change in the policy of the League and its leaders. No. If the Land League was all that the right hon. Gentleman said, if it was such as he described it to-night, then the impartial historian would say that the Government allowed the Land League to exist in May because they had not got a Land Act; and they suppressed it in October because they had passed their Land Act; and if that charge be true, then why turn round on the hon. Member for the City of Cork? Why did not the Government search their own hearts and consciences instead of charging that the hon. Member connived at murder? If the charge were true that the League was a murderous institution, how uneasy ought the hearts and consciences of Her Majesty's Ministers to be when they allowed, according to their own account, that organization to continue to exist, although with one word it was scattered to the winds; and yet, in face of all that, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford came down to the House with his unctuous bearing, appealing to the passions of the tiger with the air of a lamb. But it was not for the right hon. Gentleman to re-hash that old story. His Government, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) maintained, condoned the outrages of the Land League by passing the Land Act. On that point he would like to give them a few opinions from both sides of the House, and belonging to widely different political Parties, the first being the opinion of a right hon. and learned Gentleman on that side of the House, so that he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) might appear to be impartial. The late Conservative Attorney General for Ireland, speaking in the Dublin Rotunda, said—

> "They may deny and protest just as they like; but everyone knows that if it were not for the Land League meetings and crimes and outrages that have too often occurred, there would be no Land Act, or if there was a Land Act it would be very different from that on the Statute Book."

That was the testimony of a political opponent of the Government. Now he came to that of a political friend of the Government—the most recent, he could scarcely say the most valuable, addition to it. Lord Derby, in an article written in the moments of his statesmanlike retirement, and published in *The Nineteenth Century*, said—"Fixity of tenure is the direct result of two causes—Irish outrage and Party Obstruction." He could give yet another authority, the authority of a man who was also a Member of the Government; and, in quoting his words, he might say, in preface, that he thought the observations were conceived in a friendly spirit to Ireland, and were very sound and sensible. The hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) at Liskeard said that—

> "Speaking broadly, nothing has been done in justice to Ireland, simply because justice demanded it; the successive steps of justice which have been taken have been taken because we could no longer resist."

Was not that quite true? Then he would say, when the right hon. Member for Bradford talked of demoralization, that it was the Liberals themselves who demoralized the Irish people—[*Opposition cheers*]—and they, too (the Tories), because they did not grant Catholic Emancipation until their statesman, the Duke of Wellington, said he anticipated a civil war. The terrible annals of Irish history showed that, according to the acknowledgments of the very Ministers who had carried measures of reform for Ireland, they had ever delayed those measures until their hands were forced either by crime or clamour. When they, on both sides of the House, refused to do justice to Ireland until there were violence and rebellion in the land, might he not well say that it was they who had demoralized and diseased the minds of a great portion of the Irish population. The efforts of all true friends of Ireland, and of all of those who by Constitutional means were endeavouring to redress the wrongs of Ireland, and their most eloquent harangues, were dumb and innocuous in the face of the fact that the revolutionary could always say—"Oh, we murdered somebody, or we blew up some prison, and thereby got justice." He wished, with the indulgence of the House, to make a few observations on some of the points of the carefully prepared and elaborate speech of the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland. He asked why the hon. Member for the City of Cork did not act like O'Connell. Did not the right hon. Gentleman know that unctuous Ministers with rugged tongues and candid manners in the days of O'Connell used to bring the same charges against him as were now made against the hon. Member for the City of Cork? If he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had time to consult the pages of *Hansard*, he could show that charges even more odious and equally unfounded were made against O'Connell. His hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork might take this consolation —that his successor in the Irish Leadership would be unfavourably contrasted with him. It was curious that the right hon. Gentleman's quotations from newspapers against the Land League were prefaced with the inquiry in reply to some remarks of an hon. Gentleman—"Who pays any attention to articles in newspapers?" "Did hon. Members," exclaimed the right hon. Gentleman, "imagine that Ministers could possibly be driven from Office by the comments of any newspapers?" Yet, in the second section of his speech, the right hon. Gentleman laid before the House every crazy sentence he could find in the lunatic correspondence of any newspaper, home, Continental, or Antipodean, and pressed it against the members of the Land League. Such was the right hon. Gentleman's accuracy with regard to Mr. Brennan, that he spoke of him as having accompanied the hon. Member for the City of Cork to America, when, in truth, Mr. Brennan had never set foot on American soil. Then he quoted a telegram to *The Irish World* from Mr. Brennan, or, rather, a telegram purporting to be from Mr. Brennan. In the telegram the writer stated that there were two theories regarding the explosion at Salford Barracks—one that it was intended as a practical joke, and the other—the theory of the Loyalists—that it was the work of Fenians. The right hon. Gentleman asked—did his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork see that telegram? Well, even if he did, it only amounted to the statement of the opinion of Mr. Brennan, as correspondent of *The Irish World*, that the outrage which the hon. Member for the City of Cork hoped would prove to have been no more than a mere accident, was described by the Loyalists as the foul work of Fenians. Then the right hon. Gentleman took up the case of Mr. Sheridan, and asked whether the hon. Member for the City of Cork employed the services of Mr. Sheridan. But did not the Government know at least as much about Mr. Sheridan as his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork? And did not the right hon. Gentleman allow Mr. Sheridan to leave the country? He would not state his belief with regard to the truth or falsehood of the charges made against Mr. Sheridan, and he thought it unfair to bring forward as absolutely true statements which had never been proved. Then the right hon. Gentleman spoke about Mr. John Devoy, and such was the absolute ignorance which this responsible statesman manifested at these terrible moments of national passion, that he professed not to know that the speech which he attributed to Mr. Devoy had been denied a score of times by that gentleman. With regard to *United Ireland*, the right hon. Gentleman's laborious researches only enabled him to find two headings, which spoke certainly in a tone of levity of certain occurrences; but the candid right hon. Gentleman from Yorkshire forgot to tell the House that these miserable headings appeared in *United Ireland*, when the editor, the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), was in prison, when 14 other members of the staff were also imprisoned, and when six others were in flight. The right hon. Gentleman did not state that fact, though he knew it well; and he knew also that neither the hon. Member for Mallow, nor the hon. Member for the City of Cork, would be allowed, though they asked permission, to see the files of *United Ireland*, for the headings for which they were now made responsible before the blind jury of national opinion in this country. He thought he had answered most of the charges of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had the hardihood to declare that his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork was deposed from the Leadership of the Irish people. Far from it. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that the loyalty of the Irish people to the hon. Member for the City of Cork was never more unquestionable than at present; and if anything could strengthen their attachment to him it would be the unscrupulous and calumnious attacks of the right hon. Gentleman. Mallow gave its answer on that subject yesterday; Westmeath would answer it to-morrow. They had fair chances of success in Portarlington, and did not despair even of Dublin County; and whenever the Government should make their appeal to the verdict of the country, they would find that his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork would come to that House with a far larger majority of the Irish Representatives at his back to demand the rights of Ireland, with a force that no English Minister could withstand.

After a pause,

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON rose, and said: Sir, I did not rise until you were about to put the Question; and I believe the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition did not rise also, because we understood, from what we supposed to be accurate information, that it was the intention of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to move the adjournment of the debate; and we were of opinion that, although that would be an extremely inconvenient course, and although the House has anxiously waited, during the progress of the three days' debate, to hear any explanation the hon. Member can give, we still were of opinion that if the hon. Member desired to make a reply to the very grave charges that have been made, and the very serious questions which have been put to him in the course of the debate, it was due to him that he should have time, even at some inconvenience to the House, to prepare his answer to those charges. But, Sir, it appears that it is not the intention of the hon. Member to avail himself of that opportunity of making any reply to the grave charges which have been brought against him and the Land League, of which he is the Chief. I do not desire to comment on the attitude which the hon. Member and his Friends have assumed.

MR. PARNELL: If the noble Marquess will excuse me, I wish to say that it is my intention to move the adjournment of the debate at the usual time.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: If it was the intention of the hon. Member to move the adjournment of the debate, he must be perfectly aware that, unless I had risen, the Question would have been put, and it would then have been too late for the hon. Member to have moved the adjournment. And, therefore, Sir, I do not understand the attitude of the hon. Member when he says that it was his intention to move the adjournment of the debate, when, at the same time, he was taking a course a few minutes ago which would have prevented the possibility of his doing so. I do not, however, wish to comment to-night, in anything I have to say, upon the attitude which has been assumed by the hon. Member; but I should have thought that the observations which were addressed to him and his Friends by the right hon. and learned Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson), and by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), were such as to have called for some reply from the Leader of that Party. Still, I admit that, if they prefer to take that course, it is one which it is perfectly competent for them to take, and of which they must be the best judges. Public attention, public curiosity, public indignation, have been strongly aroused by the imputations which I do not say are proved, but which are, at all events, cast by certain recent proceedings which have lately taken place in Dublin upon the proceedings of the League. It is possible for the Land League leaders to say that they decline to take any notice of a proceeding of that description, which is at present only a preliminary proceeding, and which has not been judicially sifted and substantiated. No man is bound to criminate himself; and if the League and its leaders prefer to maintain silence with regard to these imputations, and to wait until something is judicially substantiated against them, it is competent for them to take that course; but, on the other hand, they must not be surprised if the House and the public draw their own conclusions, and make their own inferences from a course such as that. It might be said that their silence admits, that there is, at all events, a *primâ facie* case against them. [*Cries of* "No, no!"]

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Six of our Members have spoken.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I know that certain hon. Members from Ireland have spoken; but they have not addressed themselves specifically to refuting the imputations cast on the League by the preliminary proceedings at Dublin; and the House, I think, has a right to expect that not only the Members of the League, but the Leader of the League himself, will come forward in this House and make a statement dissipating those imputations, and that he will do more—namely, that he will offer to place at the disposal of the House, of the Government, and of the country, all the material for enabling them to form a judgment as to the foundation, or want of foundation, for those charges.

Mr. PARNELL: In point of fact, to discuss the evidence.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I have heard, on former occasions, the Members of the Land League comparing the agitation in which they have been engaged with that conducted upon the same scale and in the same manner as those of the Anti-Corn Law and the Reform Bill, and other Constitutional agitations in this country; but, Sir, I can imagine what would have been the conduct of the leaders of those agitations if one-tenth part of the suspicious inferences which have lately been drawn with regard to the conduct and the action of the Land League had been cast upon the action of those associations. I have not the slightest shadow of a doubt that, at the very first breath of imputation, the leaders of those agitations would have come forward and have placed at the disposal of the whole world every material and every means of forming a judgment, and of conducting a searching inquiry into their truth or otherwise. In the absence of any defence or statement from the hon. Member, I will not refer further to-night to that portion of the debate which has turned upon the action and conduct of the Land League. Before I advert, for a few minutes, to the immediate subject of the Amendment which has been moved by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), I will say one or two words upon another part of the subject which has been somewhat irregularly imported into the discussion. I have been asked to give further explanations as to the legislative intentions of the Government with regard to Ireland. Now, Sir, I maintain that the present occasion is not the time at which we can be legitimately called upon to discuss the question of legislation which has been adverted to. I stated, on the first night of this debate, that the legislative intentions of the Government, so far as it has been possible at present to form them, are to be found in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech. We should regret, no doubt, if it should be found that in the present Session Parliament is unable to devote any time to any of the various wants of Ireland which could be provided for by further legislation; but the Government have no intention of proposing large changes, which are likely to give rise to very strong differences of opinion and very strong Party divisions, which would be likely to absorb a very large portion of the time of the House, or to propose important measures which have not been mentioned in Her Majesty's Speech. Reference has been made to a speech or speeches which have been delivered by my hon. Friend the Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone). I think it would have been better if the right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), instead of making a rather violent personal attack upon my hon. Friend, had stated what were the portions of the speech to which he took exception, and had given the House some quotations or extracts from the speech which he so strongly impugned. For my part, I must say I have never read any full report of the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Leeds. I have seen, and I expect that most, if not all, hon. Members have seen what was evidently an extremely short and extremely imperfect report of that speech in *The Times*, and I frankly admit that if that summary contains an accurate description of that speech, there was much in it in which I cannot agree with my hon. Friend. [An hon. MEMBER: Then, why does not the hon. Member get up and explain it?] I think it was eminently unfair of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to condemn a speech, passages from which are not quoted, and of which the only description in the possession of most of us was evidently a most incomplete and imperfect summary. There is much in that speech with which I, at all events, probably, will be unable to agree; but no Government, that I am aware of, has ever been held bound by or responsible for expressions of opinion of all its Members, especially Members of the Government who are not Members of the Cabinet. No one can lay down that doctrine more strongly than the late Lord Beaconsfield did. I remember that he most emphatically repudiated any responsibility whatever for a speech to which reference had been made, and which had been delivered by the noble Viscount lately Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon). Reference has been made to the relationship of the hon. Member for Leeds to the Head of the Government; but, if we are to go into questions of relationship, I should like to ask the right hon. Gentlemen who sit opposite, and who were Members of the last Government, whether they desire to be held responsible for all the opinions which have at all times been expressed, especially with regard to Ireland, by the son of the late Lord Lieutenant (Lord Randolph Churchill). We claim, and I think fairly, to be judged by the expressions of opinion—not of every Member of the Government addressing his constituents, or addressing public meetings in the country—but by the opinions expressed in this House by Members of the Cabinet who are especially responsible for the conduct of the affairs of Ireland, and by Members of the Cabinet who are responsible for the general conduct of the policy of the Government. Sir, the question to which reference has been made, of the government of Ireland by the Castle, or the government of Ireland in the counties and in the municipalities, is one much too large for a debate of this incidental character. Probably that government is one which is very far indeed from being a perfect one. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) the other day, in addressing his constituents at Hawick, spoke with great power and clearness of the enormous strain which is placed upon the chief Members of the Irish Government by the multiplicity of officers and duties and the responsibilities cast upon them. It has been repeatedly admitted by hon. Members on both sides of the House, and by Members of Administrations drawn from both sides of the House, that many anomalies exist in the county government of Ireland. Efforts have been made by Governments of both sides, by the preparation of measures, to reform some of those anomalies, and some of those abuses. I have no doubt that at the proper time it will be a subject well worth the attention of the Government, and of Parliament, to attempt, in some respects, to reform the government of Ireland, both at its centre at the Castle and in the counties. At the same time, my opinion upon that subject has been recently expressed in a speech which many Members of this House have read, and in which I have nothing to contradict or alter. I am certainly of opinion, whatever changes it may be necessary or desirable to make, that this is not a time, that the state of political feeling in Ireland is not such as would make it desirable that the Executive Government of Ireland should be relieved of any of the responsibilities which now lie in them, or be deprived of any of the powers it now exercises for the maintenance of public order and for the repression and detection of crime. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) stated that we had destroyed all the available elements of local self-government, and that unpaid magistrates, country gentlemen, and *ex officio* Guardians had been driven from their posts. I maintain, in the first place, that it is a gross exaggeration to say so, and that there are still many country gentlemen in Ireland who have taken a great interest in their local districts—men of substance and respectability, who now, as they have always done, remain at their post, and continue, to the best of their power, to give an active and a loyal assistance to the Government, and to administer to the necessities and to the wants of their respective districts. But if that statement of the right hon. Gentleman be the fact, which I maintain to be an exaggeration, I do not see how it touches the questions we have been deliberating upon more or less for the last two years. We do not acknowledge that the legislation with regard to land has been the cause of the distress or the departure from their districts of these gentlemen. On the contrary, we have always maintained that it is that legislation which has saved that class from the inevitable destruction which awaited them, on account of the bitter hostility of all other classes, unless some attempt had been made to reform the Land Laws of Ireland, under which such a state of things was possible to exist. Sir, with regard to the Amendment which has been moved by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham, I am not going to repeat the observations which I made the other night, as to the somewhat remarkable attitude which has, on this and other occasions, been assumed by the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote). It is, however, most remarkable that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, who spoke this day week, gave no indication that the Irish policy of the Government was to be impugned with the sanction of the responsible Leaders of the Opposition. It may be said, and has been said, that since then the revelations recently made at Kilmainham have made it necessary that attention should be called to the transaction alluded to by the hon. and learned Member. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University said it was impossible that the House should not discuss a subject that was being talked of all over the country. Now, that does not appear to me to be a good cause for impugning the policy, past and present, of the Government with regard to Ireland. What took place at Kilmainham made no difference whatever in the position of the Government a week ago. The Government must be judged, and it has been admitted by those who have attacked us on this occasion must be judged alone, by the knowledge which was in its possession at the time of the transactions referred to, and nothing which has since come to light can affect the policy or the wisdom of the transactions which are now being impugned. All the information which is in the possession of the right hon. and learned Gentleman now was in his possession a week ago. If it was the intention of the Opposition to challenge the conduct of the Government with regard to Ireland, I maintain that it would have been a more dignified course to give Notice of their intention, instead of once more following on the heels of a certain section of their own Party, and being again led into the Lobby by those whom they profess to lead. It would have led to a less consumption of time at a period when the unnecessary consumption of time is becoming a somewhat serious matter. It is within the knowledge of everyone that the time at the disposal of the Government before Easter is very limited, and there is a considerable amount of Business which must necessarily be transacted before that time, and an undue prolongation of this debate must lead to a considerable amount of public inconvenience. But I regret it the more because the Amendment appears to indicate some disunion in the House of Commons, wherein I believe practical unanimity prevails among the enormous majority of the House. I believe there is but one opinion—that the Government of Ireland, during the last nine months, have been working energetically, wisely, prudently, and firmly for the purpose of restoring peace and order in that country. But when the great Parties in the House are divided upon a matter involving confidence in the Irish Administration, I cannot help thinking that that course will lead to a very mistaken impression in Ireland. Sir, I regret it also, because I believe that this Amendment will be interpreted as an expression of censure upon the policy which has produced the Land Act and the Arrears Act—measures which I believe are admitted by a great number of Irish Conservatives also, to be as necessary for the peace and order of Ireland as any repressive legislation or any repressive administration could be. I believe that this Amendment, if carried, will be interpreted as an expression of opinion that Parliament is now of opinion that we should rely on coercion only. I think that that would be a most unfortunate interpretation. When I addressed my constituents a short time ago, and said that I desired to approach this subject in no Party spirit, I spoke the most sincere conviction in my mind. I believed then, as I believe now, that the question of Irish policy and Irish Administration is one far too serious to be made the subject of political faction. I admit that mistakes may have been made on both sides. I admit that we have been disappointed—that many of us formed too sanguine hopes of the immediate effects to be produced by the intended remedial legislation, and that those sanguine hopes have been disappointed; but if we have erred on that side, I think that our opponents have erred too much in the other direction, and have too obstinately closed their eyes and ears against the real grievances which did exist in Ireland, and the real evils which had to be remedied, before any improvement in the state of that country could be effected. I trust that Parliament will not now say anything which will either now, or at any future time, deter it from examining fully, and, if necessary, legislating boldly on any proved grievances, and applying remedies for those grievances. But while I regret, for these reasons, any apparent division of opinion in this House on Irish matters, I do not altogether regret the discussion which has taken place. I think it is possible for us now to see—I think myself, at all events, that I can see more clearly than I have ever done before—what is the exact nature of those charges which were so vaguely and, at the same time, so passionately urged against us in regard to the transactions that took place in the early part of last May. I venture to think that there has been much misunderstanding with regard to those transactions, and I think it is one of the misfortunes of the course adopted by the Opposition in regard to them that that misunderstanding has not been earlier cleared away. [An hon. MEMBER: We moved for a Committee.] When did you move for a Committee? At what date? These transactions took place early in May, and they were made the subject of irregular and daily debate on almost every day in that month, on Motions for Adjournment and in interpolated discussions on the Arrears Bill; and the discussions were renewed from time to time on other occasions during the whole of the Session, and on every platform in the country; but, notwithstanding our repeated challenges, notwithstanding, I may say, almost our entreaties, the Opposition neither then, nor at any time till now, have formulated anything in the nature of a direct impeachment of that policy. When did the hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Mr. J. R. Yorke) give Notice of his intention to move for a Committee? He never did so until he was asked to do it by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister. He explained that he had not the slightest desire to do it, and that it was only in reply to my right hon. Friend's entreaty that he had ever consented to put his Notice on the Paper at all. Moreover, the giving Notice of a Motion for a Committee did not formulate the charges against the Government. We have had every sort of imputation and insinuation made against us; but it was not distinctly specified for the judgment of this House what was the exact charge brought against us. And even now, Sir, the opinion of the House is to be taken on an Amendment which only very indistinctly shadows forth what is the actual nature of the charge preferred against us. As far as I can understand that charge, I believe it is alleged that about the beginning of last May the Government made, or contemplated making, a change in their Irish policy; that at that time they had formed the intention of abandoning all reliance upon the operation of the Protection of Person and Property Act, that they virtually renounced the intention of replacing that Act, which was about to expire, by any other coercive legislation, and that they had determined to rely for the future upon the assistance of and co-operation of the Land League and its leaders for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in Ireland. Well, Sir, I believe that to be substantially the nature of the accusation that has been brought against us, and, in order to see what is the foundation of that charge, or whether there be any shadow of foundation whatever for it at all, it is necessary to see what was the condition of Ireland about that time. The Protection of Person and Property Act had not, as has been asserted, completely failed; it had partly succeeded and had partly failed. In justice to my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), it must be remembered that, to a certain extent, it has succeeded. He had, through the assistance of that Act, succeeded in defeating the agitation of the Land League, and in suppressing the "no rent" policy—the policy of a refusal to pay rent; by its assistance he had put down all open resistance to the law, and he had succeeded in repressing the practice of "Boycotting." Under his administration the attempts which had been made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and some of his Friends to defeat and to impede the operations of the Land Act, and to prevent the tenants from going into the Court, had failed. To that extent, therefore, my right hon. Friend had been completely successful, through the assistance of the Protection of Person and Property Act. In other respects he had failed. My right hon. Friend had failed, as he himself acknowledged that he had, to put down secret outrages and crime. A large number of persons were, at that time, in prison under the operation of the Act on mere suspicion and without trial; and in all parts of the House, on the Opposition side as well as on this side, there was arising a great suspicion and jealousy of the operation of the Act, at a time when the duration of the Act was approaching its close. It became, at that time, necessary for my right hon. Friend, and for the Government of which he was a Member, to consider what steps should be taken in that condition of things to supplement and replace the Act which was about to expire. Above all, there was the most urgent question of administration to be decided —whether it was necessary, expedient, and justifiable to detain in prison the Members of Parliament and others who had been imprisoned, not upon suspicion of actual complicity with outrage, but upon specific charges of promoting agitation calculated to disturb the peace of the country. That, Sir, I say, was the urgent question which Her Majesty's Government had to decide. Their attention and the attention of Parliament was about to be called to it by an hon. Member from the opposite Benches, and it was not improbable that a strong opposition would have been raised to the continued imprisonment, without trial, of this large number of political prisoners. The Government had, therefore, to decide, as best they were able, whether it was necessary, or, if not so, whether it was justifiable to detain these prisoners any longer in gaol. Was it desirable? I fully supported the measure taken in the autumn of 1881, because I believed the hon. Member for the City of Cork was engaged in an agitation of a character, and possessed an amount of influence in the country, which would have enabled him to defeat the operation of the Land Act and to make the government of Ireland an impossibility. But I have said that in May last the immediate object of that measure had been attained. Open resistance to the law was put a stop to, and there was no reason to fear that upon the release of the hon. Member and his Friends the agitation would be able to reach more formidable dimensions. At the same time, if it had been believed that the hon. Member and his Friends would make use of their release from prison for the purposes of delusive triumph, or that they would resume the course of conduct they were pursuing at the time of their imprisonment, such a measure would have been unjustifiable. It was therefore necessary for Her Majesty's Government, in any way which was open to them, to ascertain what was the state of mind and what would be the probable conduct of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends, and, if possible, the extent of their political influence. That was, so far as I am concerned, so far as the great majority of the Cabinet was concerned—I believe, so far as the whole Cabinet was concerned—the object of the communications which took place between the Government and the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It is alleged that the policy of Her Majesty's Government was to abandon reliance on the law, and to rely upon the assistance and support of the Land League. Sir, I absolutely deny that at any time such a policy was propounded to Her Majesty's Government; much less was any such policy ever adopted by them. I was curious, during the whole of this debate, to know by what arguments an opposite contention is or can be supported. An attempt has been made to use the name of Sheridan, which was mentioned in the Memorial read to the House by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. That name was mentioned by the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea); but, Sir, what proof is there that the offer, if it was an offer, or the suggestion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, was ever accepted by the Government, or by any Member of the Government? The suggestion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork was apparently that he would desire to make use of Mr. Sheridan, a leading organizer of the Land League in the West of Ireland, for the purpose of discouraging outrage. If the Government had designed to rely upon influence of that description, proposals would have been made for the revocation of the warrant which the right hon. Member for Bradford had issued for the arrest of Mr. Sheridan. But I am not aware that such a suggestion was ever made or ever crossed the mind of any Member of the Government at the time, or that it was ever contemplated to take any step whatever in concert with the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It has been stated by my right hon. Friend himself, that the warrant against Sheridan under the Protection of Person and Property Act, remained in full force until the expiration of that Act. Sir, we have heard a great deal about the intrigues supposed to have gone on in the Cabinet for the political assassination of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) has said, to-night, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department had called upon him to disavow and retract an assertion which he had made, and which had been distinctly contradicted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford himself. But to that suggestion of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the right hon. Gentleman replied that he had nothing whatever to retract; that he re-asserted everything he had stated on the subject, and that the denial of my right hon. Friend as to the existence of intrigues could have no weight, because he was the last person in the Cabinet to know what transactions were going on behind his back. The right hon. Gentleman committed himself to an allegation with reference to this matter, which my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford has contradicted, and which, nevertheless, has not been withdrawn, nor apologized for. The right hon. Gentleman, in May last, speaking in Yorkshire, said Mr. Forster was a good man struggling with adversity, but that he had disloyal Colleagues, who were conducting clandestine negotiations to a great extent, wholly unknown to him, and that machinations were at work to oust him from the Cabinet. My right hon. Friend was not in the House when attention was called to this statement; but the next day, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman, who was more agreeably engaged, my right hon. Friend did positively contradict the assertion.

MR. J. LOWTHER: How could he know what was going on behind his back?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The statement was that "clandestine negotiations were being conducted to a great extent, wholly unknown to him," and the reply of my right hon. Friend was this—

"Now that the statement has been alluded to in this House, I think it due to my late Colleagues and myself to say that the right hon. Gentleman has been absolutely misinformed. The fact is, as I have already stated in the House, I was cognizant of the negotiations to which the right hon. Gentleman doubtless alluded, although the time came when I felt I could no longer share any responsibility with regard to them."

Can the House doubt, after that statement, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire committed himself to the assertion that negotiations had been going on between the Government and the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends, which were not known to the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant?

MR. J. LOWTHER: I said my impression was that, in addition to overt negotiations, clandestine transactions were conducted wholly unknown to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: With whom? The insinuation of the right hon. Gentleman was understood by everyone here to be that negotiations were going on behind the back of my right hon. Friend the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant with the hon. Member for the City of Cork. My right hon. Friend was in a position to know everything that was going on between the hon. Member for the City of Cork, when in prison at Kilmainham, and persons outside, and he has stated that he was cognizant of the negotiations going on; that up to a certain period they were made with his knowledge. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire explained his statement, for the benefit of the House, by saying that it was announced by official Members of this House that communications had taken place between Members of the Cabinet and Irish Members, without, as far as the evidence went, the concurrence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. My right hon. Friend took the earliest opportunity of declaring that these negotiations were made with his knowledge; but, notwithstanding that denial, the right hon. Gentleman has tonight asserted the accuracy of everything he formerly said on this subject. It was the duty of the Government, it was necessary for the Government to inform themselves by the only means which were available to them as to what would be the probable course of conduct of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends if they were released from Kilmainham. It was impossible for them to have public communication with them; it was impossible they could judge of their probable course of conduct from their speeches delivered in Parliament, or those delivered in the country, and the hon. Member and his Friends had no opportunity of publicly announcing their intentions. But offers were made to place the Government in possession of their views; and I say the Government would have failed in their duty if they had not adopted these means, or any other means which lay in their power, to ascertain whether it was safe or whether it was right to release those Members. It seems to be the opinion of some hon. Gentlemen that these hon. Members were suffering punishment for offences of which they had been convicted. But that was not the case. They were imprisoned as an administrative act for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of order in Ireland; and when the moment arrived at which, in the opinion of the Government, it was no longer necessary for those purposes that they should be detained in prison, it was the duty of the Government, without any agreement or without any ulterior consideration, to release those Members. There is some difference of opinion between my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department and my right hon. Friend the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenaat with regard to the introduction of what is now known as the Crimes Act. The Secretary of State for the Home Department stated with perfect accuracy that the Government had determined to bring in that measure before the resignation of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. The late Chief Secretary said this evening that he thought no actual decision on the subject had been arrived at in the Cabinet until later. Sir, I think that when my right hon. Friend made that statement he had forgotten what he must be perfectly familiar with—namely, the manner in which these matters are conducted in the Cabinet. The usual course had been taken with regard to these proposals. There is nothing in the nature of a second reading of a Bill in the Cabinet. The usual course is, that when the principle of a measure is accepted, the details in the draft proposed by the responsible Minister are submitted to a Committee of the Cabinet. That was precisely the course taken on the occasion in question. My right hon. Friend made his general proposals, and those proposals were, some time before his resignation and after his resignation, under the consideration of the Committee of the Cabinet. [Mr. W. E. FORSTER dissented.] Sir, I think it is very easy, notwithstanding the opinion of my right hon. Friend, to supply an explanation on this point. My right hon. Friend, at the time in question, on account of the arduous duties which he had to discharge, was frequently absent for a considerable time from London. I am perfectly convinced that a Committee of the Cabinet was appointed before the resignation of my right hon. Friend; and if he was not aware of the fact, it must have been simply because of his absence in Dublin. I, myself, attended a meeting of the Committee, for the further elaboration of the measure to a form very much resembling that in which it was introduced to the House. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That was after the resignation.] I have satisfied myself by inquiries I have made this evening that the Committee was appointed, and that the measure was under the consideration of that Committee before the resignation of my right hon. Friend. I do not wish to impugn the perfect good faith of my right hon. Friend in the statement he has made; but, at the same time, I am of opinion that if there is any disagreement between us at present, it is no doubt attributable to the absence of my right hon. Friend in Ireland. Sir, it is alleged that the Prime Minister had announced in this House the intention of postponing the introduction of the measure referred to, until the Rules of Procedure had been decided upon. No doubt, that decision was announced by my right hon. Friend to the House, and I think it is a decision not at all likely to cause surprise to any one who reflects upon the disposition of Parties at that time. I should like to know what chance there would have been of passing the Crimes Act in this House, without the adoption of some alteration in the Rules of Procedure? It is true that the measure was passed without an alteration of the Rules; but the House must recollect the impression—the tremendous impression—made upon itself and upon the whole country by the fearful event of the 6th of May, and that the position of affairs was, in consequence, entirely altered. At the time of that terrible event, the House must recollect that Obstruction was in full force; that there was great dissatisfaction in all parts of the House with the administration in Ireland; that the Bill would have encountered the most vehement and determined opposition on the part of the Irish Members; that it would not have been at all cordially received by many hon. Members below the Gangway, and that it would not have met with anything like the unanimous support of the Party opposite. I would ask them to consider what would then have been the prospect of the speedy passing of such a measure as the Crimes Act, without the adoption of some improvement in the Rules of Procedure. I think many people would say it would be impossible to pass such a measure. I believed then, and I believe now, that one of the chief causes of disorder and opposition to the law in Ireland, was the successful resistance a Party in this House had been able to make to the authority of Parliament itself; and I believe that one of the best steps that could be taken for the pacification of Ireland, and for the restoration of law and order in that country, was to show that the authority of Parliament was paramount. Both for the purpose of passing the Crimes Act, and for the effect to be produced in Ireland, we thought it was very essential that the Rules of Procedure should be discussed by the House. But, Sir, if there is any disposition to doubt that the Government were desirous of urging on the passing of this measure with all possible speed, there is another circumstance I should like to remind the House of. On that very day—the 6th of May—the day of that fearful event in the Phœnix Park, an offer was made to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), that in order, if possible, to facilitate and expedite the progress of the Procedure Rules, with the view of approaching the consideration of our Irish Business, in which this very measure was included, we were willing, in spite of our opinions, to modify the Rule with regard to the closure of debate, and to concede the Amendment to be moved by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). That offer was made to the right hon. Baronet, with the view, and solely with the view, of enabling the House to come at once to the consideration of our Irish policy, the policy of which this Bill was an essential part. Well, Sir, I regret that I have been compelled to detain the House so long; but one more matter was referred to by my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster), on which I must say a word. My right hon. Friend seems to doubt the administrative changes in regard to the Police and Constabulary which have been referred to by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and my right hon. Friend, I regret to observe, seems to think that what has fallen from the Secretary of State may produce some feelings of dissatisfaction and discouragement in the minds of the Irish Constabulary and the Metropolitan Police. I do not think my right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State uttered one word which could be calculated to produce that effect. We have never made, and never thought it necessary to propose, any change with regard to the officers or men either of the Constabulary or Metropolitan Police Forces. We fully relied on their loyalty, their zeal, and their good conduct. All that we have done with regard to them is to give them those rewards and to make those improvements in their position they had amply earned. No change was made, and we did not consider any change was necessary, in the organization of the Police Forces; but, without wishing to cast the slightest imputation upon the zeal or the ability of the commanding officers of those Forces, the Irish Government has taken a step which is often taken in military operations by the General commanding. Changes have been made in the superior officers, both of the Constabulary and of the Metropolitan Police Forces, and the opinion is that those changes have conduced to that efficiency which has produced the present result. Further than that, a distinct change has been made. The Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was at all times over-burdened with work, and he had not sufficient time to devote proper attention to the business and management of the police and the detection of crime. The Government have appointed an Assistant Under Secretary for Police and Crime. who has relieved the Under Secretary of all the details of this class of work, only a general superintendence being left to the Under Secretary. This Assistant Under Secretary has immediately under his supervision the Dublin Police Force and the Irish Constabulary. The appointment of this officer has no doubt greatly tended to the benefit of the whole Police Service, and it has been an administrative change of no small importance. The ability which has been brought to the discharge of his duties by Mr. Jenkinson, has been no smaller than the success which has lately attended the efforts for the detection and the punishment of crime. These are administrative changes of no slight importance, and the Government take credit for the effect produced by those changes. I am sorry I have been obliged to trespass upon the time and patience of the House so long, and, in conclusion, I will simply ask the House what course it proposes to take with regard to this Amendment? The Amendment appears to me to be a somewhat singular one, and one brought forward at a somewhat singular time. The two great Parties in this House are agreed that, in the main, during nine months of considerable difficulty, during events of grave importance, the Administration of Ireland has been well and efficiently and ably conducted; but, notwithstanding this fact, we are about to be asked to pass a Motion which will, if carried, have the effect of removing this Administration from Office, and which, whether it be carried or not, cannot fail to weaken to a certain extent the hands of that Administration. Sir, it is indeed remarkable that during the period of nine months that we have passed through, the great Party opposite could find nothing in the condition and state of Ireland to which to call the attention of the House. The transactions alleged to have taken place nine months ago were not challenged at the time, and would not have been challenged now but for certain revelations which have just been made. There is in this Motion a reference, a veiled and covered reference, a reference by innuendo, to the transactions of nine months ago, and I trust and believe that the House will not assent to, but will, on the contrary, by a large majority, resent the attempt to impute to Her Majesty's Government any misconduct in regard to those transactions.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Parnell.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I presume, Sir, that the Government do not intend to object to the adjournment of the debate, and that we shall, therefore, have to resume and conclude this discussion when we meet again to-morrow. I should have been glad if we could have completed the discussion this evening. I think it would have been very convenient if we could have done so; but it is impossible not to feel that the very important speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) imported considerations into this debate which render it not unreasonable that it should be carried further. I only wish to say two things at this moment. In the first place, I think the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) has rather unfairly commented upon what he considers the delay on the part of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House in challenging the proceedings of last May. The position taken up by us in not challenging those proceedings by a formal vote was taken on grounds and considerations of expediency, and out of regard for the national interests. We felt that, however open the conduct of the Government might be to remark, it was not right, under the peculiar circumstances of that time, to bring forward any Motion on the subject. The circumstances have now changed, and not only so, but a great flood of light has been thrown on the business both by what has been going on in Dublin, and by such speeches and revelations as those we have listened to to-night. We shall be prepared, in the fullest manner, to accept the challenge which the noble Marquess has thrown out. Independently altogether of this debate, I shall take the opportunity to-morrow of stating the manner in which we propose to meet that challenge.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) has said he will be prepared to-morrow to meet the challenge of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). He received the challenge on the 16th of May. The House will remember that when the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour)——

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Mr. Speaker, I rise to Order. I wish, Sir, to draw your attention to the new Rule, passed at the instance of Her Majesty's Government last November, which provides, I think, subject to your ruling, that on a Motion for the adjournment, the debate shall be strictly confined to the matter of such adjournment. I submit to you, Sir, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department was not making any remarks that had the remotest connection with the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) made observations to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department is now replying. I do not consider he is thereby infringing the Rules of the House.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I imagine that the new Rules are not altogether devoid of the principle of rectitude. I know the opinion which the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) entertains of the new Rules, and I am surprised he did not rise to Order when his Leader—or shall I call him his Follower—was addressing the House. ["Oh, oh!"] I think I have a right to say that. Sir, I do not wish to detain the House long, and therefore I will only say the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) has anticipated the speech he is going to make to-morrow. He has said that a debate has been challenged upon this point. [*Interruption.*] I am calling attention to a matter of fact.

MR. CALLAN: I rise to Order. I have to ask you, Mr. Speaker, if the Secretary of State for the Home Department is now confining himself to the strict terms of the Motion for the adjournment of the debate?

MR. SPEAKER: I have already said that the right hon. Gentleman is not, in my opinion, out of Order.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope, out of respect to the Chair, that we shall have no further interruption. [*Interruption.*]

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. and learned Gentleman is in possession of the House.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I will not detain the House two minutes. I only wish to make a few observations upon what the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) has said. He said that we had challenged a discussion on this matter. I desire to say that the Prime Minister did distinctly challenge a discussion on this matter on the 16th of May. When the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) moved the adjournment on this question, it was pointed out by the Prime Minister that that was not a proper manner in which to bring it to issue. The right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition did not accept the method offered, stating that he would not take up the question at that time, owing to the gravity of the position of Irish affairs. Well, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman and hon. Members who sit behind him, whether they think there is no gravity in the position of Irish affairs now? Do they believe that the gravity of Irish affairs is less serious at this moment than it was at that period; and I would ask them whether they do not think——

Mr. GORST: I rise to Order. I would ask you, Sir, whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman is entitled to go into these matters?

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is now transgressing the Rule.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

ISLE OF MAN (HARBOURS) BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to make further provision for taking dues for repairing and improving the Harbours in the Isle of Man."—(*Mr. John Holms.*)

Mr. WARTON said, he wished to ask whether the consent of the Governor and the House of Keys had been obtained to this measure, and whether the expenditure would fall on the local Exchequer? The island was already £350,000 in debt owing to extravagant administration.

Mr. J. HOLMS: This Bill is brought in at the instance of the Governor and the House of Keys of the Isle of Man. The expenditure will not fall upon the local Exchequer; indeed, the Bill is for the purpose of avoiding additional taxation on the island. I will enter into a full explanation of its provisions on the second reading.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution *reported:*—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. John Holms and Mr. Chamberlain.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 101.]

CANALS.

Select Committee *appointed,* "to inquire into the condition and the position of the Canals and internal Navigation of the Country, to report thereupon, and to make such recommendations as may appear necessary."—(*Mr. Salt.*)

PRINTING.

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the Printing executed by Order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for Printing, Returns and Papers presented in pursuance of Motions made by Members of this House:—Mr. Leonard Courtney, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Rowland Winn, Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Parnell, and Colonel Tottenham.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (CLOSING OF PUBLIC HOUSES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Carbutt, Bill to close Public Houses on the day of the Parliamentary Election, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Carbutt, Mr. Arthur Pease, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Burt, and Mr. O'Connor Power.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 102.]

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Select Committee *nominated* on Public Accounts:—Sir Walter Barttelot, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Gorst, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Laing, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Charles Mills, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Seely, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson, and Mr. Shaw:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records.

COUNTY COURTS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. NORWOOD, Bill to extend the Jurisdiction of the County Courts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER, Mr. ROWLEY HILL, and Sir EARDLEY WILMOT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 103.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 23rd *February*, 1883.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881.

RESOLUTION.

LORD WAVENEY rose to call the attention of her Majesty's Government to resolutions adopted at a meeting of tenant right delegations in the Province of Ulster, and to move that resolutions 2 and 3 be incorporated in an Act supplementary to the Land Act, 1881.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE, interposing, said, he rose to make an appeal to his noble Friend (Lord Waveney), of which he had given him private Notice. He was sorry he was not able to give the noble Lord longer Notice; but he did not feel entirely to blame in the matter, because he understood that the words of the resolutions to which the noble Lord desired to draw attention had only a short time ago appeared on the Notice Paper of the House. They had only come to his knowledge two hours ago, and when he saw their form he was astonished, and felt that it would not be desirable to discuss them at the present time. Those resolutions were as follows:—

Resolutions moved at Land Conference in Belfast, Friday, 26th January 1883.

"First.—That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is incumbent on the Government at the assembling of Parliament to bring forward a measure, and have it passed with the least possible delay, amending the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, in the following respects:—

1. To effectually protect the tenant against any rent being charged upon the value of his tenant-right or improvements:
2. To provide that the judicial rent shall commence on the gale-day next after the date of the application to the Court:
3. To enable leaseholders to come under the Act of 1881, and to have a fair rent fixed:
4. To define town parks, and limit their exclusion from the Land Act to proper cases:
5. To improve the purchase clauses, enabling the Land Commissioners to advance the whole of the purchase money, payable by instalments extending when required over a period up to sixty years, and at proportionately reduced rate of interest; as we believe the permanent solution of the Irish Land question can only be attained through the occupier becoming the owner of the soil:

Second.—That all unnecessary restrictions on the sale and transfer of property in land should be removed, and a system of easy and simple registration of ownership in each county established:

Third.—That the gross abuses so long existing under the present grand jury system demand the immediate attention of the Government; and this Conference declares that in any new scheme of county government, the county boards must be elected by the direct voices of the ratepayers voting by ballot; and that, in addition to county boards, provincial councils shall be established for determining, amongst other things, all such local matters as are now dealt with by tedious and expensive private legislation:

Fourth.—That this Conference deplores and condemns the violence and outrage which have stained the country, and urges upon all citizens to aid in the prevention of crime and the restoration of peace and industry:

Fifth.—That, for the purpose of securing prompt and concerted action in regard to all questions affecting the interests of the farmers of Ulster, a committee be formed, to consist of five representatives from each county in Ulster, nominated by the several tenant-right associations."

The appeal he had to make to the noble Lord was not to move the resolutions, and for this reason. There had of late been some very striking controversies on Irish questions, and facts had come to light which showed that the state of the country was extremely serious. In these circumstances they had heard repeated appeals from individual Ministers, that Ireland should be allowed some calm and tranquillity, in order that the country might have a chance of reverting to a state of peace and tranquillity. It appeared to him that the discussion of the resolutions referred to by his noble Friend would not serve any useful purpose at the present moment, and would form, outside their Lordships' House, the subject of comments which might increase the difficulty of the task of those who were responsible for the peace of Ireland. There were other points he might go into, but he would refrain from doing so. He therefore asked his noble Friend whether, in the present grave condition of Ireland, keeping in view the necessity of giving that country some rest from agitation, he thought it wise to propose the Motion on the Notice Paper—a Motion which must tend to foster and strengthen agitation?

LORD WAVENEY said, he thought it was fortunate that his noble Friend had made that appeal, because he was thus given an opportunity of clearing the ground for the consideration of the question at large. In regard to the opportunities their Lordships had had of considering the subject, it would be recollected that some 48 hours ago a noble Lord put a Question to him as to the particular form in which he intended to bring forward his Motion, and he had replied that he should stand on certain resolutions. He regretted the state of things in the House of Commons, and in Ireland; but it appeared to him that the discussion could not very well be postponed. He knew the feelings and sentiments of the tenant right associations which met on the occasion in question, and he was sorry that he could not meet the views of his noble Friend in the way he desired. He, however, only intended to move two of the resolutions, the second and third of the first branch; and he might point out that there was a discussion on Irish affairs upon the Address to the Throne.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR rose to Order. The Notice as printed did not apply to the measure of which the noble Lord spoke. The Notice mentioned resolutions 1 and 2; whereas the noble Lord now referred to the sub-sections 2 and 3, and it did not appear that they corresponded with the intention of the noble Lord.

LORD WAVENEY said, what he proposed to do was to call the attention of the House to the resolutions on the Paper as a whole, the whole having been considered by the delegations; but he only intended to move that those numbered 2 and 3 should be additions to the legislation on the subject.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that the noble Lord proposed to call attention to resolutions passed at a meeting of tenant right delegations in the Province of Ulster. That might be very well; but it would be perfectly out of Order to move that resolutions 2 and 3 should be incorporated in an Act. That would be legislation.

LORD WAVENEY said, he was at a loss to see how he should be out of Order in making the Motion he was about to propose. The Motion only referred to a desire for legislation by the Government in the usual way.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he believed the noble Lord did not understand the objection taken by the noble Earl. Any Member of the House had the privilege of laying a Bill on the Table and moving its first reading; but it was a different thing to move that certain resolutions be incorporated in an Act.

LORD WAVENEY said, that when he had proceeded with his Motion, any noble Lord might move that he should proceed no further. He conceived that it would be of very great importance that the resolutions should be placed before the country through the Legislature. He had observed with very great regret that the most important Province of Ireland seemed to have fallen almost entirely out of the purview and knowledge of the people of this country. They heard enough of the people of other Provinces who had objects tending, almost without exception, to disturb the public peace, or, at all events, to advance the objects of the promoters in a way that their Lordships could not approve. It was, therefore, that he desired to call attention to these resolutions as tending to the improvement of legislation. The 1st was—

> "That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is incumbent on the Government at the assembling of Parliament to bring forward a measure, and have it passed with the least possible delay, amending the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, in the following respects:—1. To effectually protect the tenant against any rent being charged upon the value of his tenant-right or improvements."

The Conference to which reference was made was a very important one. It took place in the large Province of Ulster—a Province which did not often come under the view of the people of this country. The delegations came from the eight counties, and represented many tenant right associations. The resolutions approved by that Conference might elsewhere have been of an agitating and disturbing character, and might have drawn forth expressions of hostility to the Government and to this country; but no syllable of the kind was whispered on the occasion to which he referred. The tenant right associations met, they listened with attention to what was said, and they decided with judgment. The 1st resolution was simply an expression of opinion on the part of these associations. But he now came to points which he hoped he might hear now or later in the Session would be added to the list of subjects of additional legislation for Ireland. The object of the 2nd resolution was

> "To provide that the judicial rent shall commence on the gale-day next after the date of the application to the Court."

All in Ulster to whom he had spoken considered that this was equitable; and he would observe that, if this principle were not followed, a landlord would get more than he was entitled to, and the tenant would have to pay more than was just. The next resolution, the object of which was to enable leaseholders to come under the Act of 1881, and to have a fair rent fixed, comprehended more than might at first sight appear. With regard to leaseholders simply there was no great difficulty. But there was another class in which the case was not quite so simple. Let them take, for example, a Corporation having land in Ireland, which they had administered for nearly 300 years, and one to which Ireland was greatly indebted for the spread of knowledge and science—he meant Trinity College. It had been found necessary for the Corporation of Trinity College, like other Corporations, to delegate a large part of their power to middlemen. The very name of "middleman" was a word of evil omen, because the middlemen had in too many instances shown a disposition to abuse their powers; but that was not the case with those who administered under these great Corporations. The property of Trinity College, Dublin, consisted of something like 300,000 acres, in three counties. The custom of the administration of this property remained unchanged till the year 1851, when an Act was passed defining and regulating the whole of the custom, and the *toties quoties* clause of this Act established a continual chain of responsibility and liability from the College to their immediate grantees, and from the grantees to the sub-tenants. Now, the land being leasehold, the grantee was outside the operation of the Land Act and, while the sub-tenant had all the advantage of that measure, suffered a double loss from the reduction of the tenant's rent by the Court and the increase of his own rent and fine in consequence of the rise of prices. For example, in 1850 the rent and fine of a particular property was £821; in 1851 prices rose, and the rent rose with them to £951; in 1866, under the influence of the same rise in prices, the rent rose to £1,128, and by the year 1876 it had become £1,241; the total increase in 21 years being 32 per cent. Thus, while the sub-rents were being reduced by the Commission, the head rents were being steadily increased by the rise in prices. The reasonable conclusion was that such leases ought to come under the operation of the Act. The other resolutions related to the better defining of town parks; the question of the improvement of the Purchase Clauses of the Act; the removal of unnecessary restrictions on the sale and transfer of land, with respect to which he believed that everyone was agreed; the reform of the Grand Jury system; the scheme for county government, on which points he need say nothing; and a warm condemnation of outrages and violence, the expression of which well became the farmers of Ulster. He desired to place on record his opinion as to the action that he deemed to be essential; and he believed it to be essential that two points omitted in the Land Act should be attended to—namely, the commencement of judicial rent and the placing of leaseholders under the Act of 1881. It would be enough if a measure consisted of these two clauses only. They would be accepted as evidence of the determination of the Government to fill up any blanks in our legislation. It was not to be expected, considering all the difficulties of the question, that the Land Act should have been perfect at first. He believed in the honesty and sincerity of the men who approved the Resolutions which he desired to press upon the attention of the House.

Moved, "That resolutions 2 and 3 be incorporated in an Act supplementary to the Land Act, 1881."—(*The Lord Waveney.*)

The Earl of LEITRIM said, he only became aware of this Motion on Wednesday, and on deciding to speak upon that part of the noble Lord's Motion which referred to Trinity College, Dublin, he at once telegraphed to the College to inform the Board of his intention, with the object that they might be represented by their Chancellor, who had a seat in their Lordships' House. The statement he desired to make, and which he had wished should be an *ex parte* one, was on the subject of the Trinity College leases. The tenure of the land held under that Corporation was somewhat peculiar and complex. The perpetuity leases embraced about 158,000 acres and about 41 immediate tenants of the College, with a rental of about £33,000. The perpetuity tenants had under them perpetuity sub-tenants, who had again perpetuity sub-tenants under them, and under them again were tenants-at-will, who were subject to the operations of the Land Act of 1881. But this condition of things did not prevail upon all the College estates, and in his own case there was only himself between the College and 800 odd tenants. Prior to 1851 the properties were held under leases of 21 years, which were renewable every year on the payment of a fine of 5*s*. 6*d*. on every pound of rent. As far back as the Reign of Charles I. an Act of Parliament was passed to bind the College not to let their lands at less than half their letting value. Now, before he passed on from this, he begged particularly to draw their Lordships' attention to the fact that at that early date the letting value, and not less than half that, was to be the test of their rents. How could that letting value be ascertained? It could only be ascertained by the amount that their sub-tenants paid to them. Well, then, again in the Reign of George III. another Act was passed in the interests of the tenants, and of the College as well, to enable the College to take less rent than half the letting value from their tenants, provided that that rent should not be less than the rent paid during the preceding 20 years. The next and the last time that Parliament intervened was in 1851, and the cause of the intervention was that while the tenants were paying the College their yearly rents they were unable to pay the yearly fine of 5*s*. 6*d*. in the pound. During the years of famine from 1846 to 1848 they had difficulty enough to live. And the result of their ceasing to pay was, that the Board and senior Fellows, so to speak, were starving, the fines being the chief source of their income. On his grandfather's estate the fines were three years in arrear. In 1849, in response to an appeal from the College, the Government gave powers to the Board for a period of two years to pay themselves out of the general funds of the College. That the College did not see the propriety of communicating with the tenants before appealing to the Government excited grave suspicions in the minds of the tenants, who immediately represented to the Government that the change would destroy the security of their tenure, inasmuch as the dependence of the Board upon their renewal fines would be a perpetual motive for their renewing their leases. The tenants relied on the two Acts of Parliament to which he had referred, and they also relied on the good faith of the College, which had always declared that the tenants' interests and improvements should be respected. He supposed they relied most of all upon the guarantee of the self-interest of the Board, who were dependent upon these renewal fines. It was hardly to be expected that the tenants would relinquish this substantial and almost perpetual guarantee without receiving some further security in return. On these representations of the tenants, the Government of the day, when Lord Clarendon was Lord Lieutenant, very justly only gave temporary powers to the Board to pay themselves out of the general funds of the College, and in the meantime the Government determined to investigate the matter and to decide upon legislation. The result of the investigation was the Act of 1851, under which 21 years' leases could be converted into perpetuities in consideration of the payment of a certain sum annually in addition to the rent and renewal fine, which was arrived at by a notarial calculation. The Act also provided that the rents should afterwards be settled at the end of every decennial period according to the increase or decrease in the price of the following commodities:—wheat, oats, beef, mutton, and butter, whereas all valuations of land in Ireland had up to that time included four other commodities—namely, barley potatoes, flax, and pork. The Act made the rents of the *toties quoties* sub-tenants liable to revision under the same system, but was silent as to the yearly sub-tenants, obviously because the immediate or intermediate tenant could, in the then state of the law, raise their rents if he thought fit. The absurdity of the standard fixed by the Act was shown by the circumstance that on a large estate in the county of Donegal, consisting of 28,700 acres, there was not a single bushel of wheat grown, and yet that was one of the commodities specified for the raising or lowering of the rent. It was also provided by the Act that the party who called upon the other for a revision of rent should bear the cost of the arbitration. There was nothing to complain of in the spirit of the Act, but how had it worked? The perpetuities having been taken out, 10 happy years slipped away, but after that there were no more happy days for the tenants. His predecessor in title was the first tenant who was called upon by the College to pay an increased rent, and the arbitrators ascertained in 1863 that in nine of the principal towns in Ireland the commodities showed a rise of no less than 34 per cent on the perpetuity rents arrived at 10 years previously. In these circumstances, the tenant very wisely compromised for a rise of only 25 per cent. How was that arrived at? The arbitration cost the College £3,000. What would be the effect upon the exchequer of the tenant who claimed to have an abatement of rent—supposing even that prices shrunk, whereas it was well-known that they did not shrink—in the case of the exceptional commodities named in the Act? The College was compelled to pay £3,000, and would retort upon the tenant to make him prove again before the arbitrator, and put him to the expense of £3,000 at least—perhaps more. That would be practically ruinous to the tenant. What was the effect on the College? They were not going again to be mulcted in costs? So, when the decennial period of other tenants expired, they wrote to say that they could prove that there had been an increase in the value of land of 34 per cent, but that if the tenants would admit a rise in prices to the extent of 20 per cent, and save the College the expenses of an arbitration, they would agree to accept an increase of only 20 per cent, instead of 25 per cent, as in the case of another tenant. There was, of course, nothing for it but to accept that offer. The perpetuity tenants were, of course, entitled to demand from their sub-perpetuity tenants a proportionate increase. The perpetuity tenants were gentlemen living on their own properties, and they knew more about the condition of the land and of their sub-tenants than the Board of Trinity College could know. It was only fair to say that they did not exact a proportionate increase of rent from their sub-tenants, but only such an increase as would compensate them for the increased amount which they had to pay to Trinity College. The second decennial period arrived in May, 1876. The College stated that there had been an increase in value of 22 per cent, but that if the tenants would signify in writing their consent to an award that would give an increase of 10 per cent, the Board would consent to remit such increase for the first three years. The 10 per cent rise had not yet been exacted, but the liability remained, and was still maintained by the Board. How could land be properly developed under such a tenure, or satisfactory settlements with sub-tenants be arrived at? Then the Land Act of 1881 was passed, and the Commissioners decided that there had been a great depreciation of the value of land. Yet the College continued to exact in one case 25, in all others 20 per cent of rent above the rents of 1863. The depreciation was brought before the Board, and the tenants asked for a reduction corresponding to the depreciation in the value of land; but their answer was that there had been no such depreciation in the value of land as to justify the reductions of the Commissioners. But the evidence given by their own valuer before the Commission showed that in Kerry the value of land had decreased of late years by 25 per cent. Moreover, on their own estates, where perpetuity tenants were not concerned, the College had made abatement of rents to a larger amount than 25 per cent. In the case of perpetuity tenants, however, they denied that there had been any reduction in the value of land, and they held those unhappy tenants to their bond. He was afraid that he had gone a great length into this very dry, but to those concerned a deeply interesting, subject. As an illustration of the result of the action of the College with regard to one of their Kerry estates, he might say that the judicial rents were now 25 per cent below the pre-perpetuity rents. Yet on that estate the College had demanded an increase of 20 per cent on the old head rent. In Donegal, again, the College was demanding an increase in the pre-perpetuity head rent of 32 per cent, while the Sub-Commissioners were fixing the rents of the under-tenants at only 9 per cent above their pre-perpetuity rents. These facts were likely to be made still more startling by the future decisions of the Sub-Commissioners. In conclusion, he wished to point out that the Government had incurred a grave responsibility in this matter, inasmuch as the position of the tenants with regard to the College was arrived at entirely through the action of the Government of Lord Clarendon with respect to the Act of 1851, which had entirely broken down in its working.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, he doubted whether the oldest inhabitant of their Lordships' House had ever listened to speeches which were more irregular in their character than the two which had just been delivered. The speech of the noble Earl who had just sat down was founded upon the Notice of Motion of the noble Lord behind him (Lord Waveney), which occupied a whole page of their Lordships' Paper, and was certainly of a most unusual kind, and which the noble Earl had used for the purpose of bringing forward the grievances which with great pains he had just laid before the House. The noble Lord's Notice of Motion, which was probably an historical event, contained a number of resolutions which had been adopted at a public meeting in Ireland, and called upon that House to embody them in an Act of Parliament—a method of legislating which, he heard from a high authority, our ancestors were in the habit of adopting. Upon that Notice the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Leitrim) had founded his own statement, which, if he understood it rightly, was simply a statement of his own personal grievance.

THE EARL OF LEITRIM: No, no.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): Well, the grievance of an eminent middleman under Trinity College, Dublin, who, perhaps, wished to avail himself of the benefits of the Land Act.

THE EARL OF LEITRIM: No, no.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): Well, that was, at all events, a feeble attempt on his part to guess at the drift of the noble Earl's observations. In doing that the noble Earl had taken a course which was very much opposed to his own interests, and one which was very unjust to the great body he attacked. It had been painful to listen to some portions of the noble Earl's address, which had been so elaborately prepared under circumstances in which it could be of no use to himself, and was unjust to Trinity College, Dublin. It so happened that that morning he (Lord Carlingford) had received a large document from an official of Trinity College, Dublin, with a letter which stated that the noble Earl was about to make an attack upon the College in that House; but, finding no announcement to that effect upon the Notice Paper, he had put the document on one side, as it had never occurred to him for one moment that this attack was to be made under cover of the noble Lord's Notice. In these circumstances he must plead utter inability to go into the matter. As to the Motion of his noble Friend (Lord Waveney), he hoped he would excuse him if he followed him in very few words indeed; and for this reason, that he absolutely refused on the present occasion to go into the merits of any one of all these points enumerated in the Notice Paper. He was not quite sure whether the noble Lord invited the Government to legislate on all those points, or only on one or two. If all the resolutions enumerated by the noble Lord were to be incorporated in a Statute it would be one of the most colossal Acts of Parliament ever passed. To deal with one or two of the resolutions only would make a large demand upon the time of Parliament, and the controversies that would arise would probably occupy a large part of the Session. Into the merits of the noble Lord's proposals it was not at present his business to enter; but this he would say, and it was the one point of agreement he had with his noble Friend, that the body from which the resolutions emanated was one eminently worthy of the respect of that House. He heartily agreed with his noble Friend as to the excellent spirit in which the tenantry of Ulster put their proposals before Parliament and the Government, and it was evident, on the face of it, that these proposals, whatever they might think of them on their merits, had on them the stamp of perfect loyalty and a thoroughly Constitutional spirit. That was a fact which in Ireland in the case of a great public meeting dealing with the burning subject of the Land Laws all should recognize, as he himself did; but beyond that he was not able to go. He did not for a moment intend to contradict the statement of his noble Friend that such an exceptionally difficult Act of Parliament as the Irish Land Act could not be supposed to be *totus teres atque rotundus*, and that it might some day require correction. The Government, however, were not now prepared to introduce such legislation as the noble Lord advocated. If they were to attempt to do so, it would be absolutely impossible to limit the time which would have to be devoted to the subject. He trusted that the noble Lord, now that he had done justice to his friends in the county of Antrim, would refrain from asking their Lordships to come to any decision upon the matter before them.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he did not propose to make any remarks with respect to the substantive proposals of the noble Lord opposite. If they had been made in any serious spirit, and with any prospect of being brought to a definite issue, he imagined that the Benches of their Lordships' House would hardly have been so denuded of tenants. The Motion referred to some very burning Irish questions, and whenever those questions should come before Parliament, they must be the subject of very serious consideration. But with respect to what the noble Earl near him (the Earl of Leitrim) had said in reference to Trinity College, he might state that he had received a telegram from his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns), which said that it was unfair and irregular to make an attack on Trinity College without sufficient Notice, and that he would be ready to meet any Motion which the noble Earl should choose to make after due Notice given on the Paper. The noble Earl had dealt with documents and figures relating to the lands of Trinity College, and to the occupiers and leaseholders and middlemen connected with them, but into these he did not propose now to enter. The noble Earl should repeat his arguments in the presence of the Chancellor of Trinity College (Earl Cairns), giving due Notice of his intention to do so.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES), said, he concurred with the Lord Privy Seal as to the character of the speeches delivered by the noble Lords. He must protest against the irregular way in which the subject had been brought before the House, especially when, as he understood, there was an Act of Parliament specially affecting the lands of Trinity College in force. If any alterations were desired, a Bill should be introduced. He supposed the Trinity College rent was something in the nature of what might be called a quit rent, or something of that sort.

THE EARL OF LEITRIM: No, no.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the Motion of the noble Lord (Lord Waveney) could not be put in its present form.

LORD WAVENEY said, he reserved to himself the right of bringing in a Bill dealing with the subject, if it should appear to be desirable; they should not wait on events, but make events wait for events, especially when they had opportunities there which the other House did not possess. He begged to withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

* * *

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 23rd February, 1883.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolution in Committee*—Consolidated Fund, &c. [Permanent Charges Redemption]*.

First Reading—Marriage (Hours of Solemnization) * [104].

NOTICE OF MOTION.

MR. PARNELL, M.P., &c. (RELEASE FROM KILMAINHAM).

NOTICE FOR APPOINTMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I beg to give Notice that on an early day I shall move—

> "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into all the negotiations and circumstances connected with the release of Mr. Parnell, M.P., Mr. Dillon, M.P., and Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., from Kilmainham Prison, in the spring of 1882, and to report thereon to the House."

I shall move that the Committee be nominated by the Committee of Selection, and shall have power to examine witnesses upon oath; and I propose on Monday to ask the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) whether he can fix a day for the discussion.

QUESTIONS.

LUNACY LAWS—SEIZURE OF THOMAS HARRISON, A LUNATIC.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is a fact that, on the 9th June last, Thomas Harrison, formerly an inmate of Cheadle Lunatic Asylum, near Manchester, was illegally seized and lodged in the police cells in Glasgow by a person said to be an attendant from that institution; whether the attendant was officially warned by one of the sheriffs substitute of Lanarkshire that he had acted illegally in attempting to re-arrest Harrison without a warrant, and whether a similar official communication was made by the same Judge to the Police authorities; whether it is true that, on the 15th June, Harrison was decoyed by a forged note to the office of his law agent, and, on leaving it, was seized without warrant by persons supposed to be attendants from the Cheadle Lunatic Asylum, and forcibly and illegally carried from Glasgow to that asylum; and, whether the Crown authorities have taken any steps to bring to justice the perpetrators of this violation of the Laws of Scotland?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I find, upon inquiry, Sir, that the facts are substantially as indicated in the Question. No complaint was, however, made to the Crown authorities, nor did they become aware that such occurrences had taken place until Notice of this Question was given. It is understood that the persons concerned came from England, and, even assuming the apprehension to have been without legal warrant, the case would appear to be one rather for a civil remedy than for criminal proceedings at the instance of the Crown.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with respect to the case of Thomas Harrison, Whether the facts of Harrison's illegal abduction from Scotland and confinement in Cheadle Asylum were officially communicated to the Lord Chancellor in September last; whether the Lord Chancellor was informed that Harrison had courted a public investigation into his mental condition under the Scottish Law, and that the solicitor assigned to him by the Court, as agent for the poor, had stated that, during his intercourse with him, he had not noticed any symptoms of insanity; and, whether, considering the state of the facts, and the illegality of his arrest, an independent investigation has been, or will be, ordered into Harrison's mental state?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have a note from the secretary to the Lord Chancellor, who says that the Lord Chancellor has no power to discharge a lunatic summarily; but if a person is detained without authority, the proper way to release him is by *habeas corpus.* The Lord Chancellor made inquiry into the present case. It appears that the recapture of Mr. Harrison was effected by the superintendent of Cheadle Asylum, over which the Lord Chancellor has no authority; and, as regards Mr. Harrison himself, the Visitors' Report stated that he was dangerous to himself and others. Since 1877 he was regularly visited.

Dr. CAMERON: In consequence of the answer I have received to this Question, I shall take an early opportunity of drawing the attention of the House to the subject.

THE MINISTRY—EXTRA PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the following statements made by Members of the Ministry:—1. To a statement of the honourable Member for Leeds, at Peebles,

> "That Ireland is in need of radical and drastic reforms . . . . ." and "that the Government of Ireland is as bad as it can be, and one of the worst Governments in Europe:"

2. To a statement of the honourable Member for Liskeard to his constituents,

> "The policy is to separate Egypt from Turkey. The Sultan has not been consulted upon any of the recent actions in Egypt, and you may take it for granted that the Sultan's power over Egypt has gone for ever;"

and, whether these statements accurately represent the views of Her Majesty's Government?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not know, Sir, why the hon. Member has postponed asking the Question for a week after giving Notice of it. With regard to the first part of the Question, what I had to say about the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) I said last night, and I do not think I need repeat my remarks. My attention has been called to the statement of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), which, I believe, is accurately quoted in the Question. The hon. Member will see in the Papers that have been laid upon the Table what views the Government take as to the relations between Egypt and Turkey, and he will be able to judge for himself whether the statements of my hon. Friend accurately represent those views.

MEDICAL ACTS — EXAMINATION FOR MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY, NAVY, AND INDIA.

MR. GIBSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the candidates for medical appointments in the Army, Navy, and India have to give their names and qualifications to the Board of Examiners, instead of being known to the examiners by numbers only, as in almost all other public examinations; whether there is any member of the Board of Examiners with an Irish qualification, or having any connection with Ireland; and, whether, having regard to the dissatisfaction and discontent which exists amongst Irish candidates as to the results of recent examinations, he will either have Ireland represented on the Board of Examiners or else take care that the candidates shall only be known to the examiners by numbers?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that a list of the candidates by name was furnished to each Examiner, but no statement as to their qualifications was given. One of the Examiners was an M.D. of the Dublin University, and the other a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. No expression of dissatisfaction or discontent on the subject had reached the War Office; but it was possible that the Irish candidates practically had a monopoly of the service, owing to the abstention of the English and Scotch schools from sending candidates. No doubt, however, some dissatisfaction existed at the increased competition which the improved prospects of the Department had brought about. He would consider the desirability of having the candidates designated by numbers instead of by names.

ARABI PASHA—CONDITIONS OF DETENTION AT CEYLON.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, in case Arabi and his companions, notwithstanding the undertaking signed by them, endeavour to leave Ceylon, the Governor of that Colony is instructed to prevent their departure?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the Government have no reason to suppose that Arabi or his companions will act otherwise than in conformity with their solemn written undertaking to remain in Ceylon, and no such instructions as suggested in the Question have been given to the Governor; but he has orders, in the very unlikely event of any intention to break their parole being shown, at once to communicate by telegraph with the Colonial Office.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — LONDONDERRY PETTY SESSIONS—MR. O'NEILL.

MR. MACARTNEY asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether the attention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has been directed to the alleged language of a Mr. O'Neill, one of the magistrates sitting at Petty Sessions at Londonderry on Monday, the 5th of February, 1883, who is reported by the "Londonderry Standard" of the following day to have said to a brother magistrate, Mr. M'Vicker, "Man, you have no more conscience than a mad dog;" and, further, to have said "that the Lord Chancellor did not do what he ought to do, or Mr. M'Vicker would not have been there long ago;" and, whether the Government are going to take any steps in the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER), in reply, said, the attention of the Lord Chancellor was directed to the proceedings mentioned, and he had caused a letter to be addressed to Mr. O'Neill. A reply had been received from him expressing deep regret for the use of the language referred to, and giving an undertaking that nothing of the kind should ever occur again. Under the circumstances, and bearing in mind that Mr. O'Neill being an old and very respected magistrate, the Lord Chancellor had not considered it necessary to take any further steps.

NAVY—H.M. YACHT "VICTORIA AND ALBERT."

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If it be correct that Her Majesty's yacht, "Victoria and Albert," is to be repaired; if so, at what cost; and, whether the officers and crew are to be retained on full pay until the vessel is ready for sea, or transferred to some other vessel in Commission?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; it is intended to repair the *Victoria and Albert*. The cost will be about £45,000. The crew will be retained on full pay, and, so far as they are not required for the personal service of Her Majesty, they will be employed on duties connected with the Steam Reserve.

NAVY—NAVAL AUXILIARIES—MERCHANT STEAMERS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, How many steamers of the Mercantile Marine have been registered at the Admiralty as having complied with the regulations necessary for utilizing them as auxiliaries to the Navy; and, what measures have been adopted for supplying them with gunners, guns, torpedoes, and other Naval armour, at home and abroad, when needed?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, 280 steamers have been entered on the official Admiralty register as having complied with the regulations necessary for utilizing them as auxiliaries to the Navy. With regard to my hon. Friend's second Question, I have to say that measures have been adopted for the purpose referred to; but it would be hardly right to state them in detail.

HARBOURS OF REFUGE (EAST COAST) —HARBOUR AT FILEY.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether Her Majesty's Government have come to a decision as to the construction of a harbour of refuge at Filey, on the East Coast?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that as this Question was connected with that of convict labour, he would ask leave to answer it. The hon. Member had probably seen the Report on the subject of harbours as connected with convict labour. There were two harbours recommended—one a work at Dover, and another at Filey, both of them, no doubt, useful works in connection with the question; but the view the Government were disposed to take was, that of those two the work at Dover should be undertaken first.

HARBOURS OF REFUGE—NORTH-EAST COAST OF SCOTLAND.

MR. BAXTER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If, in the event of its being decided to construct, by means of convict labour, a harbour of refuge on the North-East Coast of Scotland, a full and particular inquiry will be instituted before any definite site was selected, and ample opportunity be afforded to the various Memorialists in favour of certain localities of laying their case before Her Majesty's Government?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; I think it desirable that there should be a further inquiry.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT, 1875—SECTION 31, SUB-SECTION 2—THE INDEPENDENT MUTUAL BRETHREN FRIENDLY SOCIETY.

MR. ACLAND asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the contributions of members of Friendly Societies are recoverable in the County Court; and, whether his attention has been called to a circular issued by the Independent Mutual Brethren Friendly Society, threatening members in default that, by section 31, sub-section 2, of "the Friendly Societies Act, 1875," they are liable to be sued in the County Court for the amount due?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the contributions of members of friendly societies are not recoverable in the County Court, being defined by statute as voluntary. My attention was some time ago called to the extraordinary conduct of the Independent Mutual Brethren Society in attempting to extort money by the threat of a section which, in express terms, is confined to a class of societies quite different from their own, and the Treasury took legal advice on the subject; but as the misleading circular was subsequently altered or withdrawn, it did not appear advisable to take legal action.

STATE OF IRELAND—EXTRA POLICE AT KILMALLOCK.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that neither crime nor outrage has taken place in Kilmallock during the last twelve months; if so, why it is that a hut and several extra police are retained there at the expense of the people of that district?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the district has been very free from actual agrarian outrages during the past 12 months, only one having occurred within that period. But there have been, and still continue, serious "Boycotting" and persecution of a man whose life is believed to be in imminent danger, and to secure whose safety the presence of the extra police is absolutely necessary. For this state of things persons belonging to the locality are believed to be mainly responsible, and, of course, must bear the cost, and while it lasts the police cannot be withdrawn.

MR. O'SULLIVAN: Is that in the Kilmallock district? I believe it is another district.

MR. TREVELYAN: It is in the district of Kilmallock.

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE — NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS.

SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the principle of the Procedure Bill, which confers increased jurisdiction over Europeans on certain classes of native magistrates, has been supported by many eminent authorities unconnected with the present Government of India; and whether, before the recent decision was arrived at, the subject had been under consideration for many years?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the extension of the jurisdiction of the Criminal Courts over European British subjects outside the Presidency towns has been under the consideration of the Government of India for many years. The necessity for the extension has been recognized by many eminent authorities unconnected with the present Government of India.

THE IRISH REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND ACT—REPAYMENT OF LOANS AND INSTALMENTS OF LOANS—IRREGULARITIES OF BOARD OF WORKS LOCAL AGENTS.

MR. BLAKE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it be the fact that loans and instalments of loans, under the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act, have been paid in some cases more than three years ago to either the sheriffs or the solicitors employed by the Board of Works in Ireland to recover such amounts, and that the parties who have paid such sums of money are still kept on the Arrear Lists, and returned as defaulters, the sheriffs or the solicitors so employed retaining the money in their possession; and, if so, if he will call on the Board of Works for explanation as to the reason why they allow such remissness and mis-appropriation of money on the part of persons employed by them; and, if he will direct immediate steps to be taken to compel the latter to hand over the money in their possession, and have the names of the people who have paid removed from the Arrear Lists?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, my attention was some time ago directed to the point raised by the hon. Member. Certain local agents of the Board of Works have retained in their hands for an undue period moneys collected for the Reproductive Loan Fund. Efforts have been made to put a stop to this practice; but as they have not hitherto been attended with that success which could be desired, more stringent measures, including, if necessary, legal proceedings, will be adopted. In any case, I will take steps to insure that people who have actually paid should not be subject to the stigma of being branded as defaulters merely because their money has, through no fault of theirs, not yet reached its destination.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

Mr. HENRY TOLLEMACHE asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether, in view of the present outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Ireland, the Privy Council propose to take any measures to restrict the importation of cattle from that Country into Great Britain?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Yes, Sir; we have to-day passed an Order authorizing local authorities in Great Britain to prohibit or regulate the importation of animals into their respective districts from the districts of any local authority in the United Kingdom.

SCIENCE AND ART—THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON TECHNICAL EDUCATION—THE REPORT.

Mr. LEA asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education in Science and Art, with reference to extending the Continental system of practical instruction in Home Industries to Ireland, will be presented to the House?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: During the present Session, Sir.

THE CENSUS RETURNS (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND).

Mr. RYLANDS asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he can explain the cause of delay in the completion of the Census Returns for England and Scotland, the voluminous Returns for Ireland having already been printed and circulated?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, the delay which had taken place was largely due to the great increase of population in England and Scotland.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—MR. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Mr. Timothy Harrington is now undergoing two months' imprisonment for having used the following words in a speech delivered on the 17th December last:—

> "Now I advise the tenant-farmers of this locality to come forward zealously and give a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. The agitation which has been carried on for the last four years will be turned against them if they do not come forward now and assist the labourers in their hour of need. I have learned since I came here, that a great many of the farmers had got a reduction of from 10 to 25 per cent., and they should come forward now and assist the labourers in their hour of need;"

and, if these words did not constitute the offence, will he inform the House what were the words upon which the prisoner was condemned?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the words quoted in the Question are some of those in consequence of which the prosecution in this case was instituted by the Government. The suggestion of directing against a class an agitation of the nature of that which had been carried on for the last few years in Ireland is as clear and dangerous a case of intimidation as could well occur. I may add that an appeal was lodged against the decision of the magistrates, and that the case was completely re-heard before a County Court Judge—who, as the House is aware, is not dependent on the Government, being removable only by an Address from both Houses of Parliament—and the decision of the magistrates was affirmed.

Mr. O'DONNELL: May I ask the Chief Secretary, as this is a case of intimidation against the people of Westmeath, whether the Mr. Harrington referred to in this Question is the same Mr. Harrington who is the only and accepted candidate for the representation of the county of Westmeath, which he is pretended to have intimidated?

Mr. TREVELYAN: So far as we know, he is the same person; but I do not consider that the intimidation is less formidable when it is directed against the large farmers.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if there are any other words for which this gentleman has been condemned, and, if so, whether he will repeat them?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have the words by me, and I can give the whole passage if the hon. Member desires. The Government, in directing the prosecution, has to look in many cases to the general character of the speech, the presumed object for which it was spoken, the place where it was spoken, and its probable effect; but the actual words on which the Crown relied to prove the act of intimidation may, standing by themselves, appear to be comparatively —I only say comparatively—feeble.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT: Will the right hon. Gentleman state the other words relied on?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The passage which attracted the attention of the Government was this—

> "He (Mr. Harrington) had been informed, when inquiring to-day as to the condition of the farmers of Westmeath, that many of them were apathetic towards this National movement, and the reason given was that in Westmeath they held good farms, and were tolerably comfortable. He wished these large and comfortable and apathetic farmers to understand that they were in this condition owing to the efforts made for them by their brethren; and comfortable farmers in Ireland generally must be told that if they did not throw themselves into this movement, they would have the whole force of the labourers' agitation directed against them."

Now, Mr. Harrington is an extremely prominent and formidable person, and the Government at that moment were satisfied from the general state of the country—as I shall prove this evening—that if it was necessary to make an example, it was necessary to make one of some formidable man.

Mr. PARNELL: I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has heard, since he has held the Office of Chief Secretary, of any single crime being committed in Ireland that was due to the labourers' agitation?

Mr. O'DONNELL: Why has the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary omitted from his quotation from the speech of Mr. Harrington the following sentences:—

> "I have learnt since I came to town to-day, that reductions ranging from 10 to 25 per cent have been made to those farmers. If that is the truth, I call on them to exercise the commonest sentiments of gratitude, and to give to the men who have worked in the agitation for them a fair share in the results."

Is that a part of the case for the Crown?

[No answer was given to this Question.]

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — PARLIAMENTARY OATHS ACT (1866) AMENDMENT BILL.

Mr. SCHREIBER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, considering the great importance of the Affirmation Bill, he will arrange that its Second Reading be not taken until the First Lord of the Treasury is able to attend in his place in Parliament?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend will, I hope, be in his place in the House in the course of next week, and I do not think that there is any probability of the second reading of the Affirmation Bill being taken before then.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — THE QUEEN'S COUNTY.

Mr. MARUM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When an appointment of Her Majesty's Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of and for the Queen's County will be made; and, whether, in the selection thereof, regard will be had to the circumstance that, at present, there are but nine Roman Catholic magistrates out of seventy-nine on the roll of justices in a county where eighty-six per cent. of the population are of that persuasion?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In reply, I have to say that the Lord Lieutenant has already appointed Lord De Vesci to the offices named.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND).

Mr. BLAKE asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, How much of the £13,000 proposed to be put in the present year's Estimates for Fishery Harbours on the Irish Coast is intended for new works; how much for the completion of harbours in progress; and if any portion will be devoted to make good any sum over expended on piers or harbours in progress or lately completed; and, if so, on what works; and, if any portion, and, if so, how much, of this £13,000 is included in the £45,000 voted by Parliament under "The Relief of Distress (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1881?"

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, a sum of £3,250 will be available for absolutely new works; the remainder of the £13,000 being devoted to works in various stages of progress. No part of the £13,000 is included in the sum of £45,000 sanctioned in 1880; but a small sum (£750) out of it will be spent in additions to two piers built out of that grant, and forms part of the provision for works in progress.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Will any portion of the sum named by the hon. Gentleman be devoted to the works at Arklow?

Mr. COURTNEY: Oh, yes.

THE MINISTRY—EXTRA PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES—SPEECH OF MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE AT LEEDS.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether it is the intention of the Government to institute a prosecution against the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone)—["Oh!"]—for the following act of intimidation? [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Eye appears to be trifling with the House.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I have no wish to do that, Sir. I will put the Question in another form. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his attention has been called to a speech of the hon. Member for Leeds in which he stated that the Irish landlords were chiefly responsible for the present condition of the country; and that if they would even now join the national movement—the national movement is the point to which I wish especially to call attention—the Irish question would be settled in a year?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the hon. Member for Leeds spoke in England, where anybody is at liberty to make any speech he likes, provided he does not break the public peace.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SEVENTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [20th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February.]—[See page 98.]

And which Amendment was,

> In paragraph 10, line 4, to leave out from the word "upheld," to the end of the paragraph, in order to insert the words "and we venture to express our earnest hope that the change of policy which has produced these results will be maintained, and that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's Rule, by concessions to lawless agitation; and that the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country will continue to be met by unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive,"—(*Mr. Gorst,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. PARNELL: Sir, I wish to intervene for a very short while, and to a very limited extent, in this debate. In doing so, I can assure the House—and I may venture to make the assurance with the greatest possible respect, although some people may think it not a very respectful assurance to make, but still I make it with the greatest possible respect—I can assure the House that it is not from any belief that anything I can say, or wish to say at this time, will have the slightest effect on the public opinion of the House, or upon the public opinion of this country. I have been accustomed, during my political life, to rely upon the public opinion of those whom I have desired to help, and with whose aid I have worked for the cause of prosperity and freedom in Ireland; and the utmost that I desire to do, in the very few words which I shall address to this House, is to make my position clear, to the Irish people at home and abroad, from the unjust aspersions which have been cast upon me by a man who ought to be ashamed to have devoted—["Oh, oh!"]—who ought to be ashamed, I say, to have devoted his high ability to the task of traducing me. I do not intend to reply to the questions of the right hon. Gentleman. ["Oh, oh!"] I consider that he has no right to question me, standing, as he does, in a position very little better than that of an informer with regard to the secrets of the men with whom he was associated; and he has not even the pretext of that remarkable informer whose proceedings we have lately heard of—he has not even the pretext of that miserable man, that he was attempting to save his own life. No, Sir; some other motives, of less importance, seem to have weighed with the right hon. Gentleman, in the extraordinary course which he has adopted on the present occasion, of going out of his way to collect together a series of extracts, perhaps nine or ten in number, out of a number of speeches—many hundreds and, perhaps, thousands—delivered during the land movement by other people, and not by me, upon which to found an accusation against me for what has been said and done by others. If the right hon. Gentleman had even been accurate in his statements of fact there might have been some excuse for it; but, unfortunately, upon this occasion also, he has displayed the same remarkable ignorance as to matters of fact in connection with Irish affairs as he displayed during his tenure of Office as Chief Secretary for Ireland. He has charged me with the responsibility for writings in *The Irish World.* Sir, I suppose, if there is one newspaper that I differ with more than another, that I have had to do with and have read less of, that I have studied less, it is *The Irish World.* The right hon. Gentleman appears to have been studying *The Irish World* very closely during the progress of this land movement; and if he considered that the articles in that newspaper incited, or were likely to produce crime in Ireland, why did he not exercise the powers, the Common Law powers, which he subsequently exercised, and refuse to allow that newspaper to circulate in Ireland? What is the difference between the responsibility of the right hon. Gentleman who read these articles, and who, from that perusal, derived what their tenour and result would be, and who refused to take the responsibility of preventing their circulation amongst the peasantry, and the responsibility of myself, who never read the articles which are now brought up as an accusation against me, because, indeed, Mr. Patrick Ford, in his office in Brooklyn or in New York, chooses to direct his newspaper for the purpose of destroying, or attempting to destroy, the movement which we have been so carefully building up in Ireland? Mr. Patrick Ford's aims, and objects, and programme are not my aims, and objects, and programme, although they may be much nearer the aims and objects which the late Chief Secretary for Ireland appeared desirous to bring about. I have had very little time to look into the speech of the right hon. Gentleman and to arrange the different accusations which he has made against me in order; but I think another of his great points was that which he made, not against my hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), the editor of *United Ireland*, but against me, for some paragraphs which appeared in that journal. He asked me—"Does the hon. Member for the City of Cork approve of the articles in *United Ireland?*" and I nodded my head. I suppose that the right hon. Gentleman alluded to the articles that appeared in *United Ireland* either before, or since my imprisonment; but what was my surprise to find, after he had gone further, that he was alluding to some paragraphs in that newspaper at the time when my hon. Friend the Member for Mallow, the responsible editor—and, recollect, the editor responsible in the eyes of the law—when he and myself, together with the majority of the staff, were in prison; when we were denied the privilege of seeing a single copy of that newspaper; when it was utterly impossible, so close was the watch kept by the gaolers of the right hon. Gentleman, who fulfilled their trust well and faithfully, as I know—so close was the watch of the gaolers of the right hon. Gentleman that it was perfectly impossible to obtain a single copy of that newspaper; and yet the right hon. Gentleman does not scruple to take advantage—and, recollect, this is what makes such conduct guilty; it is the conduct which has marked his career ever since he became Chief Secretary—to take advantage of the ignorance of the Members of this House on Irish questions, to take advantage of the prejudices which prevail in this country in reference to Ireland—and, of course, there are reasons for these prejudices, for there always must be prejudices and ignorance when one nation attempts the impossible task of governing another—to take advantage of the trials in Dublin, where 20 men will have to face a tribunal constituted under the Crimes Act, which is to say whether they are to live or not—to take advantage of all those unprecedented and extraordinary circumstances which surround us at the present time in order to attack us—the right hon. Gentleman selects, in this way, writings, and passages, and incidents such as these for the purpose of founding an accusation against me, and making me responsible for the words of others. And, furthermore, he is not only guilty of sins of commission, he is guilty of suppression of the truth also. Not only is the *suggestio falsi*, but the *suppressio veri* is applicable to his speech. The heading of these paragraphs was, I believe, "Incidents of the Campaign;" but the very moment my hon. Friend the Member for Mallow was released from prison, and resumed control of his paper, that very moment the heading disappeared. It is, I say, infamous and shocking that we should have such accusations made against us in this House for acts and things over which we could not by any possibility have the slightest control, or knowledge of. Now, I do not propose to accept the rather indecent invitation which has been held out to me to discuss, at the present time, the recent proceedings in Dublin. I have been asked to give an explanation with regard to matters which have been put in evidence at the preliminary investigation now taking place at Kilmainham. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who is a lawyer of great eminence and ability, rebuked the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) for asking him to go into these matters, and expressly declined to go into them. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, however, shortly afterwards, loudly applauded the subsequent speech of an hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench, in which he invited me to go into these matters, and not only loudly applauded, but rolled on his seat in ecstacy. I do not wish—for I do not know whether I ought even to do so—to refer to the evidence which is now being given before the Courts at Dublin; but, as that evidence has been, by the Dublin correspondence of the London papers, garbled in the most extraordinary way. I will just refer to it so far as to state what the evidence actually was—I mean the evidence which is supposed to throw suspicion on some members of the Land League — as having connected them with these terrible assassinations in the Phœnix Park. Now, Sir, the statements that were made in that direction were made by the approver Carey. There is no need to comment upon that fact, beyond saying that they were statements not of fact, but of belief, of the belief of others. They are three in number. Firstly, Carey swore that he had met a person in the garb of a priest, that he was introduced to him as Father Murphy, and that this man informed him (Carey) that he was going down into the country to form a branch of the "Invincible" organization. Carey then said that he was afterwards informed—but he did not say by whom—that this Father Murphy was Mr. Sheridan of Tubbercurry. Secondly, Carey swore that some amongst his comrades believed the money came from America, but others believed it came from the Land League. This, again, the House would bear in mind, was only a statement of belief, and the House will acquit me of any desire to comment on this evidence. I simply quote it to show what the evidence really was, and I am perfectly satisfied to allow the House to draw its own conclusions. Thirdly, Carey swore that a woman, whom he was informed was Mrs. Frank Byrne, wife of the Secretary to the English Land Confederation, had brought him weapons. That, too, is hearsay evidence. I wish to point out again that all these statements of Carey's would not have been admissable in an ordinary case, and would not have been admitted here were it not that this was a case of conspiracy, and were it not that he had sworn that he heard these statements made by some amongst the prisoners who were charged with being participators in the conspiracy. That evidence, I say again, was only hearsay evidence; and, so far as we have gone, the third statement — that the woman who brought the weapons was Mrs. Frank Byrne—has been abundantly disproved, for when Mrs. Byrne was brought over to Dublin for identification, Carey failed to identify her, and she was discharged by the Detective Department with abundant and profuse apologies. The second of the other statements—namely, with regard to the source from which the money came, seems to rest—that is to say, so far as their opinions go—on what was said by some of his comrades, and which I am perfectly willing to admit, and which I believe to be true—that some of these men got cheques for the support of their families from the Sustentation Fund while in prison. Those cheques, it is right to tell the House, were sent to hundreds upon hundreds of the families of prisoners throughout the country. It was the ordinary custom of the managers of the Sustentation Fund to give money to the families of all prisoners; and very often it was given to the prisoners themselves, as in the present case; and it was given because the families of the prisoners were very often deprived of the ordinary means of support by the imprisonment of the bread-winner; and I believe evidence will be produced to show that Edward M'Caffrey, one of the prisoners, actually sent back his cheque to the Ladies' Land League, and told them that he did not belong to the Land League, that he did not sympathize with their objects, and that he was not entitled to support out of the Sustentation Fund. And yet the fact that the Ladies' Land League sent this man a cheque, in common with hundreds and hundreds of other "suspects" throughout Ireland, has been put forward as implicating us in a grave suspicion of having found money for the purpose of committing the Phœnix Park murders. Now, Sir, with regard to Mr. Sheridan. A statement has been made, and very extensively circulated in the English newspapers, that I offered the services of Mr. Sheridan to the English Government for the purpose of putting down outrages in the West of Ireland, and considered him a fit person for the work, because he knew all the details of these outrages. This statement is based upon a celebrated Cabinet Memorandum, which the right hon. Gentleman states he furnished to his Colleagues, and which they were in full possession of at the time when they decided upon our release. But it is right to point out, for the information of the English public, that the right hon. Gentleman is directly contradicted with regard to that Cabinet Memorandum, and the statements upon which it is based by my hon. Friend the Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea). My hon. Friend the Member for Clare wrote as follows to all the London newspspers on the 18th of May—that was, I think, the day following the publication of the Cabinet secret by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford—

> "The following are the facts. I myself know nothing about the organization of the Land League; but I told Mr. Forster that I had been informed by Mr. Parnell the day before that if the Arrears Question were settled, that organization would explain the boon to the people, and tell them that they ought to assist the operation of the remedial measure in the tranquillizing of the country. I added that Mr. Parnell had expressed his belief that Messrs. Davitt, Egan, Sheridan, and Boyton would use all their exertions, if placed in a position to do so, to advance the pacification of the country, and that Mr. Sheridan's influence was of special importance in the West, owing to the fact that he had been the chief Land League organizer in Connaught, while Mr. Boyton had held a similar appointment in Leinster. Upon these points," the hon. Member concluded, "I heard no more, I knew no more, and I said no more."

So that the House will see it comes at at once to this—that a question of grave dispute with regard to a matter of fact has arisen between the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford and the hon. Member for Clare. Now, Sir, it is a very remarkable thing that the right hon. Gentleman should not have mentioned those other names in his Cabinet Memorandum.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: They were not mentioned to me.

MR. O'SHEA: They were mentioned.

MR. PARNELL: Mr. Davitt was released immediately afterwards, owing to the representations which were made by me to the hon. Member for Clare. Why was Mr. Davitt's name not included in this Cabinet Memorandum? Why was Mr. Boyton's name not included in this Cabinet Memorandum; who had left Ireland immediately after his release, and who, it was known could not return to Ireland without being arrested? Why was Mr. Egan's name not included in the Cabinet Memoranda? Why was it that only Mr. Sheridan's name was selected, for the purpose of attempting to make out that I was privy to—["Hear, hear!"]—that I was privy to, and knew of some supposed connection of Mr. Sheridan's with outrage or attempted outrage? Sir, I leave these questions to be answered by hon. Members who may have a better knowledge with regard to what actually passed than I have. I hope, however, their significance will be considered and pondered on by the House. The right hon. Gentleman has asked me to defend myself. Sir, I have nothing to defend myself from. The right hon. Gentleman has confessed that he attempted to obtain a declaration or public promise from me, which would have had the effect, if given, of discrediting me with the Irish people. He has admitted that he failed in that attempt, and failing in that attempt he lost his own position. He boasted last night that he had deposed me from some imaginary position which he was pleased to assign to me; but, at least, I have this consolation—that I am in pretty good company, for he has also deposed himself. We both fell into the ditch, and I do not think that in the process of pulling the right hon. Gentleman and myself out of the ditch I have suffered quite so much in the opinion of my countrymen as the right hon. Gentleman has suffered in the opinion of his countrymen. If the right hon. Gentleman has deposed me from my position as a prominent Irish politician, I admit that he has been very successful in that. I have taken very little part in Irish politics since my release from Kilmainham. I expressed my reason for that upon the passing of the Crimes Act. I said that, in my judgment, the Crimes Act would result in such a state of affairs that, between the Government and the secret societies, it would be impossible for Constitutional agitation to exist in Ireland. I believe so still. And what is the item of news which was published in the journals of yesterday cabled from America? That Mr. Patrick Ford, of *The Irish World*, who used to collect money for the purpose of sending it to us, is now collecting it for a very different purpose. The right hon. Gentleman may proudly claim it as a part of his work. I regret that it should be so. I look with the utmost apprehension to the future relations between England and Ireland. I see that it is impossible to stem the torrent of prejudice which has arisen during the last few days. I regret that the officials charged with the administration of this Act are unfitted for their post. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant must admit that to the fullest extent; and, looking round upon the right hon. Member for Bradford, he must say to himself—"Why am I here while he is there? Why was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, who had acquired experience in the Administration of Ireland, who, according to his account, knew everything, although he was invariably wrong—why was he deposed from his position and the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) — a 'prentice, although a very willing hand —placed in his stead? I think that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant must say to himself, in the words of Scripture—"I am not worthy to unloose his shoe latchet." It would have been far better, if you were going to pass an Act of this kind, and to administer it as you are going to administer it, and as you have administered it—up to the hilt—to have had it administered by the seasoned politician who is now in disgrace. Call him back to his post. Send him to help Lord Spencer in the congenial work of the gallows in Ireland. Send him to look after the secret inquisitions of Dublin Castle. Send him to levy the payment of blood money. Send him to raise the taxes which an unfortunate and starving peasantry have to pay for crimes not committed by them. All that would be congenial work for him. We invite you to fill up your ranks, and send your ablest and best men to push forward the task of misgoverning and oppressing Ireland. For my part, I am confident as to the future of Ireland. Although her horizon may appear at this moment cloudy, I believe that our people will survive the present oppression, as they have survived many and worse ones. And although our progress may be slow, it will be sure; and the time will come when this House and the people of this country will admit once again that they have been mistaken—that they have been deceived by those who ought to be ashamed of deceiving them—that they have been led astray as to the right method of governing a noble, a generous, a brave, and impulsive people; and that they will reject their present Leaders, who are conducting them into the terrible course which, I am sorry to say, the Government appears to be determined to enter

—that they will reject those guides and Leaders with just as much determination as they rejected the services of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford.

MR. O'SHEA: Sir, in his speech the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) said, that no other name was mentioned in my conversation with him on Sunday, the 1st of May, except that of Mr. Sheridan. On the 16th of May—I am reading from *Hansard*—what I said in this House is reported thus—

> "Mr. O'SHEA wished to say, for the information of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), that he did mention Davitt to the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland on the Sunday in question, and the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had not entered the name in his memorandum was only another proof of his inaccuracy."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 880.)

The right hon. Gentleman then rose and said—"I did not give a note of the whole conversation." Mark the contradiction. I would also ask, why did he not keep a note of the whole conversation? Did he wish to hoodwink his Colleagues?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I deeply regret the side channel into which this debate has turned. It is about as deplorable a course as it could have taken in the interests of Ireland. I hold to the full that no allusion, direct or indirect, should have been made, and no argument based upon what should be done with the evidence in Dublin—that no illustration should be drawn from it, no argument should be based upon it, and I shall have plenty myself to say without it. I will go further—though I daresay I shall not carry the whole House with me—and say I think it a pity that my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) should have given the appearance of taking these Dublin revelations as the opportunity of a general attack with regard to the relation to agrarian crime in which the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) stood—an attack which certainly was very powerfully conducted. But since he did take that opportunity—since he made use of it in a manner that will not be forgotten in the annals of Parliament—I believe I am expressing the feelings of the House when I say that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would have done very well to make his position clearer than it is at present. I must say that, since I have been in Ireland, the fact that the hon. Gentleman acted with men who made speeches which showed sympathy with outrage, and, to say the least, a very deplorable levity with regard to murder, and with men who actually and openly recommended violent rebellion, is a consideration which is ever present to the minds of the Rulers who are trying to do their duty by Ireland. I would have given much if the hon. Gentleman had satisfied our minds with a reasonable explanation—an explanation to which I myself should have listened in a spirit of indulgence, for I want to be fair, which is sometimes wanting to the remarks of my right hon. Friend. Even if he (Mr. Parnell) had tried to give such explanation I should have regarded this effort with satisfaction, because, at any rate, it would have shown that, if future contingencies brought about the same temptation to consort with the same men, that temptation might probably be resisted. But he has chosen another course, and it is for himself to judge what the effect will be. And he has done more than that. In a passage of remarkable bitterness, he has dried up those hopes of conciliation which, with evidence or against evidence, are always present to those who are endeavouring to carry on the Administration of Ireland. That passage was very short, very powerful, very bitter. In the report in the newspapers it will be packed, I dare say, into some five or six lines; but connected with other speeches which have been made in the course of this debate, and connected with this Amendment, which may be withdrawn and may not, but which has stood on the Notice Paper long enough to blast the fame of Lord Spencer and myself, and those who act with us—if only it is true and well founded—I shall find it necessary to make some remarks in the course of my speech, when I have addressed myself for a few minutes to the position in which the Irish Government stands with regard to the Amendment actually before the House. And on this point I cannot help hoping that I may really produce some slight impression on hon. Members. I assure you, Sir, that when the noble Lord who sits in a prominent place below the Gangway opposite (Lord

Randolph Churchill) rose to give Notice of that Amendment, I could see that there was in the minds of a good many Members a sense of some surprise; but that surprise was tempered by the idea that they were going to have a good deal of amusement, because it was thought that if the noble Lord gave Notice of the Amendment he was pretty sure to speak to it, though it did not stand in his name, and if he spoke to it the House would be glad to hear him. But to the Irish Government—and this I know is the case with everyone that can be said to belong to the Irish Government—that Amendment has been a most unwelcome surprise; for, during the past Recess, the Irish Government has been engaged in a task that was not amusing at all, but was a very stern reality, a task with regard to which I feel myself already quite incapable of responding in the same spirit to those brilliant displays of rhetoric by which this debate has been so conspicuously marked. It is impossible to proceed further without recognizing the manner in which Lord Spencer and myself have been treated in this debate — the courtesy and the large, abundant generosity with which our political opponents have always mentioned our names. But, none the less, the debate has not been satisfactory to us, and that for two reasons. First, because we should be most ungrateful and disloyal if we were not deeply concerned at a Parliamentary attack intended to disparage our Colleagues; for we have received from those Colleagues a generous approval of our policy, and we have received from them something more. Whenever it was most needed, all through those trying months, we have received the most hearty, friendly, cordial sympathy and co-operation in things great and small from every individual Member of the Cabinet. Well, Sir, there is another respect in which we have been very much disappointed. We have been engaged in a most complicated and delicate work in Ireland — a work which men could not pretend to carry through without making certain mistakes and errors. Well, the number of different and difficult problems and questions of all sorts, not in questions of crime alone, but in questions of economy and social order that have occurred and have had to be solved during the last six months, was so great that we looked forward to the debates in Parliament in order to see what view Parliament would take of those questions. We looked forward eagerly to know what Gentlemen, with such experience in the administration of Irish affairs as right hon. Gentlemen whom I see opposite, would say with regard to those matters in which we have been engaged. We looked to be corrected, we looked to be reproved, or approved, as the case might be, but, above all, we looked for criticism. Well, instead of that, we have had a debate which turns on the question whether, 10 months ago, the hon. Member for the City of Cork, in a letter, promised that support to a Liberal Administration, which support we have never, or, at all events, seldom elsewhere seen, except on the pages of that letter. I daresay this debate has had its value; but we cannot help looking at it from another, our own standpoint. The present state of Ireland, and not the past, fills our whole mind. If it were not so, we should not be worth our salt; and, as far as the present state of Ireland is concerned, this debate, all must allow, has hitherto appeared to me to go for little or nothing at all. Now, I do not know what happened in the Cabinet 10 months ago, or to a great extent in the House of Commons since, as during the hottest and most interesting debates I was in Ireland; but what I do think is this—that the only practical point in the matter that is worth considering now is, whether the enlargement from prison of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Colleagues did harm or did good to Ireland. Now, on that point the Chief Secretary for Ireland is bound to know something, and to say something; and I think I know, and have already several times stated in the House, that the release of those Gentlemen had produced no evil consequences, and to that no exception was taken by hon. Gentlemen. But it was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford yesterday that though outrages after the release of these hon. Gentlemen diminished, murders increased pretty largely in number, and had increased very decidedly in the significance of the atrocious details. Now, Sir, the cause of the increase of murder is about the most serious matter which the Government could look into. The Government has satisfied itself as to the cause of the increase and decrease of these murders, and it believes that the enlargement of the hon. Members had absolutely nothing to do with them. Murders occurred during the time they were confined; murders followed and increased with ever-increasing velocity, and they increased more rapidly as time went on. When murderers were apprehended, however, and began to be capitally punished, murders began to decrease. That is the opinion the Irish Government holds on the increase and the decrease of murders in Ireland. Now, I do not attach too much importance to the remarks of my right hon. Friend; but, Sir, besides being disappointed with the debate, we are still more disappointed and even discouraged by the Amendment itself. When we read the paragraph in the Queen's Speech which refers to Ireland, I am sure that we all feel that we were rewarded, and a great deal over-rewarded, for any public service we have tried to do. But it is a very different matter when an Amendment is brought forward and supported by one of the two great Parties in the State, the only meaning of which is that Lord Spencer and his Colleagues cannot be relied upon. ["No, no!"] The Amendment states that—

> "It is hoped that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's rule."

Read that Amendment as you will, it cannot have a pleasant interpretation for us. It means either that the Irish Government, of their own free will and judgment, will recommend the Cabinet to purchase support in that manner; or else it means that, against their judgment, they will be blown about by certain English and Irish newspapers, which, either from too great or too little a knowledge of Ireland, have sometimes lately been writing about these matters in what I think is a very unfortunate way. A third, and the only other interpretation that can be given to it is, that our Colleagues at home are disloyal and will throw us over if we will not lend ourselves to that policy; and I may observe that I cannot say which of these three interpretations is the more distasteful to Lord Spencer and myself. Though none of these interpretations may be taken, yet, at any rate, it cannot be denied that the success of the Amendment would be to change the Government of Ireland. You must forgive us if we cannot view the situation otherwise than this. I have now done with the personal part of the subject. We have endeavoured, under fearful difficulties, to serve, not only ourselves and our Party, but our Queen and our country; and our reward is that an Amendment has been brought forward in a spirit personal to us of the greatest unkindness. ["No, no!"] If it is carried, it will turn us out. But it will be said that the main object of this Amendment is to instruct the country—to put on record the opinion that the Irish Government should be carried forward in a spirit of firmness and loyalty. I admit that it is quite necessary that this instruction should be given. I quite admit that it is seriously wanted, when in the face, I will not say of those recent revelations in Dublin, but of what is admitted, I know, of the state of Dublin, the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Collings) has said that we should do more to promote peace and order by making the corporations of boroughs responsible for order in Ireland; but I must say that no pains should be spared to correct an opinion which, in my view, would be fatal to Ireland. Sir, the evils of Ireland are not to be cured by rhetoric; but there is a sort of rhetoric which is so weighty and so just, that it has all the value of well-considered action, and when they got off the Kilmainham business, the speeches of the right hon. and learned Gentlemen the Members for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket and Mr. Gibson) were such that I was very glad to see them intently listened to by the hon. Members who, in most cases, sit round the hon. Member for Ipswich. It is by speeches of that sort, so full of thought and experience, that you will bring home these truths to hon. Members who may not see them quite sufficiently; but you will not do so by interposing an Amendment the effect and the success of which would be to turn out the Cabinet. I shall now address myself to this debate; and I may say that this is the first opportunity, before the House of Commons, which we have had of justifying ourselves against charges most important in their nature. These charges have been powerfully reiterated in the course of the debate, and especially in the speech of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). I think, Sir, it would be out of order for me to make any reference to the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; but there is no necessity for me to do so, because he has put his charges in a much shorter and still more formidable form in his speech to-day; and those charges were also brought forward at considerable length by the hon. Member for Mallow. These charges are of a nature that have been made before in the House; but, on all occasions when previously made, they have been brought forward by some crotchety, or irresponsible, or isolated Member who had nobody to back him. Now, however, they are made by the Leader of a very powerful Party; they are cheered by a considerable number of hon. Members who sit around him; and, what is almost worse, they have been made over and over again in newspapers, both English and Irish, whose proprietors and editors are at this moment Members of this House. What are those charges? I will take the speech of the hon. Member for Mallow. That hon. Member said—

> "After the Phœnix Park murders the Government have had a fine opportunity which would not soon recur—the first time, perhaps, when the sympathies of the policeman and the peasant were one. How did the right hon. Gentleman use that opportunity? What was it that changed Ireland, which in June and July last was settling down in a spirit of amnesty? What was it that transformed it into a state of outrage that to-day and for many a day to come would trouble the peace of England?"

Mr. O'BRIEN: What I said was that Ireland had been outraged, and not that it was put in a state of outrage.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Well, I will ask the hon. Member whether the general effect of it was not to say that Ireland was improving during the period the Coercion Bill was passing, but that when the Bill was put into operation the country was alienated and estranged. [Mr. O'Brien assented.] That charge was made also in terms of great ferocity by many newspapers and on many platforms. What is my answer to it? It is this—The present Crown officials—I borrow that phrase from the Amendment Paper—went to Ireland at the beginning of May last. They were sent there with a commission from the Crown and from Parliament; and unless they sincerely and cordially accepted that commission they had no right to go at all. That commission was that the Crown officials should do their best to maintain the union of the two countries, and to diminish—and, if possible, to extinguish — organized political and agrarian crime in Ireland. The duties were absolute. What, then, was the condition of organized crime when we were first appointed to our post in Ireland? It is hardly too much to say that it was as bad as bad could be. In the previous March outrages reached the frightful total of 542. It is quite true that a slight diminution had set in, which diminution continued—I quite allow that to the hon. Member —during the summer months, at a time when our only weapon was the Protection of Person and Property Act, and on this the hon. Member has founded his argument. But the hon. Member loses sight of two most important considerations, which I think entirely destroy his argument. In the first place, agrarian crimes always, in bad times especially, tend to fall off in the summer months. In the month of July, 1881, the outrages were only one-third of those of December previous, and yet when winter came the dreadful work went on faster than ever. The average of the six winter months was actually over 500 a-month. In the second place, during the summer months —the halcyon months of the hon. Member—the most awful of all crimes, murder, was increasing, the number of agrarian murders in the first eight months of 1882 being 24, or an average of three in every month—double the proportion for 1881—and in these I do not count six of what, to avoid dispute, I will call political homicides in the streets and parks of Dublin. *The Irish World*, in its last issue, accused Lord Spencer of being—

> "The cold-blooded murderer of at least five innocent Irishmen within the last few months, one of whom he knew, beyond any manner of doubt, to be innocent of the crime for which he died—a nobleman whose very fingers dripped with the blood of innocent Irishmen."

I prefer to quote this statement from an American print, but I am sorry to say such passages occur by dozens and scores in papers published in Ireland. When the editor of *The Irish World* talks of these five innocent Irishmen, who, I suppose, are the same men as are in the mind of the hon. Member for Mallow, is he aware, as the hon. Member for the

City of Cork is aware, that 10 times as many really and undoubtedly innocent Irishmen were murdered in succession, without one of their murderers being brought to the punishment the law ordains. If *The Irish World* did not know that, Lord Spencer's Government did; and the first task they set themselves was to take care that during the winter months of 1882-3 outrages should not increase as they had increased during the winter months of preceding years. Now, what happened with reference to the outrages and to the extent to which Ireland has been made a place in which the peaceable and industrious may live according to their own fashion? The actual figures that relate to that are in everybody's hands; but, as regards the prevention of murder, it is enough to state that, as a matter of fact, since the 3rd of October last, for four months and a-half, there has been only one agrarian murder in the whole of Ireland. In order to attain that result, the Government relied upon two processes—the better re-organization of the *personnel* employed in the detection and repression of crime, and the Prevention of Crime Act placed in their hands by Parliament last year. As regards the former, the words spoken by my right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department were undoubtedly misunderstood, and in consequence of being misunderstood were misrepresented in a way that is extremely unfortunate, considering the condition of things in Ireland. The men and officers of the Constabulary and of the Dublin Police are, in the opinion of the Government, public servants who have done their duty most efficiently and most zealously in the trying circumstances in which they were placed. The Government have done nothing with regard to the men and officers except to recognize their conduct during these periods, by special gratuity, and either to improve their permanent position, or to make inquiry as to the method by which their permanent position may be improved. But in the machinery by which crime is detected, and the law upheld in Ireland, very important changes have been made. To begin with, the Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant—the Office which was held by the lamented Mr. Burke, and now held by Mr. Hamilton—that Office was terribly overwhelmed with general work, and, in the opinion of the Government, the Under Secretary was unable to give all the professional attention which the work of keeping peace and order and detecting crime in Ireland demanded. The Government accordingly appointed an Assistant Under Secretary of Police and Crime, which released Mr. Hamilton of a certain amount of labour, and enabled him to devote his great energy and public spirit to the general task of the financial and administrative work of Ireland; and that Under Secretary was instructed to take into his hands the whole Detective Department of the country, which had previously been divided into two branches—the Detective Department of the Dublin Police, and the Detective Department of the Royal Irish Constabulary—and the want of unity of action has been, wherever it could be, avoided, and which was a very serious evil and difficulty indeed when you come to detective work. How those results have been worked by the hands of Mr. Jenkinson everyone knows and will appreciate. There is one other subject to which I am bound to refer, though I am not very willing to do so; and that is that the Government, knowing that at a critical time everything depends on the personal qualities and vigour of the men in responsible positions, did not shrink from removing men whose age and personal qualities did not render them fit for those positions, and replacing them by others. There have been some criticisms in this House upon those removals and changes. No less than 17 of the resident magistrates were removed, and it has been very painful to resist the pressure of the House and the private friends and relatives of those gentlemen; but we have carried out that work, and feel, in carrying it out, we have been doing what we wished, having the country well served. In addition to this re-organization of *personnel*, Lord Spencer's Government had the enormous advantage of being possessed of a stringent Crimes Act, more effective in its operation than the power of merely locking up men on suspicion — a course which, however irksome to educated men, was, I am told, little less than pleasant to the regular criminal. The operation of the Crimes Act has this about it—that its effect is progressive, and that if it is vigorously applied at first, there is afterwards less and less occasion to have recourse to it. During the first week of the present month only five cases came under this Act; while in the corresponding week of February, 1882, there must have been 100 outrages, and I ask hon. Members whether the exemption from that amount of suffering was not moderately purchased with five convictions, with an average of something under 14 days' imprisonment? Hon. Members feel very keenly on this subject. The hon. Member for Mallow has charged us, with extraordinary vehemence of language, with having interfered with free writing, with free speech, and allusion has been frequently made to some words I uttered at Belfast—namely, "that the Government made war against crime, but did not intend to interfere with politics." These words were commented upon as encouraging turbulence and agitation; but they were uttered in the presence of the Town Council of Belfast, who would undoubtedly be pretty severe critics of anything tending to disorder. I do not regret those words. I said that very deliberately, because the only good and effective policy in Ireland is to say exactly what you mean, and to do it. As for the free writing we have interfered with, and which I think the House will agree with me is very free writing indeed, it is not political writing—it is a sort of writing which I venture to describe as a part of the machinery of murder as much as the sword-cane or the pistol. I hope I have proved that to the satisfaction of the House; but I am going to prove it from the newspaper *United Ireland.* I am going to make two statements before I begin. One is that some of these articles were undoubtedly written while the present editor of *United Ireland* was unable to supervise the paper; and the second statement, which is more serious, is that it would be the very greatest injustice to prejudice a case which had to come on; but the Government do not intend to press that case. The point I wish to make out is that, consciously or unconsciously, there is a class of articles that absolutely produces crime. Here is an article which was written in May, 1881, and which is headed *A Bas la Bastilles.* One passage is—

> "The men who level them will go further—to a palace at Versailles, or to a castle at Cork Hill, and the hired Swiss, be they primed with ball cartridge or clad in plush, will not long stand in their way, depend upon it."

I leave a large *hiatus* here, and go on to this passage—

> "There are 50,000 men ready to take up the fight, where Tyrone, where Owen Roe, where Sarsfield, where Tone, where Emmett, where O'Connell, where Mitchel, where Allen Larkin and O'Brien left it off."

We know very well where Larkin and O'Brien left it off. And here I may say that nothing has pained me so much in Ireland as the tribute that has been paid to Emmett, because it has always appeared to me that the result of his insurrection, though made by a man of great and high aspirations, resulted in an assassination which in effect resembled very greatly the assassination in the Phœnix Park.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Emmett sacrificed his own life to prevent assassination.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Before I read the next article, I wish to express my firm belief—it would be a breach of Order to say more—that the man who wrote the article, at the very worst, was reckless as to the effect it would produce. On the 6th of May, 1882, there was nominally published, but on the 4th of May was really published, an article entitled, "Disestablishing the Castle." It said—

> "But the money it (that was the Castle) spends and the favours it distributes, and the foul toads who use it as a cistern to knot and gender in it, are just the things which make the harmless travesty of Vice-Royalty an offence and scorn to Irishmen. . . . The toads are the gang of alien officials who nestle in the snuggeries of the Castle like as many asps in the bosom of the country. Down with the whole bundle of rottenness and imposture."

That was published, I presume, on the 4th of May, and we know what happened on the 6th of May. Then I pass on with a large jump of time to the case of Francis Hynes. As the question has not been started in this discussion, I am disinclined to enter upon an argument as to the founded or unfounded nature of the charge that was made against the jury; but the charge was made, and I have no doubt I shall have another opportunity of arguing that. Well, an article was written with regard to it from which I take this passage—

> "Silence and veneration is demanded by the English rulers, and we bow before its revered and sacred symbol, the gallows. Not often,

even in the blood-stained records of Ireland, has there been a tragedy more pitiful, more horrible than that of which Francis Hynes was the victim. Need we recapitulate the grotesque mockery of the trial. . . . . . The jury, presided over by the Judge, who did not even attempt to conceal his indecent longing for a conviction. It was not enough that his charge should be a speech for the prosecution, but by nod and smile throughout the trial he emphasized each scrap of evidence that seemed to tell against the prisoner; by shrugs and deprecatory gestures he made light of the defence. . . . Need we speak of the 'terrible' exposure that followed? Judge Lawson, in a tempest of virtuous indignation, decided that jury-packing and jury orgies were subjects too sacred for public comment."

It is not the argumentative part of that passage that I object to; there is not an argument in it which might not be said in proper language, in a proper place; but said in that language, and in a newspaper which had the audience and the reputation that *United Ireland* had, it could, the Government imagines, only have the effect it did have. I will not read any more articles with reference to Judge Lawson. The next article I will read from is headed *The Bloody Assize*. One passage in it is—

"The jury was as carefully selected, its partizanship was as indecent, and the evidence was evidence upon which an English jury would not hang a dog. . . . Once the word is passed to 'convict murderers' a metropolitan Protestant and a loyal jury, under the eye of Mr. Norris Goddard, may be trusted to know a murderer when they see him, without splitting hairs about particulars. . . . What is even more aggravating than this patent murder machine, as a system of government, is the Pharisaism which shelters the achievements of Mr. Goddard's pals, under the venerable title of trial by jury, and decries as a foe to public justice whoever cries out on the imposture."

Now, who are "Mr. Goddard's pals" to whom that allusion is made, and to what extent are they sheltered? On the 7th of October, in the same impression, reference was made to "the incident of Mr. Field passing down an affectionate *billet-doux* from the jury box to Mr. Norris Goddard." It was hinted that Mr. Field was on very friendly terms indeed with the chief organizer of the landlord faction. Well, Sir, we know that Judge Lawson's life was only saved by the courage of a man who came after him; and that out of the whole jury who acted on that trial, which was the trial of Michael Walsh, I believe Mr. Field was the person who was next selected for assassination. I do not wish the House to think that I am going contrary to what I premised, for I repeat that I do not impute any malevolence to the editor. I only show how dangerous it is to name people at such a time.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he was very reluctant to interrupt; but he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether in any of the passages referred to, Mr. Field's name was mentioned?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have mentioned that the article began—

"The incident of Mr. Field passing down an affectionate *billet-doux* from the jury box to Mr. Norris Goddard."

I was going on to say, that it so happened that Mr. Barrett's name was brought before the public, owing to some confusion between him and some person of the same name, or some relative; and it is now pretty evident that in order, as it were, to save time the Dublin assassins picked out three people connected with the trial for assassination, and they were the three whose names had been most prominently brought before the public. That shows that the mention of names in this way places the persons indicated in very great danger. My own personality has been spared up to this time; but after the speech I made at Hawick three leading articles appeared in *United Ireland*, from the third of which I will read you a passage. On the 10th of February, 1883, it said—

"The Land Code of Ireland up to quite recently invited crime. It was an English institution, and it is notorious that the English Land system excites crime wherever it is established. Again, it is notorious that the English system of government invites crime. The English Government has no business here. The negation of the natural right—the Divine right of even any people to be the shapers of their own destinies is the prolific parent of crime, and it has ever been so. It has been said—

'A patriot is a rebel who succeeds,
A rebel is a patriot who fails.'

The principle is applicable to this country at the present time. That is crime for the present in Irishmen which will be quite other when Ireland is mistress of her own fortunes."

My opinions of newspapers which write in that manner are such that, while the attacks are against myself, I shall most certainly take good care that there shall be no such thing as a prosecution; but if, in the future, any public servant or any private individual is pointed out, in such a manner as to convince the Government that his life will be endangered in consequence, the person who wrote it, little as he may like it, may rest assured that the Government will take steps to prevent it occurring again. So much with regard to free writing, as to which I have stated the principle on which the Government act; and now I will go for one moment to free speech. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) says that we are always urging that Ireland is in a constant state of improvement, that we are always saying we have touched the bottom. We are not so hopeful of the condition of Ireland as he has described us; but, at the same time, we are not so desponding as the right hon. Gentleman. He says that the Government has to realize that it is governing a country against the wishes and opinion of the great mass of the population of that country. Well, the Government may or may not realize that, and they admit that there is a large amount of political disaffection; but when you come to the question of sympathy with crime, we believe that that sympathy is, to a great extent, partial, temporary, and evanescent. We believe that there is a great mass of people in the country who want to go about their business in peace and quietness; we believe that the farmers of Ireland, if left alone, are beginning slowly to settle down and to appreciate the great advantages which—whether justly or unjustly we are not now arguing—have been conferred upon them by the Land Act. But they were not allowed to settle down. There was an agitation set on foot, the objects of which, although not the avowed objects, yet the practical and political objects, were, in the opinion of the Government, absolutely inadmissible, to judge by the earlier speeches made in the presence of some of the most eminent members of the National League, or, in some cases, by those eminent members themselves. In our opinion, the object of the National League, as propounded in the districts where the meetings were held, was to excite the people in favour of separation, to excite the people to what was impossible, the abolition of what was called "landlordism;" and, in some places, to have the effect of terrifying farmers into allowing their farms to be broken up in compliance with the demands of the League. There was another matter which I have referred to outside the House, so must refer to it inside; and it was, that we believe, on the authorities on whom we relied in regard to anything which concerned the peace and order of the country, that these meetings were, in many cases, promoted by small local agitators, who lived on the money which they collected by terror. The tone that was set at the earlier meetings we thought a very serious and dangerous one; and, at last, very reluctantly but very determinedly, we came to the conclusion to stop the thing at the outset. Some people said we ought to have proclaimed the National League. That was not our opinion. We contented ourselves with forbidding the meetings of the National League in places where we were told that outrage would probably ensue, and where, if outrage did not ensue, that sort of terrorism which collects money from people who are unwilling to give it would be one of the consequences. It is astonishing how few meetings we prohibited. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) confined himself to so many generalities that I have not brought my statistics out of my box; but my impression is that 10 or so at the outside were prohibited. We might certainly have made one or two mistakes in those. If I had known, for instance, that Mr. Sexton was to speak at that meeting to which reference has been made, I would not have prohibited it; for this reason—that I consider where you have a Member of Parliament of great eloquence, and, as I must say, a man who knows how to keep that eloquence within permissible bounds, you may run some risk, because the risk will be very slight and very different from the sort of risk that is run when meetings are got up at places like those surrounding Loughrea, by people like those we know the "suspects" of Loughrea to be. But if we have here and there made a mistake, and, of course, we have made a mistake, here and there, still, on the whole, I must say that the general result of the action of the Government has satisfied, and more than satisfied, their most sanguine expectations. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) and the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), the former especially, at great length, argued in favour of what I suppose is to be a return to ordinary law. Well, let us go back to our last experience of the ordinary law in Ireland. I am making a clean breast of it. In August, 1880, when Ireland was at the same time under the ordinary law and under the influence of a grave agitation, outrages were 103; in September, they were 168; in October, they were 269; in November, they were 561; and in December, they were 866. In January, 1881, Parliament met, and the Protection Act was passed. Now, I do not wish to criticize my Predecessor. My feeling towards my Predecessor is the feeling, I presume, which an officer who serves in a very responsible position during a war, a war against crime—I am not talking here of a political warfare—has towards a general who conducted the first two years of it, when the thing was at its height, and when it was extremely difficult to say where the difficulties arose from the intrinsic difficulties and arduous nature of the situation, or where there might have been some mistake; and I honour my Predecessor, as I suppose an officer in that position would honour a man who had borne the brunt of the day. The Protection Act, very certainly, had not the effect under those circumstances; perhaps, no Act would have the effect, under those circumstances, of checking crime. The effect, however, which it had was to prevent things going from very bad to very much worse, which they were rapidly doing. I will not read the figures; but during the year 1881, outrages fell and rose again till in December, 1881, there were 574. Now we come to January, 1882. What was the state of things then? I had intended to read to the House a short extract from an article in *The Irish Times*, describing the crimes which were perpetrated in January, 1882, in detail; but, in the first place, it would take longer than I should like to detain the House; and, in the next place, the enumeration of these details is positively sickening. It is sufficient to say that there were 495 outrages, of which 281 only were threatening letters; and that of the murderous crimes—that is to say, murder, firing into dwellings, and firing at persons—there were no fewer than 34. That was the total of January, 1882. What is the total of January, 1883? Have the crimes risen in the winter months as they did in last winter, or have they not? On the contrary, the outrages in all were 90; but 58 were threatening letters, so there were only 22 genuine outrages as against 214. And as for murderous crimes, as against 34 in January, 1882, there was only one. The improvement which had been checked for a month or two is now begun again. On two days running this month the return of outrages was *nil*, a thing that has been unknown for many months except in single days; and in the first 20 days, there were only 32 outrages, of which 20 were threatening letters. But there is another very interesting portion of the restoration of law and order in Ireland. The most noticeable sign of the feebleness of the law in troubled days, was the number of persons employed in trying to enforce it in order to recover debts. Where these debts were due to landlords, merchants, or shopkeepers, you had to employ quite a little army. From the 17th to the 23rd January, 1882, 1,081 soldiers and 672 police were employed for protecting Sheriffs' officers and process-servers. In the corresponding week of this month there were 218 police and no soldiers at all employed. The largest party sent out last year was 200; the largest party that has been sent out since is 15. It may be said, with almost arithmetical precision, that the Queen's Warrant runs at least eight times as easily in Ireland now as it did a year ago. And you must likewise remember that these figures imply an immense amount of uncollected debts and unenforced claims —debts which were uncollected and claims which were not enforced; sometimes on account of the creditor dreading unpopularity, and sometimes from genuine patriotism, the creditor not liking to create a riot.

MR. PARNELL: Will the right hon. Gentleman, before he sits down, give us some information with regard to the number of evictions during the last year? That would be interesting.

MR. TREVELYAN: The number of evictions, I would only say generally, up to quite recently has been increasing; but my general impression of the Returns of the winter is, that they were not high, certainly incomparably less high than they would appear. I know that Mr. Hamilton, who with very great practical knowledge joins a most extraordinary love of statistics, always anticipated very bad months for evictions in November and December; and he was agreeably disappointed, in November, that the evictions were at a very low figure indeed; but the last Return was undoubtedly high.

MR. PARNELL: Does the right hon. Gentleman know the number?

MR. TREVELYAN: I would prefer not to name the number, but it was disappointing. I have not put forward this contrast in any spirit of vainglory. What honour there is is due not to me, but to people on the spot in Ireland, both below me and above me in Office status, who have been carrying out these very arduous duties. But the result of this work I have described, and I cannot but think that the men who have done it have, on the whole, received, and deserve to receive, the approval of their countrymen. Now, of what has this work consisted? It consisted in an enormous number of decisions, an immense number of decisions, each very often involving several other decisions which had to be made on the spur of the moment, and, sometimes, after a good deal of deliberation; but whether they were made on the spur of the moment or with deliberation, we gave all the time we could to see what would be in our opinion, honestly, the best for Ireland; and if, among these decisions, there are one or two, or 12 or 20, which ought to have been given otherwise, I hope hon. Gentlemen will make the allowance for us which we always have to make for people who are engaged in very arduous work. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) said the only thing the Government had done, the only feather in their cap, was that they had hung up a few miserable wretches. Sir, the execution of human beings is certainly not a subject for glorification, and I do not think it ought to be a subject for Parliamentary taunt. In the course of two years there were 50 murders committed with absolute impunity. It is no wonder that the moral sense of many of the Irish people was destroyed, and it is no wonder that some among the poorer classes began to think evil good and good evil. It is from that condition of things we have been trying to rescue the country—["Oh, oh!"]—that we have been trying to rescue the country—and I do not agree with the hon. Members for Cork and Mallow; and I fear that it is to that condition that the country would return if their course of policy was carried out. My answer to that is, that the only chance for order in Ireland is for the Government, consistently and unhesitatingly, to go on punishing crime, until the people have been educated to see that crime is criminal. The danger, in my opinion, lies more on this side of the water than on that. It lies in this, that people here may be in too great a hurry to see things right in Ireland, and when they get desponding about it, should be willing to resort to desperate measures. Our belief, on the contrary, is that the great thing wanted in Ireland for many years to come is patience; patient firmness in repressing crime, patient diligence in redressing grievances. I quite allow that the hon. Member for Mallow was duly elected without intimidation. He was elected against us because we do not neglect and abandon the elementary duty of a civilized Government, that duty rather than abandon or neglect which we would at once throw up our Offices. But this violent invective against us, because we do not neglect that duty, only serves to divert the attention of the House and of the Ministry from those measures of which Notice has been given, and which I hope shortly to be able to lay upon the Table of the House—measures which, if we only set our hands to work, may be productive of practical and lasting advantage to the country.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland justly apprehended the scope of the Amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). He did not see how he could gather from it any expression of censure on the acts of Lord Spencer or himself; and had that censure been intended, he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) was certain that the speeches of his right hon. and learned Friends the Members for the University of Dublin would have corrected any misapprehension of that kind. The object of the Amendment was to emphasize and expedite the triumph of the party of law and order in the Cabinet—the triumph of the party of law and order, as represented by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), the deputy Leader of the Government, and perhaps the Home Secretary, over the party of lawlessness and disorder, as represented by the President of the Board of Trade. The noble Marquess had inflicted a most signal defeat on the President of the Board of Trade. For a long time there had been two currents in the Cabinet—one, which wished to exercise all the powers of the law for the repression of crime in Ireland, and the other which looked to the agencies of outrage as useful allies in passing Liberal measures through the House. In January, 1881, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government spoke of the steps of the Land League being dogged by crime, and in March of the same year the Home Secretary described the doctrine of the Land League as the "doctrine of treason and assassination," also denouncing its "vile conspiracies." Why, then, were adequate measures not taken in time to deal with that terrible organization? Because, according to the confession of the President of the Board of Trade, it was necessary to encourage those outrages in order to carry Liberal legislation.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Gentleman, I am sure, would not willingly misrepresent me. But I defy him to quote any language of mine, ever used by me anywhere, in which I said that the Government thought it necessary to encourage outrage in order to pass Liberal measures.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he had up to the present moment only quoted the remarks of the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman. As regards the acts of the Land League, those acts took place in the beginning of 1881. No attempt was made to stop them. And why? These were the words used at Liverpool on October 25, 1881, by the President of the Board of Trade—

> "The original objects of the Land League, as I have said, were legal, were even praiseworthy; and to stifle agitation at such a time would have been to have prevented reform."

At what time? In March, 1881?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: At the time when their objects were legal and praiseworthy.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Were the Land League's objects legal and praiseworthy at the end of 1880 and the beginning of 1881, when, as the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had informed them, outrages were countenanced by its leaders? The President of the Board of Trade in the same speech declared that—

> "There was another reason which weighed with the Government. If the Land League had been suppressed in 1881 the tenants would have had no organization to fall back upon. I have spoken of the avowed object of the Land League. It is, of course, no secret that there have been in the minds of the leaders of the agitation other objects of a different character."

It had been no secret the right hon. Gentleman said, and though it was no secret that they had other objects they were not to be suppressed. The right hon. Gentleman would not interfere with outrages, or, at any rate, with the organization which countenanced those outrages, because he feared the effect of their suppression on the passing of the Land Act; and he would not take steps to put down the Land League until its leaders proclaimed the "no rent" principle. Hitherto they had been given to understand that the right. hon. Member for Bradford was reproached for want of vigour in his administration; but what they found out now was this, that he was not vigorous in his administration because the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues did not consider it necessary to give him those powers which had now been conferred upon Lord Spencer and his right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan). On the contrary, instead of in any way giving him the assistance that he asked for, they went and negotiated with the very leaders of this organization, which, they now said, was connected with outrages, against the opinion of their Colleague in Ireland, against whom they were writing, and intriguing, and caballing in this country. They refused either to give him the powers he urgently sought from them, or to exact from the prisoners in Kilmainham the guarantees which he held to be absolutely necessary; and while murders and "Boycotting" were rampant they decided to postpone all legislation until they had passed those Rules of Procedure which the Caucus had dictated to their Radical supporters. Was there not still a chance of a fresh coercion of the House of Commons by the threat of disorder in Ireland? The House had heard the speech of the hon.

Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) the other day. They knew that hon. Member's connection with the President of the Board of Trade. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: What is it?] Why, he was the right hon. Gentleman's travelling companion—his *alter ego*; and he was known in Birmingham as "Chamberlain's barometer." The Attorney General for Ireland had stigmatized the speech of the hon. Member in rather strong language, and he had been followed by the Chief Secretary. But what guarantee had they, unless the House expressed itself strongly, that, notwithstanding all the exertions of Lord Spencer and the present Chief Secretary, the Government might not be adopting the views and advice of the hon. Member for Ipswich, or that they might not be again trafficking with and taking into partnership those whom they had denounced as countenancing outrage, in order to stab a Colleague in the back or to carry some measure of Reform? After the deplorable tragedy in the Phœnix Park, the Government were forced to take a new departure; and it was with a view of supporting that new policy that the present Amendment had been moved. How signal had been the defeat of the party of lawlessness and disorder in the Cabinet might be seen from the fact that in all the recent Ministerial changes the Radical element had been relegated to the inferior places, all the chief posts being now held by Earls and landlords. The fact was, the great Radical Party was in a position of exile. The President of the Board of Trade and the right hon. Member for Chelsea held positions in the Government which in the last Ministry were occupied by men who did not sit in the Cabinet. The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) looked after our railways, while the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke), after a long and successful career at the Foreign Office, was relegated to the superintendence of drainage. It was the determination of the Whigs to be supreme in the Cabinet, and Heaven knew what would be said by Mr. Schnadhorst when he returned from Australia. The Caucus was crushed now as much as the Land League; and it was because of the triumph of the Secretary for War and the Home Secretary over the Radicals that his hon. and learned Friend wished to place on record the fact that the policy of his right hon. Friend opposite had prevailed.

MR. WILLIS said, he thought it was unfair on the part of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), and others to cheer the accusation that had been made against the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary. It should not be forgotton that the difficulties that the Government had to deal with were mainly due to the neglect and apathy of the late Government. Had the late Government brought in additional powers when they were in Office, he ventured to say that much of the trouble that had since arisen would not have occurred. Since the present Government came into Office he considered that they had not received the support and assistance from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) and his Colleagues which they had a right to expect. He complained of the action of the Conservative Party, and particularly that of the hon. and gallant Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith). The former had brought forward a Motion for the release of the "suspects" whilst the right hon. Member for Bradford was still in Office; the latter endeavoured to embarrass the Government, and, at the same time, to aid the landlords by encouraging a scheme of purchase before the rents could be reduced by the application of the Land Act, and a re-sale to the tenants on easy terms at the expense of the Public Exchequer. Disappointed at the rupture of their own alliance with the Irish Party, the Opposition had invented a Treaty. He did not believe there was any foundation for the statement made respecting that transaction; but, even if there was, he should rejoice if it had been the means of giving peace to Ireland. He believed that nothing short of the total extinction of the Land League organization could have relieved Ireland from the curse which had come upon it through that organization. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had always had his support. He never saw a man treated in such a manner by hon. Members. At one moment he was superior to his Colleagues in having refused to tamper with crime, and at another he had connived at the operations of the Land League in order to pass the Land Act. There was not a part of the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman which was not assailed on one side of the House or the other because, forsooth, he had separated from his Colleagues. He recollected that even those who were now so anxious to laud their right hon. Friend, as they were pleased to call him, were the very men who, just before he retired from Office and took away with him "the conscience of the Government," accused him of having held a private conference with the Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act to instruct them how they were to carry out that enactment. He had risen for the purpose of protesting against the accusation made against the right hon. Gentleman that he had allowed the Land League to exist on purpose that crime might multiply and some Land Act be obtained. It was an accusation altogether unfounded, but had been cheered by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. It had been asked why, if the right hon. Gentleman knew all he did about the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he had not prosecuted him? The answer was simple. He knew that whatever charge he might prefer against that Gentleman, an Irish jury would not convict him. He had expected from the hon. Member for the City of Cork, instead of the vague phrases he had addressed to them, an expression of his determination to teach his country that no good could come out of crimes such as they had seen; and he felt that the calamities of the Irish people would rather increase and multiply than diminish if they possessed the independence which the hon. Member for the City of Cork sought to procure for them. He would say, in conclusion, he did hope the result would be that hon. Members would not talk as the hon. Member for the City of Cork had done that night of a brave and noble nation. What hope could there be for any people who permitted in their midst and allowed to pass unpunished such atrocious crimes as had been committed in that country?

MR. METGE said, he would not attempt to follow the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis) in his, what he would call, post-mortem examination of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), only so far as it had reference to his statement that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had charged the right hon. Gentleman with conniving at crime and agitation in Ireland in order to gain his own ends. He would say that the right hon. Gentleman was convicted out of his own mouth, for on Thursday night, when making his violent philippic, he had told them that he had allowed the agitation to grow upon the people and the elements of discord to arise in the country. He had done that because he had known that an appeal to the country would have been detrimental to his Government. That was the moral line which he would have them follow. With regard to the foul aspersions which had been cast on Members of the Party to which he personally belonged, he would say that it was with feelings of heartfelt pleasure that he had listened to the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). He (Mr. Metge) and the other Members had felt anxious that the hon. Member should make that statement, and they felt he had answered completely the charges which had been brought against him. He believed that those foul aspersions could not have been justified in any way by the circumstances of the case, and he looked upon them as having been brought forward not so much as being directed against the policy which they had inaugurated in Ireland, but for Party purposes, and to shape the policy of the Government, and to shape the lines of the policy of the Government upon coercion rather than conciliation. He (Mr. Medge) was proud to have been a very humble member of the Land League. He had joined that League from its first inception, and, with the Tenants' Defence Association, he had believed it to be legal in its constitution and objects, and that it aimed at carrying out those objects by legal means. The Attorney General for Ireland on Wednesday had stated in the House that from the first the League had been unconstitutional in all the points which he (Mr. Metge) had named, unconstitutional in its objects, and unconstitutional in the actions by which it had enforced them. If that were the case, he thought it was the strongest condemnation of the

Government which had been brought against them by any Member of the House. What excuse could the Government have, after the statement that the League had been unconstitutional from the first, to allow him and the unfortunate people of Ireland to join in the agitation, believing they were furthering agitation by Constitutional methods? The charge which had been brought against the Land League in the case now *sub judice* in Dublin had certainly given colourable strength to the arguments brought forward against the League, and he did not want to enter into them for that reason, or under cover of the statement that the evidence might be false. He did not wish to screen or palliate in any way the action of criminals. No man more than himself would wish to see those criminals brought to justice; but they must remember, after all, that the statements of Carey were those of an infamous informer. But, taking the words of that man to be true, he would ask the House to consider the circumstances and constitution of the Land League. They must remember that it extended its ramifications through all parts of the country, from the east to the west, and had included on the roll of its members persons of all classes, including members of the landlord class, who had been originally greatly opposed to its objects. In joining the Land League, Fenians could only have one of two objects in view—either they desired to affiliate the organization to their own movement, which would most likely carry out their own designs, or they wished to break it up altogether as a Constitutional movement. He believed that if the Fenians did join the movement, they only did so for the purpose of breaking it up, as from first to last one object of the Land League had been to obtain their ends by legitimate influences and thoroughly Constitutional means. This was most certainly the object which the branch with which he happened to be connected had. From it they had never departed. Their desire was to benefit their unhappy country. They had to benefit the tenant farmer, and whilst doing so they endeavoured to remove the evils which caused crime. They never failed to raise their voices at the same time against crime, and in this followed the teachings of O'Connell and others who believed that the greatest enemies of their cause were those who committed crime. Their Chief, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), himself had very forcibly laid down the lines upon which the Land League acted in a speech in reply to accusations of the connection between it and the Fenian movement, when he denied most emphatically that any such connection existed, and he added that he did not believe the physical force policy was possible in Ireland. He also denied that there was any connection, either secret or open, between the two organizations, the Land League and Fenianism. This course he himself and all the members of the League had followed and acted upon. He had a sincere respect for a man who, believing that physical force might secure the regeneration of his country, acted on those sentiments; but he never believed that such a policy was justifiable in the cause of Ireland. He did not think even the possibility of success could justify it, nor did he believe that the state of affairs in Ireland at present was sufficiently bad to justify it. Too much was thrown upon the hazard of the die. Their lines of action were not those of the Land League, and, in fact, the one organization was directly in antagonism to the other. The senior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) had thrown down a challenge upon two points. Said he—"If these things be not so, show us by what means you have endeavoured to put down crime;" and then—"Show us by what means or methods you propose to put down crime in the future." He (the right hon. and learned Gentleman) accentuated the challenge by reference to the refusal of Mr. Egan, as treasurer of the Land League Fund, to offer £1,000 reward for the apprehension of the Phœnix Park murderers. He happened to know the facts of this matter, for it was a member of his own branch of the Land League who suggested it. It dropped through for the reason that on the very day that the matter appeared in the public prints the late Attorney General for Ireland stated in the House that such help was not required, and that there was in offering too much as blood-money the danger of holding out inducements to informers to come forward, looking only to the reward without any reference to the consequences. Such a thing had occurred before, and innocent men had thereby lost their lives. Then, as to the method the Land League proposed to prevent crime in the future, no man desired less than himself to attack the Government, because he was willing to concede every Government the support necessary to carry out their function, and to admit that they were justified in using any means in their power—every influence to put down crime. Their method, however, for the redemption of Ireland was first to take away the fruitful causes of so much evil. Let all those be swept away, and they should be so in the interests of all classes, and not of the landlord class—and he belonged to it—quite as much as any other, the accursed system of agrarian crimes for which the present landlord system was as but a drop in a bucket compared with the enormities for which the system itself was responsible. It was undoubtedly true that owing to it, family after family, nay, we might say whole peoples, had been driven out, homeless and penniless into the world, to meet death, or, still worse, degradation in its lowest and worst forms in this country or in America. If, then, the Government really wished to put down crime in Ireland they ought at once take away this very great evil which everyone admitted promoted crime. Then they should introduce electoral reform and place Ireland on an equality with England both as to electoral and Constitutional rights. Let them not tamper with the people—let them have some confidence in the administration of justice. Of this at present there was none. It was no use their appealing to justice—the law was, as administered, utterly odious to them, for they saw their arguments turned aside, and they had no faith whatever in the administrators of the law, and instead of looking to the law to help them they looked upon it as their unscrupulous foe. This it was which had brought about the state of things which the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) referred to when he said that Ireland with 5,000,000 presented a problem of greater difficulty than that which was connected with the 35,000,000 comprising the rest of the British Empire. To obviate this they must throw some sense of responsibility into the hands of the people. It was all very well to say that crime was decreasing, and a measure of peace had been attained under the present vigorous administration of coercion; but he was sorry to say that he did not think that to be the case. He believed the peace that now prevailed in Ireland was only apparent. Undoubtedly crime to a great extent had disappeared; but the spirit of crime was there still, and coercion would only succeed in driving the disease more deeply into the hearts of the people. To eradicate the disease they must take away the cause. Such a state of things as existed in Ireland would not for a moment be tolerated in England. By the virtual extinction of county magistrates the last semblance of local self-government was swept from the land. The military state which the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) inaugurated was still continued, and the men who carried out these functions were, as the late Attorney General had told them, under no control. These military men ruled the country, north and south, having no feelings of sympathy with the people, and carried out their duty with a vindictiveness which could not be justified. But one remedy only had been offered in the House, and it was this. The noble Viscount (Viscount Lymington) had suggested emigration; but to see the effects of their system they must wait 30 years. He would create a solitude and call it peace; but, apart from the sentimental view, there was another aspect from which it might be viewed. From a statesmanlike point was it desirable to extirpate the criminals from Ireland, when they might be made subject to the law, to countries beyond the British Empire, where they might be a fruitful source of discord and rebellion? Then, how had they succeeded with the past from an economic point of view? During the 10 years between 1870 and 1880 over 250,000 people had emigrated from the Irish shores. No doubt, hon. Members would say, "So much to the good," and "there are less people to fear and so much less discontent;" but what were the facts? During the eight years between 1874 and 1882, land to the extent of 500,000 acres had been thrown out of cultivation. Thus, for every person driven from their shores, two acres of land had been thrown out of cultivation. They were, therefore, in a worse position than they were before. The noble Viscount's system could only succeed in the complete extermination of the Irish people. He also wished them to look at the question from a scientific point of view. There was one other point to which he would desire to refer. The Government was most enthusiastic in carrying out its coercive laws. What had it done for the distress that had again visited the northern and western parts of the country? They hold that on philosophic principles it would be demoralizing to give the people relief. But if it was supposed to be demoralizing in Ireland to give a man holding a certain amount of land, outdoor relief, why was it not demoralizing in England also?

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to point out to the hon. Gentleman that the question of outdoor relief has nothing to do with the Amendment on the Address.

Mr. METGE said, that the object he had in view was to reply to the challenge of the senior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) as to what the Irish Party had to propose; and after the Land Question there was no more important subject to which to call the attention of the House than the administration of the Poor Law in Ireland and the assimilation of the law relating to outdoor relief with that of England; but he would not pursue the matter further, beyond asking what could be gained in a Christian land by offering to a starving people empty officialism instead of granting that relief which humanity would dictate?

Colonel O'BEIRNE said, he wished to make a few remarks upon the Irish policy of Her Majesty's Government. Although, as everbody knew, the administration of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had been a failure, it was only just to admit that he went to Ireland animated with the best intentions, and still entertained the best intentions towards the country. With regard to the present policy of the Government, it was a matter of regret, he thought, that no mention was made in the Address of the distress that at present prevailed in Ireland. It was nonsense to ignore the fact that there were hundreds of families in every county of two Provinces suffering sore distress, amounting almost to starvation. He regretted that the Government had not intimated their intention to devote a certain amount of public money for the promotion of public works. Offering the poorhouse to starving families was pure mockery, because the poorhouse was an intolerable place. He did not think the Crimes Act had been worked unjustly in any part of Ireland. They could not say it had been vindictively used, having regard to the fact that although there had been about 20 murders, only eight or nine men had paid the penalty of their crimes, and justly paid that penalty, on the scaffold. He had never heard a single complaint about the Crimes Act being misused, and believed it had not caused any public inconvenience. It had given liberty of action to every man to do what he had a right to do. As an Irish Member, he thought that thanks were due to Earl Spencer for his energetic but moderate administration of that Act. Nor could it fairly be said that convictions had been obtained by means of packed juries. There might have been a large proportion of Protestants on the juries, but he did not think they entertained any religious animosity against Catholics, and he believed they would always give a true verdict according to the evidence. The Government was the best judge of whether certain public meetings would lead to outrage, and in regard to public meetings they had not exercised their powers unfairly. For his own part he held that the country, so far from denouncing the Act, ought to be grateful for its existence, if only because it rendered possible the punishment of outrage-mongers. He confessed that, now that the Land League was dead and gone, he had little curiosity as to the objects on which its funds had been spent, though its balance-sheet, if published, would not be without interest. It was more important just now to learn whether the new National League, the successor of the Land League, was not an illegal body—a point on which, as it seemed to him, the statements of the Chief Secretary were contradictory. He had his mind made up to vote against the Amendment.

Mr. ECROYD said, with regard to the remarkable speech delivered at the commencement of the evening by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he was sure they must all feel that it would have been very much more satisfactory to the House and to the country, if his exposition of the relations between the Land League and those, whoever they might be, who engaged in outrages and murders had been more full and more explicit. He would only make one other observation with regard to that speech. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had accused the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford of something like *suppressio veri.* If he was correctly informed, he could not free the hon. Member for the City of Cork from liability to a like charge. With regard to the newspaper *United Ireland,* he had said that the objectionable headings which appeared to certain articles during the imprisonment of the editor —the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien)—ceased to appear immediately on the liberation of the hon. Member from imprisonment. But he was told that the change simply amounted to this. One of the objectionable headings was "Incidents of the Campaign," and when the editor was released from prison it was altered to "The Campaign." He could not believe that any Member would conceive that there was much credit in such an alteration as that. He wished briefly to express his views on the Amendment before the House. He was sure that he spoke the sentiments of those amongst whom he sat, and with whom he was accustomed to act, when he said that their expressions of approval and admiration of the recent administration of affairs in Ireland by Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary were sincere and hearty. They did not wish to take any course or to say a single word which might have the effect of weakening that administration, or of embarrassing the conduct of affairs in Ireland now when strenuous endeavours were being made to restore that country to peace and order. Neither were they of opinion that the only course to be taken with Ireland was a course of constant repression and denial of reforms. But, whilst approving the present course of administration, they could not shut their eyes to the fact that there had been many incidents in this Government's past management of Ireland which led to a continual state of watchfulness and fear lest anything approaching the same character should again occur. They were bound to keep in mind the whole history of the Irish administration of the present Government since it came into power. They could not believe that their neglect to carry out precautionary measures during the first nine months of their tenure of Office could ever be justified. During that period it was well known to the Government that great danger was arising from seeds of mischief already existing, and which they said had existed during a portion of the Administration of Lord Beaconsfield. If that was so, it was cause for very strong condemnation of the course persistently taken by the Government during that critical period. He could not refrain from alluding to a speech made during that very period by the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), at Birmingham, at the opening of a new Liberal Club on the 16th November, 1880. The right hon. Gentleman was reported to have said that, although there was wide-spread discontent arising with regard to existing laws, it was not the first duty of the Government to maintain peace and order, but that whilst the forces opposed to peace and order were proceeding to organize themselves, it was their duty, before taking any steps of repression, to examine into and try to remedy the grievances complained of, and which were made the excuses for disorder. A principle more entirely subversive of all law and order than the one contained in that speech, he thought it would be absolutely impossible to formulate. They were perfectly conscious that there had been all along two forces at work in the Administration — one, he was happy to believe, a most influential and powerful force, at all times ready, in the first place, to assert the majesty of the law, and then willing to lend an ear to all real grievances; and the other holding and endeavouring to carry into action the pernicious principles set forth in the speech of the President of the Board of Trade. The object of Members who supported the Amendment was not to weaken the hands of Lord Spencer. They wished to strengthen the hands of the wiser and firmer section of the Administration; but, whilst those still remained in Office who, in their opinion, had been mainly responsible for the miseries and disasters that had followed each other so quickly during the last few years, and who had paralyzed the firmer elements of the Government when they ought to have most diligently asserted the majesty of the law, Members of the Opposition found it necessary to raise an indignant protest against the advocates of a policy which had produced such evils before and might do the like again. Those who had been the cause of weakness still remained in the Administration. Her Majesty's Government had got rid of the man who was supremely right in the spring of 1882, and who then stood forth as the resolute defender of law and order, and Members of the Opposition wished that Her Majesty's Government would as promptly get rid of those who, as they fully believed, had weakened the administration of the law. If the Government would purge themselves of that element, Members opposite would be able to give to the present Administration of Ireland a more unqualified support. From a desire that the mind of the country should be set at rest on this point, and not be subject to future surprises of like nature to the Kilmainham negotiations, he should give a hearty support to the Amendment before the House.

Mr. BUXTON said, that, as an independent Member sitting above the Gangway, he desired to support the Government. He believed the debate was one that was calculated to intensify disaffection in Ireland. The Amendment, if carried, must put an end to the administration of Lord Spencer. When it was said that was not its object, the question was raised whether it was strictly in accordance with the traditions of the House to put forward an Amendment for the purpose of damaging the Government with the expectation that it would not be carried. It was difficult to reconcile the terms of the Amendment with the passages of the Address which would be left untouched by the Amendment, and by the adoption of which satisfaction would be expressed at the improvement in the social condition of Ireland. The Conservatives were in high glee because they thought they saw a little division of opinion on the Liberal Benches, which promised to be of use to them. He did not believe, however, that there was the slightest ground for their joy, inasmuch as the slight difference of opinion that formerly existed between the late Chief Secretary and Her Majesty's Government was of very small moment. It simply concerned the policy of the Government for about 10 days, and they all on that side of the House now united in approving the present policy. This evening, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had disclaimed all knowledge of certain statements published in *United Ireland*, on the plea that when they appeared he was actually in Kilmainham Gaol; but, surely, after his release he might have read what had been printed in the paper during his incarceration. But on the 2nd of June in last year the hon. Gentleman was not in prison; and when he (Mr. Buxton) called attention to the report of a speech in which the hon. Member had spoken of the ultimate aim and object of the Land League as the separation of England from Ireland, the hon. Gentleman rose in his place to ask where the report appeared. The authority was given to him, but he never disavowed the statement. This was a serious time, and they ought to show a united front. He thought it would be more dignified if Members on the other side of the House would assist Her Majesty's Government. They were dealing with no light matter; and, with the view of strengthening the hands of the Government, he should give his strenuous opposition to the Amendment.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON: Sir, it has been said by the hon. Member who has just sat down that hon. Members of the Opposition should either cease their opposition to the Address or cease to support the Amendments that are put down if they do not intend to carry them. Well, I have no doubt I have seen Members on his side of the House voting on Amendments which, at least, were not intended to strengthen the hands of the Government.

Mr. BUXTON: Perhaps I may be allowed to rise to Order. I did not say it was a peculiar thing that Amendments should be moved by a Party that had no hope of carrying them. I said they should only move an Amendment which they wished to have carried, and which, if carried, would advance the objects they had in view.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON: I am sorry I misunderstood the hon. Gentleman; but I can assure him that I quite understand the object of this Amendment. The object of this Amendment, so far as I know it—I was no party to it—was to procure a discussion on the question of Her Majesty's Government, and was intended to strengthen the hands of the Government. Not for the first time in our experience of the Government, the Leaders believe that unless they receive at this moment strong expressions of opinion from the House and the country in favour of the later policy which they have been pursuing in Ireland, they might in a moment of weakness be urged—by those in the Cabinet and those below the Gangway on the side of the House hostile to the policy — once more to abandon their policy in favour of some such arrangement as that which is called the Kilmainham Treaty. It was solely with that object that this Amendment was put forward. Sir, I think we have succeeded in eliciting from this House an expression of opinion most valuable; and, after the remarkable speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, I, for one, should not be in the least sorry if this Amendment were withdrawn. Its object has been served, and I think the hands of Her Majesty's Government have already been immensely strengthened. I should like to allude to one or two remarks which have fallen in the course of the debate from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, the noble Marquess, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford and the Home Secretary, both in the course of their speeches, charged the Opposition with not having suppressed the Land League in its earlier stages. They stated, as a fact, that the Land League existed in the time of the late Government, and that it should have been dealt with and coped with at that time. And I was much struck with an observation of the noble Marquess, that what first gave the Land League power in Ireland was the encouragement which the hon. Member for the City of Cork got in this House, which enabled him to cope with the Government and the constituted authorities of the House. Now, Sir, the Members returned in the last Parliament were fully conversant with the power which the hon. Member for the City of Cork had obtained. I think the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was somewhat cognizant of those facts. We, who sat then on that side of the House, with all the responsibilities of government on our shoulders, knew how the Irish Party below the Gangway received assistance and advice from the President of the Board of Trade, the President of the Local Government Board, and occasionally of the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and we knew full well if, at that time, we had attempted to deal with the Land League, which had just commenced, a large part of the Liberal Party would not have joined with us in our endeavour to suppress what they called "Constitutional agitation," for I know it was in my own constituency the President of the Board of Trade stated that at its commencement the objects of the Land League were praiseworthy. Well, Sir, now to charge us with not putting down what has since turned out to be a conspiracy, but which from Members of their own Cabinet they say was praiseworthy at the time, is a charge I am surprised the noble Marquess should have brought against us. Now, the noble Marquess also said—and it was a statement which greatly surprised me also—that we did not give assistance to the Government, when they brought in the Arrears Act and the Land Act. I entirely dispute that statement. At the time the Arrears Act was passed, it is quite possible many Conservatives admitted the necessity for such a measure. but the necessity for the passage of such a measure came about by the mal-administration of Her Majesty's Government. We have it on the authority of the Duke of Argyll, that when they came into Office they never thought of introducing a Land Bill; and it was only the commencement of the Land League, with whom the President of the Board had acted, that gave the necessity for the introduction of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) denies that he had ever received assistance at the hands of his Colleagues. We all know that the right hon. Gentleman, though he is of a rugged exterior, is of a large and a kind heart, and I am quite sure he would be the last one to give bad treatment to his Colleagues. The noble Marquess last night endeavoured to dispute the statement of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), that certain Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford used clandestine negotiations behind his back; but at the same time, Sir, the noble Marquess stated that the right hon. Gentleman was so often in Ireland at that time that he must have been in ignorance of what was going on in the Committee of the Cabinet dealing in the Crimes Bill. If he was, I think he ought to have seen that it was possible, and even probable, that there were clandestine negotiations going on behind his back. Now, we were not oblivious to the fact that early last spring the President of the Board of Trade was seen in constant communication with the authorities of the House in the Lobby of this House, and with Members of the Irish Party. I believe there were negotiations prior to the time the right hon. Gentleman proposed the Kilmainham Treaty. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade has always from his earliest history been given to intrigue—I do not impute to him anything improper—in Birmingham, the centre of that great Caucus of which he was originator, and of which, I believe, he was one of the principal agitators. The right hon. Gentleman makes us think that he must be the person which the late Charles Dickens had in his eye when he drew the character of the Artful Dodger in *Oliver Twist.* I feel that my right hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire was quite right when he said clandestine negotiations were going on behind the back of the late Chief Secretary, which at last culminated in his leaving Office. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford proved one of two things in this House about which there was formerly a doubt. He proved conclusively that the Arrears Bill formed part of the compact called the Kilmainham Treaty. That was a matter which had never been denied, but about which many of us had considerable doubts. It was not denied by the noble Marquess, and it may now be taken as an accepted fact. The Home Secretary began his speech by saying that the improvement of Ireland was due to mainly two causes. One of those, he said, was the organization of the policy that was disputed by the right hon. Member for Bradford, but re-asserted by the noble Marquess. It may be correct or not correct; but I would ask this question of Her Majesty's Government. They have stated that they were enabled to cope with the disorder and crime in Ireland. What powers did they require to amend the police system? Did they require an Act of Parliament? They knew that by a stroke of the pen—an Order in Council—they would have been able to have effected any re-organization of the police they desired, such as they have now, and therefore for the right hon. Gentleman to say that this was due to the organization of the police is the strongest condemnation of their own government. It shows that the Government for two years and a-half neglected that organization. The Chief Secretary said to-night that the release of the "suspects" was one of the acts we challenged at the time of the Kilmainham Treaty, and that it did no harm. He did not say it did any good, or that it had answered the expectations of Her Majesty's Government, but he said it did no harm. I would like to ask Her Majesty's Government, as Michael Davitt is now in prison why was he re-arrested? All we know is, it was part of the Kilmainham Treaty that his release followed. Michael Davitt went immediately afterwards to Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool, and delivered incendiary speeches against the Government which had shown him such clemency. He has all the winter tried to get up an agitation, and once more they have been compelled to put him in prison; and when they say that the Kilmainham Treaty has done no harm, I say, either a gross injustice has been done to Davitt or the statement of the Chief Secretary for Ireland is wrong. The Amendment has been condemned not only by the right hon. Gentleman, but by many Members of Her Majesty's Government, and I have only to state, as I said before, that this Amendment would strengthen their hands. We should be the last people to act disloyally to our constituents or to the Queen's Government, and when we are questioned we can appeal to our conduct for the last two years and a-half, and I think the charge which is now made that we are endeavouring by every possible means to hamper or in any way embarrass Her Majesty's Government in their Irish administration, it falls to the ground. What we want is the past experience of the Government to teach them wisdom in the work. We want them to continue firm in the administration of the law; not again to tamper or negotiate with persons suspected of treason and sedition. The Chief Secretary says—"Have patience in dealing with crime; have patience in dealing with remedial measures." I agree with the right hon. Gentleman; but there is one thing more than patience for Ireland, and we hope for the people of Ireland, and that is, a bold and firm Government. If the Chief Secretary will go and inquire, he will find it is not legislation that they require. All they ask is to be left alone. [*Home Rule cheers.*] If the hon. Gentlemen cheer that remark—I mean "to be left alone"—I suppose they allude to the Crimes Act; but there is another thing—they cannot follow their avocations of peace. It rests with the Party opposite to carry out Her Majesty's programme. I think those who live there and have the great interest of the country at heart, know full well that there is little to be hoped for in the future of that country; but still, though the social and political spirits of the country are enough to make many men shudder, we who live in Ireland know that from a material point of view there has been in the last 10 or 15 years a great and vast improvement. Those improvements will increase if the Government—whether they consist of Members on that side of the House or Members on this side of the House—would but lend a deaf ear to agitators and would keep on the onward path—before they listen to agitators, before they attempt to bring force or remedial legislation, before they attempt to pass any further measures of any sort or kind for Ireland, they will first of all uphold the law, and to the best of their powers see that the administration of the law is firm, just, and impartial.

MR. T. A. DICKSON regretted the debate which had taken place during the past few days as disastrous to the peace and welfare of Ireland, as, in his opinion, it would arouse again the passions of the people, which had almost subsided. The Mover of the Amendment (Mr. Gorst) knew very little by experience of Ireland; and, while he pretended to strengthen the hands of the Government, he (Mr. Dickson) could say, as an Irish Member, that its tendency would be to weaken the hands of the Irish Executive, and to play into the hands of the party of discontent and disaffection in Ireland. In connection with the Protection of Person and Property Act, both in and out of the House he had given that Act all the opposition in his power. He had always maintained that the locking up of untried men would not grapple with crime, but would tend to its increase. He had been confirmed in that impression by paying a visit to an Irish prison, where he had an opportunity of seeing 40 or 50 "suspects" gathered together. When he saw and conversed with those men, and noticed that they had come from different parts of Ireland, some implicated in murder and others in crimes of a lighter degree—and noticed that they were conversing together, and laying their plans for the future, he had said to himself that the imprisonment of the 900 men as "suspects" was laying the foundation of unhappy events which would bring suffering to Ireland for many a day to come. He had, however, the satisfaction of hearing the Home Secretary on Tuesday last admit that the Act had been a failure, and that the imprisonment of the "suspects" without trial had also resulted in failure. Although he had opposed that Act he had voted for and supported the Crimes Act, because he believed that it was an Act directed against secret societies and against assassination conspiracies, and thereby going to the very root of the Irish difficulty. In the administration of the Act, Lord Spencer and the Chief Secretary for Ireland deserved—and he believed received—the support of every right-minded man in Ireland. After nine months of patient investigation and anxious hard work, such as had fallen to the lot of few Irish Administrators, they had succeeded at last in tracing crime to its source, and laid bare to the country and the world one of the foulest and most hideous conspiracies against life ever formed in any country, and the Irish officials, especially Mr. Jenkinson, deserved the greatest credit for having unmasked the secret societies which had been established in the country. He believed that the present was not the time to weaken or embarrass the hands of the Executive, when every patriotic Irishman, Liberal and Conservative, should rally round and sustain the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary in the arduous and dangerous positions in which they were placed, and do their best to enable them to administer the law with firmness. He must confess, however, that he had been disappointed at the announcement that had been made in "another place" by a noble Lord, a Member of the Government, and at the hints which had been dropped in the course of this debate, to the effect that there was to be no legislation of importance relating to Ireland introduced by the Government during the present Session, and this in the face of the admitted defects which existed in the Land Act. He would appeal to the Government and the House not to allow a year to pass and the moderate demands from Ireland and Ulster to be put aside. He would ask them not to commit the fatal blunder that was made after the Land Act of 1870 was passed, when, although its defects were made manifest, 11 years had been allowed to lapse before they were remedied. During that 11 years discontent and disaffection ripened into revolt, from the effects of which Ireland was suffering to-day. He would ask the House to try and act differently in the future. Ireland had never gained anything, unhappily, in the past, except by agitation; but he would say, for Heaven's sake, "Make a new departure." The reform of Grand Juries and County Boards was urgently required; and, as an Irish Member, he would say to the Government, "Do not delay too long in giving us these necessary reforms."

Mr. BLAKE considered that in the present condition of Ireland it was not creditable to one of the great Parties of the State to bring forward an Amendment of the kind moved by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). Both Parties were responsible for the grievances under which Ireland still suffered, and it should be as much the duty of the Tory Party to redress those grievances, instead of trying to embarras the Government in the efforts they were making to that end. The Amendment spoke of concession to lawless agitation; but, although he knew nothing about the so-called Kilmainham Treaty, as he was neither in the confidence of the hon. Member for Clare or the Leader of the Irish Party, he believed that whatever concession the Government had made on that occasion had been made with the view, not of coming to terms with lawlessness, but of restoring peace and order by the promise of introducing remedial measures. Believing that, he would certainly take no other course than vote against the Amendment. The speeches which had been delivered during that debate showed that were the Tory Party in, no concessions would be made to Ireland. It was only just to Her Majesty's Government to declare that the measures relating to the land system of Ireland which they had introduced had gone a long way to remedy the defects in that system, and to contribute to the future peace and prosperity of the country.

Sir DONALD CURRIE said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member who had just sat down, that the prolongation of this debate was in every respect most prejudicial to the interests of the Empire. What was the meaning of the Amendment? It meant crippling the action of the Queen's Government in a crisis such as they were now in. It meant, if that House passed the Amendment, a Vote of Condemnation on the Government of Ireland as carried on by the Queen's Ministry; it meant disorder; and he would, if he had any influence, in the interests of Ireland and of his own Party, urge that the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) should not press it to a division. What did the Amendment impugn? It impugned good order and government in Ireland, and it was most dangerous to call that in question at this crisis. As a Member for a Scottish constituency, he ventured to assert that they ought not to prolong this discussion, or continue it in the spirit in which it had been carried on, but pass as swiftly as possible to the practical purposes of legislation. His hon. Friend beside him (Mr. T. A. Dickson) had advanced a suggestion of practical importance. He wanted something really practical. But this Amendment was merely a condemnation by a side wind of the Government action in the past by reference to what might be their action in the future, and that was not a practical course. They had discussed the Land League in the House. He had no great regard for the purposes of the Land League. They had not been, in his humble judgment, for the national interest. They had not tended to the advantage of Ireland. It meant disorder

—it meant Socialism, Communism, and, indeed, an utter subversion of authority. Whatever the object of the Land League, it was not his office to condemn it; it would be judged by the country after the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). What they had to consider was the interest of the Empire; and in the interest of Ireland itself, and the interest of the Government as a Government in Ireland, and of the Queen's Government as the Government of the day, he hoped that the House would proceed to the practical purposes of legislation, and leave alone those Party objects which might be served by the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham.

MR. SCHREIBER: I am sure, Sir, we all heard with sincere pleasure the announcement made earlier in the evening by the Secretary of State for War that the Prime Minister's health is re-established, and that in less than a week we may hope to see him once more occupying the seat which during his absence the Home Secretary has been keeping warm; and I do not think, Sir, that the right hon. Gentleman will return a day too soon. For, although the Session is only one week old, he will not find his Government where he left it. It has been suffering heavy blows from the sledge-hammer of a former Colleague; he will not find his New Rules where he left them, only last night they were first strained, then broken, by a Member of his Cabinet; and last, not least, he will find that a change has come over the spirit of Her Majesty's Opposition. Now, Sir, it was quite impossible to read the speeches of Ministers in the late Recess without being struck by their nervous anxiety to huddle out of sight the events of the last three years; to divert public attention from them; and to direct it to the legislation of the coming Session, and, in one notable instance, of the Session after next. Their constant language was this—"We have got our New Rules; we have cleared the ground; we have upon the stocks a magnificent Bill for the Prevention of Corrupt Practices; by another we shall recast the Municipal Government of London and create a new and a glorified Lord Mayor; if we have a strong point, that point is Bankruptcy. In a word, next Session we mean business; for Heaven's sake, then, let us hear no more of Egypt, and, as to Ireland, let it not once be so much as named among you." But in all this, Sir, Her Majesty's Ministers reckoned without their Opposition; for the fact is, that recent events have thrown on us a duty which we must either discharge or cease to be an Opposition. Now, the Home Secretary has long been anxious to define that duty for us. He says that nine months since we ought to have brought in a Vote of Censure on the Government. But why has he tendered that advice? Because he knows that Votes of Censure depend for their success on time and opportunity, and that Votes of Censure which miscarry from neglect of those considerations are thereby converted into Votes of condonation and acquittal. But, Sir, I will tell the Home Secretary a trick worth two of that. First, let a Government be thoroughly discredited, and you may choose your own time to destroy it. And, indeed, whatever the time chosen, the Government is sure to take objection to the choice. Last night, for example, the Home Secretary alleged the great gravity there is in Irish affairs at the present moment. But on turning to the gracious Speech from the Throne I am struck by a paragraph which altogether re-assures me; for there I read—

> "My Lords and Gentlemen,—I am happy to state that the improvement in the social condition of Ireland, to which I referred in December, continues. Agrarian crime has sensibly diminished, and the law has been everywhere upheld."

But this Amendment, Sir, is not a Vote of Censure; so to regard it is thoroughly to misconceive the function and uses of "the Fourth Party." It is not, Sir, for the Picador in a bull fight to despatch the bull, that is the business of the Matador. On that Bench sit our Picadors, and well they do their duty. There sits our Matador (pointing to Sir Stafford Northcote), who has just stepped into the ring, ready to make proof of his skill and of the temper of his blade. What, Sir, we really desire to do by this Amendment is, to extract from Her Majesty's Ministers a definite statement of their policy, which may do something to allay the anxiety of the English public, due to the fact that the Cabinet is now speaking with two voices on the subject of the Government of Ireland. It would seem, Sir, as if there were some Members of the Cabinet quite unable to understand that English liberties are good whenever they are preceded or accompanied by English ideas, but that, given English liberties on the one hand and Irish ideas upon the other, there inevitably results that which is the present bane of Ireland, the abuse of free institutions. In a word, then, is the Secretary of State for War, or is the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) the real mouthpiece of the Cabinet upon this question? If the latter, then let the Home Secretary be of good cheer, for the day will not be distant upon which he will be eased of those responsibilities which he now finds so crushing, but which three years ago he was so extremely anxious to assume, and in a private station he and his Colleagues will have time to moralize upon the "Decline and Fall-off" of those who "wade through dirt to dignities." We have it, Sir, from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, than whom there can be no higher authority upon the subject, that Ireland is now divided into two camps, never, in my opinion, more bitterly hostile to each other than at the present moment, and of which one was never more weak, the other never more strong. That, Sir, is the condemnation of Her Majesty's Government in their past policy to Ireland. For the future, we claim to be told, and to be told plainly, whether the policy of the Government will give aid and comfort to the camp of loyal or disloyal Ireland. The task, Sir, of governing Ireland will not be an easy one for many a year to come, and it can only be made more difficult by shutting our eyes to the real nature of the task which lies before us. We have in Ireland to reckon with, first, hatred, wide and deep, for England — the pent-up hatred of seven centuries. Next, with that fatal passion of the Irish peasant for the soil he tills, which makes him the ready dupe of every agitator who promises him that he shall have it for his own; and, last, we have to reckon with the native turbulence of a Celtic population. These three facts, Sir, are the very rudiments of the Irish Question; and if we would know with how little wisdom this world is governed, we have only to turn to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government to pacify Ireland by the help of a man, the hon. Member for Cork City (Mr. Parnell), who, neither in this House or out of it, has ever concealed his hatred of England; who was at the head of an agitation for transferring to the tenant the property of his landlord, and who well understood how to play with turbulence until it passed the border line of crime. I hardly know, Sir, where to look for a parallel to such amazing folly, which, as it comes to be better understood, will destroy what remains of public confidence in a Government that, on the point of making the insane experiment, was only stopped by the dark tragedy, in which Lord Frederick Cavendish lost his life and, by his death, saved Ireland.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, he thought the House was much indebted to the Home Secretary for his speech, for had it not been for that speech the debate would have closed, and the House would not have had the advantage of hearing the admirable speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), or his grave charge against the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell)—a charge which the hon. Member had never answered; and his position in the House must now be regarded as very different from what it had been before. The Government had complained that the Conservative Party had made an unfair attack upon their Irish policy; but the history of Ireland during the last three years was in itself a censure of the Government, for, as they had themselves admitted, prior to the autumn of 1882 there had been 60 unavenged murders in that country. The Home Secretary's inaccuracies, which had been exposed by the right hon. Member for Braford, were alone enough to condemn any Government. The remarks of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, moreover, exposed the weakness of the Government in that they were afraid of exercising their powers because they thought they would be disapproved of by the people. Such weakness on the part of a Government would inevitably lead to the degradation of the country. If they could only appeal from that House to the country he had little doubt as to the result. The country, he was sure, would speak with no uncertain sound, and its verdict would not be favourable to Her Majesty's Government. The Chief Secretary had told them that the main difficulty of governing Ireland arose in

England; or, in other words, from the weak and vacillating policy of the Radical Party, who preferred pandering to the foibles of human nature, rather than to win the gratitude of their country by establishing and maintaining law and order in the country. He might fairly ask how much longer was political history to repeat itself in the Sister Country? In 1798 Mr. Fitzgibbon declared that concession and conciliation produced a fresh crop of grievances, and the discontent of Ireland kept pace with its increased prosperity; and in the same year the Duke of Portland wrote to Lord Cornwallis that, although he was sorry to say it, his opinion was that the only way in which crime could be stopped in Ireland would be by showing that the Government was possessed of an overwhelming power, which was able to punish impartially all offenders against the law. The same thing might be said to-day. Hon. Members opposite were found always tampering with the affairs of Ireland, often, it might be, with pure motives; but sometimes, he was afraid, as was the case in 1880, with the object of getting back into power. He could not forget that in Southwark and other places pledges were given with the intention of securing the Irish vote. The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), and also the junior Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), had shown a disposition to yield still further to the demands of turbulent agitators. The son of the Prime Minister might be supposed to have spoken the views entertained by a much more responsible person who, without any assigned reason or excuse—for according to the papers he was perfectly well—had not thought fit to be in his place at the commencement of the Session. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, although away from the House, had, it appeared, not deemed it unbecoming in him to make certain statements in reference to his policy, in which he avowed himself to be "in favour of localization in Ireland"—an expression which, if it meant anything, must bear the sense of the speeches either of the hon. Member for Leeds or of the hon. Member for Ipswich. Why was it that all the remedial legislation of the Government had produced so little good and left Ireland in a worse state than it was before? Because it was not the Land Act that was wanted in Ireland, but the destruction of the landlords, who were the link that bound that country to this. It was, therefore, all the more necessary that all those who were for maintaining law and order in Ireland should assert their convictions in some such form as that assumed in the Amendment before the House.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: The fate of the Amendment now before the House gives me very little concern. Neither its fate, nor its purport, nor its wording is of much account to me, or to those with whom I have the honour to act. One thing is clear, that the Amendment is directed not against the Irish Members, but against Her Majesty's Ministers. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!] I care not whether it is rejected or passed, and I do not propose to make my business either the arraignment or defence of the Government as regards its general policy. I shall confine myself to two speeches delivered in the course of this debate—that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), and that of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Now, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was undoubtedly what writers in the newspapers sometimes call a "great effort." It was a tremendous effort. I always thought the right hon. Gentleman had a good deal of theatrical talent, which he had not up to the present fully developed. Those who heard his remarkable speech will agree with me that it was mimetic as well as historic. It gave us that entertainment which is often described in the play-bills of theatres and music halls as "imitations of popular performers." I wish I saw him in his place in the House at present. I am hardly mistaken in thinking that he favoured the House with what he believed to be imitations of the voices and manners of some hon. Members of the Irish Party. I am content that he shall have all the favour which his familiar attacks upon some Members of that Party and his erudition in American newspapers can win him for a time from this House and the public. I know, too, that his motive was not merely, although it was mainly, to discredit the Irish Members. He had his mind fixed also upon discrediting and damaging the Government from which he has been discarded; and I am convinced that there are Members of that Government—aye, Members who are at this moment sitting on the Treasury Bench—whom he had in his mind with a wish to discredit and damage them as much as he wished to discredit my hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork. Whatever his speech was made up from—from American newspapers, from reports of meetings in the country, from hints, and more than hints, in the passionate Press of London—there was one quality of that speech which was all the right hon. Gentleman's own, and that was its envenomed malignity. I never heard in this House a speech more entirely inspired with the purpose of deliberate defamation. I believe it was the right hon. Gentleman's intention to do all the damage he could to the characters of some Members of the House by a process of systematic calumny. He accused some of my hon. Friends, and with them of course myself, of conniving at outrage and assassination. He talked of offering us an alternative; but he gave none. He made it clear that his charge was nothing short of deliberate connivance with outrage and assassination. Here is the sort of alternative the right hon. Gentleman offered us—

> "I give the hon. Member an alternative, that either he connived at outrages, or when, warned by facts and statements, he determined to remain in ignorance; that he took no trouble to test the truth of whether outrages had been committed or not, but that he was willing to gain the advantage of them."

[*Ministerial cheers.*] Let those cheer the right hon. Gentleman who like; I point out that this is no alternative; that men who are informed that outrage and assassination are going on, and who determine to remain in ignorance, and are willing to gain the benefit of outrage and assassination, are distinctly conniving at those crimes. Therefore, I tell the right hon. Gentleman that when he pretended to give us an alternative he did nothing of the kind; and that as he had made up his mind to charge us by implication with conniving at murder, he ought to have stood boldly up and said so. He ought to have said so in those plain words he sometimes is able to use, and ought not to have shielded himself behind the pretence of an alternative. I should have thought that the right hon. Gentleman would be the Member of this House least inclined, owing to certain memories he must have, to fling accusations of sympathy with murder recklessly at other men. When charging us with these crimes, he must have recalled a time when a newspaper, then far more influential than it now is—*The Times*—charged him with sympathy with secret assassination. I do not charge the right hon. Gentleman with having sympathy with crime; but for the reason I have stated he ought to have felt a sentiment which would have prevented him from recklessly hurling similar charges in the faces of men as honourable as himself, and who feel as little thirst for blood as he does. On the 14th of March, 1864, one who was then a Member of this House, and is now high in Her Majesty's Colonial Service—Sir John Pope Hennessy—brought forward certain statements in this House with regard to a right hon. Friend of mine, for whom I have the highest respect, the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), and who was accused by certain newspapers of sympathy with assassination because he had harboured Mazzini and some of his friends. This became the subject of debate in this House, and led to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax resigning his position in the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) stood up for his Friend. I do not blame him for that—he believed him to be innocent. But what were the evidences given, and the assassination theory held, by the man for whom the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford stood up in this House? Extracts were then read from Mazzini's letter, "The Theory of the Dagger." Such passages as these were read—

> "Blessed be the knife of Palafox; blessed be in your hands every weapon that can destroy the enemy and set you free. The weapon that slew Mincovich in the Arsenal initiated the insurrection in Venice. It was a weapon of irregular warfare like that which, three months before the Republic, destroyed the Minister Rossi in Rome. . . . . Sacred be the stiletto that began the Sicilian Vespers."

The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford rose and said—

> "The hon. and learned Gentleman had brought forward a charge against an absent man—Signor Mazzini, who, whatever his faults, was a man of high character.—(3 *Hansard*, [173] 935.)

Whatever his faults! What though he blessed the knife of one man and the dagger of another, and the system of "irregular warfare" which removed Count Rossi, the Minister of the late Pope Pius IX., who was murdered on the steps of the Capitol, he was "a man of high character!" The right hon. Gentleman's Leader of the present day did not agree with his estimate of Signor Mazzini. The present Prime Minister had written in a preface to a translation of Signor Farini's *Roman States*—"The satellites of Mazzini make common cause with assassins." After those extracts had been read and four days had passed, during which the right hon. Member for Bradford had time for reflection, the subject was again raised, and the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "I should not be ashamed of being the friend of Mazzini."—[*Irish cheers and a cry of* "the Dagger."] "I am not ashamed of being his acquaintance."—(*Ibid.* [174] 326.)

Well, I think that that incident is not without its interest and moral. The Irish Members who brought forward that question at that time did not charge the right hon. Gentleman, or think of charging him, with sympathy with assassination. The charge was that he and his companions showed a levity which disregarded what a man might do, or what his satellites might be, so long as that man was a foreign patriot. *The Times* of March 15, 1864, had a leading article on the subject, which is not without its application to the present circumstances. The right hon. Gentleman was not then in the flush and heyday of youth. He was able to judge whether Mazzini and his associates and satellites were what they were represented to be. *The Times* said—

> "Who, then, is this M. Mazzini, to whose innocence this Gentleman (Mr. Stansfeld) and Mr. W. E. Forster pledge themselves? Let anyone read the passages quoted by Mr. Hennessy last night, and say whether the friends of M. Mazzini have any right to indulge in high-flown indignation when it is alleged that he might possibly be engaged in a conspiracy against a Potentate's life."

I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was justified in seizing at the chance of high-flown indignation because the newspaper that accused him then of sympathy with assassination accuses some of us now of the same thing. I wonder that the memory of that episode in his career has not made him more generous—yes, I will say more honest—towards men whom, in his heart, he no more believes to be guilty of that charge than honourable men then believed him to be. I pass from that not uninstructive incident to the right hon. Gentleman's attack on Irish Members, and the grounds on which that attack was made. He had something to say about myself in connection with *United Ireland*, a paper published in Dublin. He said much the same thing about a year ago. He then went over the story of some articles that he said appeared in that paper. I believe they were not articles, but headings of paragraphs; and he appealed to me, though I was not in my place at the time, to know whether I approved of all these various paragraphs and headings. Now, the right hon. Gentleman must have known—at all events he might have known—that I could not have seen that newspaper then. He knew that I had been out of England the whole of that Recess, from the end of one Session to the beginning of another. [AN IRISH MEMBER: He did.] He did, and he said so himself in this House, for he indulged in some more or less graceful satire at my expense, and complained that, instead of helping to keep order in Ireland, I had been enjoying myself among the monuments of ancient Greece. But since I was so culpable as to be enjoying myself among the monuments of ancient Greece, and in countries much farther off, he might have known it was not likely that a Dublin paper followed me in all my wanderings. He knew that at the time he was speaking—at the time he was so playfully chiding me for the amusement of the House—he must have known that that paper was prevented from coming into this country; and though I made strenuous efforts shortly after to get copies of it, and see if it contained the terrible things it was said to contain, I was unable to obtain a copy. However, I allow that to pass. It would not much matter if the right hon. Gentleman could have sustained his charge. If he had not returned to it I should not have cared to raise it. But I am quite willing to tell him, if it affords him the slightest interest, the history of my connection with that paper. It was started to get rid of a notorious print, which appears lately to have lived by the levying of black mail in Dublin. It was founded by a committee of gentlemen in whom I have the greatest trust; and the editorship was given to a man whom I regard and respect, and whom I know to be incapable of conducting a journal on the principles the right hon. Gentleman described. Under those conditions I felt content, having no control over the paper, to go abroad among the monuments of ancient Greece, and to leave the paper in the hands of the able editor who has already shown his ability in this House. I did not inquire in my absence how he conducted it. I know he conducted it honourably and well; and we have learned that the only things the right hon. Gentleman objects to are the paragraphs and headings which got into the paper while he had the responsible editor under lock and key in one of his prisons. I have said enough on that point. I do not believe that any investigation would convict that editor of publishing any articles which men of honour would be ashamed to sanction. The right hon. Gentleman went over many points with the object of associating me and others with plots and assassination. For example, he spoke of a telegram sent by Mr. Brennan, who was the correspondent of *The Irish World*, to that paper. The telegram is given variously in the different journals; but I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, is this which I am about to read the right version?

> "All sorts of theories are afloat concerning this explosion,"—that is, the Salford dynamite explosion—"but the truly loyal one is that Fenianism did it."

What is the plain and evident meaning of that? Is it not that the fashionable and loyal theory, as a matter of course, is that the Fenians did it? I ask the right hon. Gentleman, is not that the manifest meaning?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I would ask the hon. Member to read the remainder of the telegram.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: I quote the whole of the printed version I have. The right hon. Gentleman charged me with deliberate avoidance of reading articles in order that I might be able to say I did not know of the incitement to assassination they contained. Then he said—

> "I expect, or suspect"—probably suspect, it is more in his line—"I suspect the hon. Member (meaning myself) has been careful not to read the articles to which I refer."

The charge is, perhaps, hardly Parliamentary. There was a rude interruption last night, which we all regret, to an imputation which ought not to have been made; but the right hon. Gentleman is allowed to say—

> "I suspect the hon. Member has been careful not to read the articles to which I refer."

The whole theory and purpose of his declamation and defamation was to make Members of this House responsible for every violent act done, and every violent word said, by any supposed follower of his in this country or America. I should like to know how that theory would apply to the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman has not forgotten the riots which occurred in the Reform years, nor the men who got up those riots. He has not forgotten the riot which led to the breakdown of the Hyde Park railings, and the maiming and wounding of many of the mob and some policemen. The right hon. Gentleman and his Friends came back to power on that smash of the Hyde Park railings. The right hon. Gentleman was well acquainted with the leader of the Democratic movement—the late Mr. Beales. [Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I did not know him personally.] Neither do I know personally those who have uttered these violent words and done these violent acts in Ireland for which I am sought to be made responsible. Mr. Beales is dead. Mr. Beales was a man of honour and courage. I knew him, and I respected him. But he certainly got around him, and could not help getting around him, men of very odd character and very odd pretensions. Does the right hon. Gentleman remember a certain Mr. Joseph Leicester, a famous glass blower? [Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I do not remember him.] He does not remember him? As a famous actress said on one occasion, "What a candour; but what a memory!" At the time Mr. Leicester's name used to appear in every London newspaper every morning. This distinguished supporter of the right hon. Gentleman's Party went to a great meeting one day—a great trades' demonstration, held, I think, in Trafalgar Square—and this was part of the speech of Joseph Leicester. There was then, as there has been more lately, much talk of a kind of rush and raid on the House of Commons to force them to pass a certain Bill, and this was what this demagogic hero said—

> "The question is, were they to suffer those little-minded, decrepid, hump-backed, one-eyed scoundrels, who call themselves the House of Commons, to defraud them any longer of their rights?"

I was not a Member of the House of Commons then, and did not come in for any part of that lively personal description; but I ask the right hon. Gentleman if someone as nearly connected with the hon. Member for the City of Cork as Mr. Leicester was with the right hon. Gentleman had used words of that description to a meeting of Irishmen, what would he have said? The riots in Hyde Park took place, and people were wounded. ["Question!"] There was no cry of "Question" when the right hon. Gentleman was defaming me and others, and went over land and sea and over years to find charges against us. It is quite to the Question. I want to say to him and the House that it is impossible in any movement to hold the leaders responsible for every idle word and act said and done by their followers. Of this movement Mr. Beales was the leader; and when the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends came into power did they repudiate Mr. Beales? They made him a County Court Judge. Did they at any time while these proceedings were going on repudiate the language of any man? No. There was a newspaper in London at the time of which the right hon. Gentleman and the right hon. Gentleman sitting near him (Mr. John Bright) knew something, in which a writer, not now living, had once called on the people, if a certain thing were not done, to destroy the House of Lords, and to strew the Thames with the wreck of their painted Chamber. I ask the right hon. Gentleman who took in that paper whether he read it or not? [*Cries of "Morning Star."*] Yes; *The Morning Star.* [Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I was not a shareholder.] The matter was brought to the notice of this House by an hon. Member; and I am not aware that the right hon. Gentleman said one single word in condemnation of that language. And remember, Mr. Speaker, that the time of the Hyde Park riots was not a time of peace. We have heard again and again that things may be allowed in times of peace; but that was not a time of peace. Those were dangerous times. Troops were kept in readiness—the air was full of danger. During the whole of that time the right hon. Gentleman never said, as far as I know, one word to dissociate himself or any of his Friends from those acts or words. I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman another question. Did he never hear at that time that a famous Continental leader of revolution was over in London, and was in negotiation with some of the men concerned in these affairs with the hope of assisting them in a Democratic revolution? [Mr. W. E. FORSTER: No.] He never heard of it? He never read any of the papers published at that time? He never read histories published since that time? Over and over again—in newspapers, magazines, and books—has the story of the foreign incendiary been told, and the right hon. Gentleman never heard of it or read of it; and yet he supposes I read every copy of *The Irish World.* I think I have sufficiently shown that the right hon. Gentleman ought to be cautious how he makes charges against us of sympathy with assassination, or of having assisted or connived at crimes, and how he lays down the theory that a man is bound to know what is done by everybody else who is concerned with him in any popular movement. I will tell the right hon. Gentleman and the House how outrages grew up in Ireland of late. The Land League was formed with the full and deliberate intent of drawing agitation above the surface. That was its motive. Its purpose was to maintain public platforms on which agitation might go on openly and in the face of day, by which men would be withdrawn from that terrible system of conspiracy which has been the bane and curse of Ireland for so many years. That was the motive of the Land League. I saw that was its distinct purpose, and it was succeeding so manifestly in the purpose that I joined the League. The right hon. Gentleman expects that everyone has read every letter written by everyone else. I should ask him if he did me the favour of reading a letter of mine which was published in all the papers in England in reference to my joining the Land League? [Mr. W. E. FORSTER: No.] He did not. He only reads *The Irish World,* and I did not write to *The Irish World* to explain my intentions. In that letter I stated concisely and clearly my reasons for believing the Land League would do good, and why I thought it was the duty of every patriotic Irishman to join it. I believed it was doing good by helping to close the era of conspiracy. But there came upon Ireland one autumn and one winter three influences of evil together—famine, the House of Lords, and the right hon. Gentleman. The country was miserably pinched with hunger. The House of Lords rejected the poor little Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which might have stopped for a while the sufferings of the people; and then, to improve the situation, the right hon. Gentleman got his law for the arrest of suspicious men, under which he flung the leaders of the people into prison. Then it was that outrages began to increase. After the arrest of the hon. Member for the City of Cork the movement drifted leaderless and hopeless, dropped from the high point to which it had risen in publicity and on the platform, into the seething ferment of the sea of conspiracy. The leaders of the land movement had nearly succeeded in raising Ireland out of conspiracy. ["No, no!"] That is what I fully and firmly believe, and thus history hereafter will, I am certain, write it out. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Forster) referred to a gentleman named Redpath. The right hon. gentleman accuses us of complicity in assassination because Mr. Redpath attended a meeting somewhere. I only saw Mr. Redpath once, and then but for a few minutes. But I am told that the right hon. Gentleman himself has had more to do with Mr. Redpath than I have. Mr. Redpath was an honorary member of the Cobden Club. He is, I believe, an Englishman, and even a Yorkshireman.

Mr. POTTER: It is quite true Mr. Redpath was elected a member of the Cobden Club in 1869, and was recommended by friends in America. He is no longer a member of the Club, and has not been for about two years.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: Mr. Redpath was a member of the Cobden Club, recommended by friends in America, and I dare say he would be a member still had it not been for certain debates in this House. I should, however, never think of holding my hon. Friend the Member for Rochdale (Mr. Potter) responsible for any of Mr. Redpath's words or acts. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant made a serious mistake when he appealed to us to-night to justify all manner of executions simply on the ground that so many murders had been committed. It is not the theory of this country that for so many murders there shall be so many executions. That is the theory of certain Eastern States; but that is happily not yet the theory in even Ireland. Were the murders ten times more in number than the men put on trial for them, I should be at liberty still, if I thought I had reason, to examine into the justice of each trial and the way in which it had been conducted; and if it could be shown there was anything like systematic jury packing in even one trial, no matter how many murders had been committed, I should denounce it. The right hon. Gentleman seemed a little hopeful towards the end of his speech when he spoke of the great decrease of outrages, and when there was drawn from him the statement that there was also a decrease of evictions. In searching for the causes which had led to this decrease of outrages, the fact of the decrease of evictions must not be overlooked. The right hon. Gentleman then became a little more ominous in saying that he feared that lately evictions had been on the increase. Was it not possible that with the increase of evictions might come an increase of outrages? It must be remembered that there is now no such thing as the right of public meeting or free speech in Ireland. A man may make a speech if he likes at his own risk; but the right hon. Gentleman tells us that if he thinks there is anything in the speech which might tend to inflame the feelings of anyone, he will prevent or punish the making of such speeches, although he knows the speaker had no evil intention whatever. There is no free platform in Ireland; no free Press—no right to hold a public meeting. There is no way in which the sentiments and grievances of the people can be freely expressed. You are labouring in the dark. You are driving disaffection beneath the surface. You alone will be responsible for the consequences of the terrible and stringent measures you have adopted. As the hon. Member for the City of Cork said, there is no longer any probability of the Irish Leaders or the Irish Members of Parliament standing between you and the elements of conspiracy. I do not blame the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary so much for the change that has come about. The responsibility for that change I lay, as I have already said, on the shoulders of another man. I may say of him, as was said of another famous politician, that it has seldom been within the power of any human creature to do so much good as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford has prevented.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, in the first place, let me acknowledge that the debate, which has now extended over several days, has travelled rather wide. At the same time, I think there has been much more connection between some of the subjects that have been discussed and some of the speeches that have been made than would appear at first sight. I am bound to say it seems to me that the additions which have been made to the knowledge which the House already possessed as to the condition of Ireland have been contributions of very considerable value in teaching us the course which the Government ought to pursue with regard to it. But I wish to adhere as closely as I possibly can to the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst); and I may say that it appears to me that it has been found much easier on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite to rebuke my hon. and learned Friend, and to taunt those sitting on this side of the House, than to meet his argument or to answer it. The argument of my hon. and learned Friend was somewhat of this nature. He said —"You take credit, in Her Majesty's Speech from the Throne, for an improvement in the civil condition of Ireland, and for the power and success of the Government in putting down crime." No doubt that is, so far, satisfactory; but my hon. and learned Friend says that that partly satisfactory state of things has been brought about by a policy materially different from that you formerly pursued; and he desires, in inviting the House to express its opinion upon the words he has placed before us, to give utterance to the hope that the new policy will be maintained, and not weakened or destroyed by counter actions of a different kind. We are told that this is weakening the authority of the Government, and that it is occasioning embarrassment to them. We are sorry, I am sure, to weaken or embarrass the Government; but there is something more to be considered than the possibility of weakening or embarrassing the Government. We have asked —How are we embarrassing the Government? I have heard no answer except this—that if the Amendment is carried the Government will feel it impossible to carry on their duties. That would, of course, be extremely embarrassing to the hon. Gentlemen and the noble Lord sitting on that side of the House; but, in the cause of good government in Ireland, it is far better that the truth should be spoken, and that the real facts should be known, even if such consequences were to ensue, rather than that hon. Gentlemen opposite should go back to those false principles upon which, as we say, they have so long acted. There were expressions in a few of the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite—even in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan)—which show that it is not unnecessary nor inopportune for the House to go into the matter and endeavour to obtain a distinct assurance from the Government that they do adhere to the views they have now adopted. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, when speaking to-night of the position of affairs in Ireland, said the danger lay rather on this side of the water than on that. I could not help connecting the expression of the right hon. Gentleman with another expression that was used by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), when, in speaking of the difference between his late Colleagues and himself, he said he explained it in this way—"They have not been in Ireland, and I have." We cannot help seeing this—that, throughout the dealings of Her Majesty's Government with the great Irish Question, there has been a great desire to make it appear that while, on the one hand, measures of repression to maintain the law have been put forward, it was not upon those measures that they rested—that it was not upon them they intended to rely for the maintenance of peace in Ireland, but that it was upon something else.

And what was that something else? It was put before us in much fine and eloquent language, but it became too evident that they were still inclined to the policy of coaxing and bribing those you want to keep in order. And if we are rather reproached for having allowed the discussion to turn too much on a particular incident—namely, the question of the release of certain Members who were in prison in the early part of last year, and when we are reproached for allowing debate to turn too much on that particular transaction, we say that that particular transaction was of importance, because it illustrated unmistakably what the principles of the transaction of one portion of Her Majesty's Government were; and it is because those are principles which appear to be in a manner dangerous to the State, and it is because we fear that there is only too much reason to think that the same leaven which was working then may be working in certain portions of the Government now, that we think it necessary to call for a clear and definite understanding upon the matter. The story that was told by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) yesterday, in his most remarkable and powerful speech, was a story which, in many of its details, to anyone who has attended to the recent course of Irish history was hardly novel. It contained within a short space, and in a powerfully condensed form, a very large number of cases illustrating in a very remarkable manner the condition of the country; yet the particular incidents and character of the agitation with which the Government have had to deal have been really known all through these proceedings, and they were known of course—necessarily known—to the Government at the time when they had to choose between the policy which they adopted at the end of April, 1882, and the requisitions which were made by their Colleagues then specially charged with the government of Ireland. And what was the net result? Why, the right hon. Gentleman tells us in a sentence what the real difficulty and difference was. He tells us in one sentence —"I was asked to rely upon assurances which I never expected to get;" and he complains, which is a far more serious matter, that he could not get the powers which he considered necessary. Well, then, Sir, we come to the state of things which the right hon. Gentleman described yesterday, and that state of things which is now so vividly before our minds was known to him at the time he was asking for further powers. Are we to suppose that he communicated that state of things to his Colleagues or not? If he did not, no language can be too strong to express our astonishment at, and our reprobation of, such negligence as he would have been guilty of. But it is impossible to suppose that that could have been the case. It is impossible not to suppose that those facts, and that description of the state of Ireland, must have been, not only once, but upon many occasions, and on renewed opportunities, brought by the right hon. Gentleman to the notice of his Colleagues. And what was the result? Why, that Her Majesty's Ministers, in the face of all that was told them, after all preferred the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to their own Colleague. I am aware that I shall be told that I am speaking of an isolated transaction and alluding to a piece of ancient history. But it is not ancient history. If it were ancient history it would not be without its value; for history, we are told, is philosophy—teaching by examples—and this is a striking example. But it is not ancient history, nor an isolated transaction. It is a part of the history of the administration of Ireland by the present Government—by men who are still responsible—and it is illustrative of the spirit in which they acted then. It may possibly be that some of the same spirit remains among some of those Ministers now. We are anxious to have a clear assurance, and I am much deceived if the country does not desire also to have an assurance, that those old fallacies have been laid aside, and that the Ministry are not in the position of that family of whom it was said that they had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. We hope that they have really turned over a new leaf, and that it is in the spirit of the new Irish Government of Lord Spencer as he is, not of Lord Spencer as he was, and in the spirit of the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary that the law is to be administered, and that the Irish Government is to be supported, not only by commendations, but by the supply of whatever material assistance they may require, and also in this way that they are not to be hampered by any counter legislation or counter irritation. They have a most difficult and a most arduous task before them, in fulfilling which they deserve, and ought to receive, the support of every class in this country. If the work which they are doing were to be countermined or injured —I do not assume that it is—but if it were to be injured or countermined by work done, or by expressions used, or by speeches made, or by expectations encouraged in an opposite sense, their very difficult and responsible task would be a desperate instead of a possible one. But I may be told that it is foolish to talk in this way. Who can suppose that there can be any such danger? I do not intend now, at this time of the debate, and after all that has been said, to go in detail into all those utterances and mysterious hints which have come at different times from Ministers and persons supposed to be in the confidence of Ministers. But I would wish to say a word with regard to the most important of those utterances. Unfortunately, we are in a position when we cannot have among us him who is the real guiding and presiding spirit in these matters—I mean the Prime Minister. We are carrying on this debate at a very great disadvantage in consequence, because it is quite certain that whatever may be the measures that may be approved by the Ministry, a very few significant words from the Prime Minister may at any moment have the effect of destroying the efficacy of them. Therefore it is that we are most desirous to have some assurance—and on the part of the House of Commons I think that we may not unfairly express our desire by words such as those which have been suggested—that the policy which has been adopted in Ireland, and which, on the whole, seems to have been supported by Her Majesty's Government, has the thorough and complete approval of the Prime Minister. We cannot but remember that last year we heard in this House very significant words, words it was not altogether easy to measure the effect of, but words which evidently possessed a grave significance. They were the words spoken by the Prime Minister in the debate on the Address, and they indicated no unfriendly disposition of that demand which is put forward by some of the Irish Party—namely, the demand for Home Rule. We never clearly got what the meaning of those expressions were; but we were ominously reminded of them by some of the utterances made by one who might be supposed to be in the confidence of the Prime Minister. At all events, it is of great importance that we should express our opinion that that is not the way in which Ireland is to be governed. We are ready, and always have been ready, to consider any reasonable proposals that may be made for the benefit of Ireland in any way in which it is desired that her wants should be met, but not as the bribe and the sop which is to produce quiet and peace. Peace and quiet and order must be maintained by proper and legitimate methods, and not by the offer of bribes and sops to those who are disorderly. That being our principle, we complained of the policy adopted at the time when the three Members were released from confinement, and against a continuance of that policy we should have probably had to contend last Session if it had not been for the tragic events which occurred at that critical moment. We have heard in the course of this debate of certain contradictions between the right hon. member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and his Colleagues, in regard to what was done exactly at the time when he left the Government about the Bill afterwards introduced and known as the Crimes Bill. I will not enter into the difficult region of the secrets of the Cabinet. But I would call the attention of the House to a very remarkable circumstance that occurred just after the resignation of the right hon. Gentleman, and just before the atrocious crime which led to an entire alteration in the policy of the Government. On the 5th of May, the day before that event took place, a Question was put to the Prime Minister by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry). The hon. Member said—

> "He wished to address a Question to the Premier, arising out of the hostile Notice of Motion that had proceeded from the Front Opposition Bench; he wished to ask whether, considering the measures the Government contemplated in regard to Ireland were of two kinds, one remedial, and the other coercive, the Premier would consider, bearing in mind the two Notices of Motion which were given on

the Liberal side of the House previous to the Notice of the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), the desirability of dealing with these two subjects separately, in the hope that the remedial measures, if announced early and carried quickly into execution, might prevent the necessity for further coercive measures?"—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 241.)

That is to say, he proposed, after the "suspects" had been released, and when the Government were preparing their measures, "the coercive measures"—that is to say, the measures for strengthening the law should be put off, and not considered, and not dealt with, in the hope that no coercive measures would be necessary at all. What was the answer of the Prime Minister? His answer was this:—

> "I can hardly suppose, Sir, that my hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) has put this Question to me in the expectation of receiving an immediate answer. I can only say now that it involves a matter of very great consequence, and that we are sensible of its importance and do not make light of it. Probably either in the course of the debate on Monday or at a very early period it will be right for the Government to give the information asked for."—(*Ibid.* 242.)

Now, Sir, we see by that answer the turning point of the whole affair. Up to the moment when the "suspects" were released the feeling of the Government was against giving to the Irish Secretary the powers which the right hon. Gentleman their Colleague thought necessary; and even when they determined to proceed without him with measures which they considered necessary, they were quite ready to take into consideration whether there need be any coercive measures at all. And in that direction they were going, relying upon what they called their remedial measures—that is, the further extension of the Land Act, the Arrears Bill, and so forth, and putting off measures for maintaining law and order. At that critical moment came the terrible event which occurred on the 6th of May, and which entirely reversed the feeling of the House and of the Government itself, and led to the adoption of more energetic steps, and to that immediate pressing forward of that very measure which the right hon. Gentleman desired to have and thought essential, and which, as far as we can judge, with proper zeal and application, has worked beneficially for Ireland. We have a right, therefore, to know whether the Government remain still of the opinion to which they were brought at the time when they took that more energetic course. But when we begin to ask questions of that sort, we receive answers of a perplexing character. The Home Secretary the other day, when speaking of this matter, stated—"Oh, with regard to the release of the 'suspects' see how wrong you were." It was said that the release of the "suspects" would weaken the hands of the Government. They were released, and have the hands of the Government been weakened? No. But what helped you? It was not the release of the "suspects," but the passing of the measure which you refused to your former Colleague, but which you have now granted. We are told that we ought not now to be going into these old matters, that our interest ought to be for the present and future, and not with the past. It is with regard to the future that we are anxious. It is quite natural that many Members should have said that they desired that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) should speak out and tell us what his feelings and views are, and what his answer is with respect to those matters of which we have heard so much in this debate. We were anxious and desirous to hear what the hon. Member for the City of Cork might have to say. But, after all, we must consider that that is not a matter of so much importance to us by any means as what the Government have to say. We are not to be governed according to the views, more or less criminal—we may say, more or less subversive of order and peace—that may be held by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. We do not lie at the mercy of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. We consider that we are looking to the Government to protect us, and we are anxious to have a clear and distinct expression of opinion from them as to what their views are and what is the policy under which we are to be governed. We have no doubt that they will proceed upon the principle of endeavouring to repress outrage, and maintain the law as they have been doing, as they have found themselves able to do, and as they are bound to provide efficient instruments to enable them to do. But then that is not enough. We do not fear that they will keep doing that. If I may venture upon an illustration, I would remind the right hon. Gentleman of an illustration in the

Pilgrim's Progress. The pilgrim is shown a great fire burning against a wall, and while some were engaged in throwing water upon it to put it out, the fire was still burning fiercely, because someone else behind the wall was throwing oil upon it. We have no doubt that they will throw water on any incendiarism that may exist in Ireland; but what we want to be assured is whether they will not be stirring up the mischief behind, and undoing with one hand the good that they are doing with the other. I cannot but remember that the two points which were so frequently put forward by the Prime Minister that we may consider them as the cardinal points of the policy of the Government were, on the one hand, that force was no remedy—that is, force must remain in the hands of the authorities of the country for the purpose of putting down mischief—while, at the same time, force in the hands of the Revolutionary Party was the remedy they ought to apply if they wanted to draw attention to their grievances. We trust that that is no longer to be considered the policy of the Government. We trust that there will be much greater firmness and much greater vigour in the future. I will not say more than that, because I believe that at the present time the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary are administering the law in a manner which is satisfactory, and which is of advantage to the country. But it was easy to see from the right hon. Gentleman's speech to-night that those for whom he speaks cannot but feel anxiety and apprehension lest they should be impeded and embarrassed in their good work by a want of sympathy on the part of those who possess great influence in stirring and guiding the Councils of the Cabinet. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the speech of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Collings), a speech powerful in itself, good, no doubt, from the hon. Member's own point of view, and significant, because I believe it represents the feelings of others of the same political association as the hon. Gentleman himself; and whether there are any such Gentlemen to be found, even in the ranks of the Cabinet, I am unable to say. I do not know whether the hon. Member for Ipswich, as a Radical of Radicals, is raising this cry of municipalities, which are to deal with questions of local government, and are to be the better way of settling these difficulties than meeting the real wants of the country; but if this is to be the policy pursued by the Government, if this is the line recommended to them, if, unfortunately, it should turn out that the leading spirits in the Government adopt that line, I venture to say we should be doing that than which nothing could be more injurious and more fatal to the cause of peace and order and tranquillity in Ireland. I do not like to speak much of these matters in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government—I would far rather speak directly in his presence; but it is impossible that I should altogether abstain from making the remarks which I have ventured very briefly to make on this subject. I fear, indeed, that in this as in other measures we are running a risk of having something like divided counsels in the Government, and therefore weakened action. It was said the other day, in reference to another Department of policy, that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had succeeded in establishing nothing but instability. I earnestly hope that may not be the verdict which posterity will pass on the Irish policy of the Government.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I do not think it is necessary, and I am quite sure that it would not be agreeable to the House, that at this hour I should prolong, to any considerable length, a debate that has already been somewhat unexpectedly protracted, especially as my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War made last night so full and complete a statement that I am not presumptuous enough to think that I can add to it anything of interest or importance. I do not know that I should have troubled the House at all, but for the fact that throughout the whole of the discussion continual allusions have been made to myself, personal allusions of a style and taste to which I think the House is not altogether accustomed. But challenges have been thrown out to me which make me fear that, if I were entirely silent, my silence might be misinterpreted and attributed to a division of opinion between myself and my Colleagues. To many of these allusions I will not refer, but I ask the House to bear with me for a few moments while I refer to a few of the accusations which have been made against me in the course of the debate. The first accusation of which I will take notice was formulated by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) at the outset of the discussion, and it has been adopted to some extent by implication, although not in the same personal tone, by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Sir Stafford Northcote). It appears to be the opinion both of the right hon. Gentleman and of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) that the Government, in the course of this Irish business, have had three separate policies; that of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) up to the beginning of April, 1882, when they were led astray by the insidious persuasions of the President of the Board of Trade and adopted a policy which lasted till the terrible events in the Phœnix Park; and a third policy, which consisted of a reversal of the policy of the President of the Board of Trade, and reverting, after those terrible events, to the original policy of my right hon. Friend. In the view of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), the Government, like the soul in the old myth, were constantly vacillating between the good and the evil spirit, the good spirit being that of my right hon. Friend, and the evil spirit that of my humble self. Well, in all this there is a modicum of truth; how small a modicum I hope to be able to satisfy the House. It is true, undoubtedly, that there was a change of policy on the part of the Government in the beginning of April, 1882—that is to say, the Government became themselves convinced that the first Coercion Act had not been entirely and completely successful. They came to the conclusion that it would not be their duty to ask the House to renew that Act, and they decided to substitute for it a measure which they hoped would do much to remove agrarian discontent in Ireland, which they thought was largely due to the evictions that were then going on in large numbers. Throughout these evictions the question of arrears had been uppermost, and they believed that by settling the question of arrears they would do much to remove the causes of agrarian discontent; but they knew that they had also to deal with secret societies, and they thought that when the agrarian discontent was removed the machinations of these secret political societies would become more dangerous than ever. They were therefore, of opinion that it was necessary the Executive authorities should be armed with greater powers to meet this contingency. That was the opinion, not of a part of the Government, but of the whole Government, and of every Member of the Cabinet. Every Member of the Cabinet was at the time in favour of some measure of the kind afterwards introduced, as the Prevention of Crime Bill. Every Member of the Government was in favour of dealing with arrears. My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) was also prepared to deal with the question of arrears. Yet the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, in spite of contradictions previously given to a similar statement, repeated again to-night the assertion that we—the Members of the existing Administration—had refused my right hon. Friend a measure similar to the Prevention of Crime Act.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I said that the right hon. Gentleman said so.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman should misunderstand me; I distinctly stated last night that there had been no refusal.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The words the right hon. Gentleman used were—"I could not get the powers which I wanted."

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: What I did say was that I could not get the Cabinet to agree with me that a Bill conferring fresh powers should be passed before the imprisoned Members were released; but I also stated that it was not the case that there had been any refusal to pass such a measure.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: All that is necessary for me to do now is to confirm in every particular the statement which has been made by my right hon. Friend. [*Cries of* "Which?"] The statement which has just been made. The Cabinet did not at any time refuse the right hon. Gentleman the powers he asked for; on the contrary, the Cabinet were prepared to give those powers, or their equivalent; and the only question between us was as to the exact time in the Session in which the Bill for giving those powers should be introduced. That is really very much a question of Parliamentary procedure, which does not appear to me to involve any very large question of principle. At all events, be that as it may, it was clear to the mind of every Member of the Cabinet at the time I am speaking of that some Bill in the nature of a Crimes Prevention Bill must be introduced and carried in that Session of Parliament. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition has been good enough to tell us that he is satisfied with our present conduct; and if he could be assured that we have really turned over a new leaf, and have entirely abandoned the old fallacies of our previous administration, he will be disposed to tender us the support and assistance of the Conservative Party. Well, Sir, we have had a proof to-night of the nature of the support and assistance which the Conservative Party is prepared to tender to their opponents when it agrees with them. All I have to say is, that I am not prepared, Sir, to accept the support of the right hon. Gentleman under false pretences. We have not turned over any new leaf. We have not abandoned any old fallacies, nor has our policy altered from what it was in April, 1882. On the contrary, we have never swerved from it; it is the same now as it was in the beginning of April; and the terrible events which took place in the Phœnix Park, although they altered to some extent the order of our Parliamentary proceedings, and the order only, did not cause the slightest change in our policy. Then the next accusation is that at the period I have referred to—that is, from the middle of April—we availed ourselves of criminal organization and of the services of criminals, with the view of securing the respect for the law and the peace of the country, or, as it has been put by another hon. Member, we employed those who got up outrages to help to put them down. Whom did we employ? Whom did we employ who had got up outrages to help to put them down? All of those accusations rest upon the connection of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) with a certain Mr. Sheridan, who was supposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) to have been engaged in the commission of outrages, and who the hon. Member for the City of Cork declared would use his endeavours to put down outrage and secure respect for the law in the West of Ireland. Mr. Sheridan's name was a name I, for one, never heard of until it was mentioned in connection with the Memorandum which my right hon. Friend circulated among the Members of the Cabinet. In the conversations which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) had with me, he never mentioned Sheridan at all, and I confess I have always felt a difficulty in accepting the impression produced upon the mind of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) by his conversation with the hon. Member, because it has always appeared to me so improbable as to be almost impossible that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would have sent a message to the Government to say that the Land League was a conspiracy for getting up outrages, and that it would be in future employed in putting outrages down. It really is to my mind too absurd to suppose that if the hon. Member for the City of Cork were in possession of his senses, he would have admitted that the Land League was a conspiracy in order to get up outrages; and therefore I have always believed that there must have been some misapprehension either in the mind of the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea), or in the mind of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). But passing over that—I think myself there is something in the argument, but I am going to give you the benefit of the doubt—I will grant, for the sake of argument, that the services of Mr. Sheridan were offered to the Government in order to assist the Government, and I grant also what at present you may please to observe has not been proved, that Mr. Sheridan was an outrage-monger. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite laugh, but I myself do not think it is either honourable or honest to condemn a man on hearsay who has not been tried. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that both these things were true, what I have next to point out is that the offer was not accepted, and I have further to say that the offer was not entertained or considered for one moment. There was only one thing which was in the view of the Government at the time of these transactions, and that was the evidence that was offered by the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) of the state of mind of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell).

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: How about the suppressed passage?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: It is impossible for me to notice all these interruptions, as I am afraid they would have the effect of compelling me to detain the House longer than may be agreeable. I say that at this time we had nothing before us but evidence as to the state of mind of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; and we had to consider whether, with the evidence which was afforded to us of the state of his mind and of his intention not to break the law, but to assist the law, we had any right any longer to keep him in detention as a "suspect" without trial. We came to the conclusion that we had not, but that it was our duty to release him; and, as a matter of fact, we did release him, three months before he must have been released by my right hon. Friend.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: How about Davitt?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: That was the sole effect of the so-called transactions. The hon. Member was released three months before be must have been released in consequence of the expiration of the Act. Of course, I include with him Mr. Davitt and the other gentlemen who were released at the same time. Just consider for a moment what was the alternative proposed by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford. He told the House again last night, as he told us on a previous occasion, that he would have been perfectly well satisfied to release these gentlemen if he could have obtained one of three things—either that Ireland should have been quiet and pacified, and, of course, that was not obtainable at that moment, though I think the release of the "suspects" materially contributed to the subsequent pacification of the country; the second condition with which he would have been satisfied was that the Crimes Bill, or some similar measure, should have been first passed; but the third condition was that we should have got from the hon. Member for the City of Cork a public assurance that it was not his intention to break the law. The Prime Minister explained at the time that we did not think that we had a right to subject the hon. Member to a demand which was practically a demand for his self-humiliation. If we had followed, I will not say the advice, but the opinion of my right hon. Friend, we should have done the thing for which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite are now blaming us—we should have entered into negotiations. If we had succeeded in obtaining from the hon. Member for the City of Cork such an assurance we should have made a treaty; and in that case you would have been justified in speaking of the negotiations as the Kilmainham Treaty. I want to consider for one or two moments the object of the Amendment before the House, or rather what will be the effect of the Amendment, because it is always invidious to impute motives. One effect, of course, will be to discredit the Government, and that is, perhaps, not an altogether improper object for an Opposition. Another effect will be to delay the progress of Business, and to prevent the passing, during this Session, of those practical measures which the Government have put in their programme and which the country have set their hearts upon. These are the evident and immediate effects of such an Amendment as this, and of the protracted discussion which has taken place upon it. But there will be also less direct results. We are told by the hon. Member for the borough of Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) that the object of this Amendment is to strengthen the Party of order against the Party of disorder in the Cabinet. ["Hear, hear!"] The cheer of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) reminds me that he adopted that theory. [Sir H. Drummond Wolff: I said it.] The hon. Member claims to have originated the cry. I cannot admit the hon. Member's claim to originality, but I admit that he adopted it and made it his own, and that he bettered it by the extraordinary language with which he accompanied it. The hon. Member for Portsmouth made charges which are so wild that I really do not think I am called upon to reply to them. He charged me with countenancing outrage in order to pass Liberal measures. That is a charge which, whether made by the hon. Member for Portsmouth or anybody else, I treat with entire contempt. I have been called upon to-night to answer for the opinions expressed by my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Collings). I have also been called to account for articles which have appeared in *The Pall Mall Gazette.* I have a great respect, I have a great regard for my hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Collings), as I have also for the editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*—Mr. John Morley. But I do think it is rather too hard that I am to be made accountable for all the opinions of two gentlemen who are among the most independent men in the Kingdom. I am no more responsible for what they may think than the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who has invited me to clear myself, is responsible for everything that appears in *Vanity Fair,* or some other of the Society journals to which he is believed to be an occasional contributor. Well, then, Sir, it has been asserted again and again that I have been a party to intrigues within the Cabinet, having for their object the expulsion of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). It seems to me that such a charge pays a poor compliment to my Colleagues in the Cabinet and the right hon. Member for Bradford, who is not a man to be expelled by unworthy intrigues. For my part, I am content with the statement of my right hon. Friend himself that while he was in the Cabinet he was loyally supported by all his Colleagues; and I have only to add that any communication addressed to me with reference to the transaction known as the Kilmainham transaction was communicated by me instantly to my right hon. Friend, who was as much a party to all that took place during the time that he was a Member of the Cabinet as I was myself. If ever I had any difference from him I never hesitated to tell him so fairly to his face. I should have been ashamed to have been a party to anything like backstairs intrigues. The fact was that, in a Cabinet of 13 persons, 12 out of 13 were in favour of the prisoners being released, and one was against it. That was the sole difference of opinion. My right hon. Friend says—"I knew Ireland, and they did not." But my right hon. Friend was not the only man who knew Ireland. The release of the "suspects" was supported by Lord Spencer, whose administration you are satisfied with now; by Lord Kimberley, who had also been the authority of the English Government in Ireland; by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, who had conducted the administration in Ireland during a time, perhaps, as much troubled as the present; and also by Lord Carlingford, a previous Chief Secretary. I say that we were entitled to set the opinions of four Members of the Cabinet, who knew Ireland at least as well as he did, against his judgment. Well, now, Sir, there is one other object which has been perfectly evident throughout the whole course of this debate. That is the desire on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite to discredit the policy of conciliation to Ireland—to take advantage of the excitement, of the natural indignation which is caused by the discovery in Dublin of the assassination conspiracy in Ireland, and they try to divert that indignation so as to cause the whole people of Ireland to suffer for it. It seems to me that there can be nothing more unstatesmanlike than to refuse justice to Ireland because a horde of assassins have been unmasked in Dublin. We are told by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) that we are to rely entirely on the Crimes Act. [Mr. GIBSON: I made no such statement.] I say the whole effect of the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman—and I will be judged by those who heard it—was to show that at this time it was only by firm administration of that Act, and not by remedial measures, that the difficulty in Ireland could properly be dealt with. Well, Sir, I say that the Crimes Act is for assassins; it is not for the people of Ireland. When the conspirators have been crushed out, what are we to do for the Irish people? How are we to meet the discontent which it is admitted still prevails there? Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman really think it is possible we can go on governing Ireland permanently by a system of absolute repression and nothing else? How long will such a policy bear the test of experience? How long is England's danger to be Ireland's opportunity? How long do you suppose the people of this country would tolerate a policy which involves, as I have suggested in another place, the existence of a Poland within four hours of our shores? I say that a policy of that kind will break down in practice, as it deserves to break down; and thus you will be once more face to face with what has been truly called the greatest problem of our time. If your only remedy for Irish discontent is repression, then, I say, you have a right to be dissatisfied with the policy of Her Majesty's Government. But the policy of Her Majesty's Government remains what it always has been, a two-fold policy—a two-fold policy of firm repression of crime and outrage, and, at the same time, a persistent search for the causes of crime and outrage, together with a patient endeavour to remove them. If you are dissatisfied with that policy, you are right to do your best to turn us out of Office. No other policy will we remain to carry out. We believe that any other policy would be impracticable, and, if it were possible, that it would be immoral, unjust, and altogether unworthy of the Government of a free people.

Mr. RAIKES said, he did not wish to stand for more than a few moments between the House and a Division. [*Interruptions.*]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind hon. Members that the right hon. Gentleman is in possession of the House, and is entitled to be heard.

Mr. RAIKES said, he thought the speech they had just listened to required one or two words of protest from that side of the House. He considered they were indebted to the right hon. Gentleman for having put the question in a form which it would be in the power of anyone to answer in a very few words, by saying that the issue had been misplaced. They had been anxious throughout the whole of the discussion to reach the right hon. Gentleman, because it was the desire of the whole House to ascertain which had been the master mind of the Cabinet during these difficult and tortuous negotiations. The right hon. Gentleman had at last disclosed himself, and shown himself to the country to be the apologist of that policy which, by this Amendment, it was sought to impugn. He would only cite from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman two or three sentences, in order to indicate where the line was to be drawn between the policy which he understood was supported on that side of the House, and the policy which was recommended by the President of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman said he did not consider it honourable or honest to believe a man to be an outrage-monger until it was proved; and that remark seemed to afford a key to the whole question. The right hon. Gentleman was not prepared to accept the statement of his own Colleague, who was familiar with all the circumstances, and who had had the whole of this case before him day and night for two anxious years, unless that statement were made the subject of judicial investigation. He (Mr. Raikes) said that to bring to the government of a great country a mind like that was characteristic of such a man as had never sat in a Cabinet before. There was another remark made use of by the right hon. Gentleman which did much more credit to his humanity than to his discretion. The right hon. Gentleman was pleased to tell the House that he was desirous of seeing that the hon. Member for the City of Cork was not exposed to any humiliation; and so, in order to save the hon. Member anything in the nature of self-humiliation, the country was to be exposed to the danger which attended his release, under the circumstances with which they were acquainted. Another point which the right hon. Gentleman made was this—that if the hon. Member for the City of Cork had carried out the demands of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, if he had made any public declaration of his willingness to submit himself to the law and order, it would have constituted a treaty. He (Mr. Raikes) wished the House to note that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade shrank from anything like a public treaty. What he preferred was a secret treaty. The House had been accustomed to hear a great deal in the days of the late Government of secret diplomacy; and he was happy to find that the right hon. Gentleman had studied sufficiently in the school of politics to know that he must negotiate in a secret manner anything which he believed to be desirable for his country's government. The right hon. Gentleman said he treated with contempt the charges of countenancing outrages, and it was an easy thing for him to do that. But that night they had seen others besides the right hon. Gentleman treating those charges with contempt — namely, the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy). The right hon. Gentleman was entirely at one with his former negotiators in that respect; and that led him (Mr. Raikes) to the point which he wished the House and the country to understand—that was to say, that the question as between the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for the City of Cork was only one of degree. The House regarded the hon. Member for the City of Cork as a man who had not fully explained his relations with the outrage-mongers of the West; and they must regard the President of the Board of Trade as a man who preferred rather to treat with contempt than to explain his relations with the hon. Member. Even if they had not heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and that of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, the supporters of the present Amendment would find sufficient justification for the course they had pursued in the statement of the President of the Board of Trade, that he also declined to offer any explanation of conduct which the whole country had condemned. It was enough for his object to have fixed that upon the right hon. Gentleman. The President of the Board of Trade went on to state that Gentlemen on those Benches desired to discredit a policy of conciliation towards Ireland; but he said that their desire was to discredit a policy of concession—two very different things. He asked whether there had ever been a Government drawn from Parties on either side of the House that had not shown a spirit of conciliation to Ireland; but it had been reserved for the present Government to pursue towards that country a policy which it was to be hoped would remain unique in the annals of the country—namely, that of making concession to outrage. The right hon. Gentleman had divided the Irish policy of the Government into two parts, and identified it, first, with the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and, secondly, with that of the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; but he had forgotten that there was one week between the retirement of the former and the appointment of the latter right hon. Gentleman, during which time neither of them were responsible, and in which the responsibility of governing Ireland must be divided between the Cabinet and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea). The House had not lost sight of that fact, and they also took note that at the time at which the hon. Member was sent on his mission there were three distinguished prisoners within the walls of Kilmainham. They also noted the fact that there was, at the present time, when the hon. Member for the City of Cork had ceased to exercise his influence over the people of Ireland, another Member of the House within the walls of an Irish prison, and it might be that in a few weeks or months they would hear of some further negotiations carried on with the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), now in confinement. [*Interruptions.*] He regretted that, owing to the uproar occasioned by hon. Members below the Gangway, it was impossible for him to do otherwise than take a course which he should not have taken under other circumstances—namely, to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Raikes.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I trust the right hon. Gentleman will not think it necessary to persevere with his Motion for Adjournment, considering the hour (12.40), and the period over which the debate has extended. Although the House has shown some signs of impatience while the right hon. Gentleman was making his observations, yet I believe he has been able to place before the House with tolerable clearness some of the views he desired to express with reference to the speech of my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade; and having regard to the inconvenience which would result from the adoption of his proposal, I venture to hope that it will not be pressed.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I quite sympathize with my right hon. Friend, but I think it would be very inconvenient to the House to press this Motion. My right hon. Friend had a perfect right to a fair hearing, and it would not have been for a very long time; but the interruptions, of course, made him speak all the slower. I would ask him however, not to press this Motion.

Mr. RAIKES said, that, having had opportunity of ascertaining that hon. Members opposite were able, under certain circumstances, to abstain from interrupting a speaker, he should be happy to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Before you, Sir, put the Question from the Chair, perhaps the House will allow me to make a very short statement by way of personal explanation in reference to a matter upon which there was some difference of opinion between my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and myself last night. I do this because I think it extremely desirable that in relation to matters of the character of the difference between my right hon. Friend and myself, although they may not be of first importance, the greatest possible accuracy should be observed. I have had an opportunity to-day of making inquiry of my Colleagues, and of referring to dates; and I find that my right hon. Friend was perfectly accurate in stating that the Committee for the consideration of the proposals he had submitted to the Government on the subject of a Bill for the better repression of crime in Ireland was not appointed until the day of his resignation. But I have also been confirmed in my recollection that the introduction and passing of a measure for that purpose had been accepted by the Cabinet. I find that Lord Spencer, who had accepted the Office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland some days before the resignation of my right hon. Friend, had, as was natural, asked for some explicit assurances upon certain points. Among these was the subject under discussion, and he had been definitely informed of the intentions of the Government in regard to the passing of this measure. I also find that the intentions of the Government with regard to that matter were announced in this House on the 2nd of May by the Prime Minister simultaneously with the announcement of my right hon. Friend's resignation. The words of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, were these—

> "So soon as the necessary Business of the House of Commons will permit, we shall ask leave to introduce a Bill to strengthen the ordinary law. . . . No part of the Business announced in the Queen's Speech will be allowed to interfere with the purpose I have just described—namely, to satisfy what we conceive to be the demands of the necessity with regard to future legal provision for peace and tranquillity and the enforcement of the law in Ireland. I may add that we are now engaged in considering the details of this measure."—(3 *Hansard,* [268] 1968-9.)

This statement was made by the Prime Minister, and my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford explained the cause of his resignation two days before the 4th of May, and four days before the assassinations in Phœnix Park.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 259; Noes 176: Majority 83.

AYES.

Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Anderson, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Bass, H.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Biddulph, M.
Blake, J. A.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Bright, J. (Manchester)
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Buszard, M. C.
Butt, C. P.
Caine, W. S.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H.C.E.
Clarke, J. C.
Cohen, A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colthurst, Col. D. La T.
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowen, J.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, Sir D.
Davey, H.
Davies, R.
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duff, R. W.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fay, C. J.
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J.
Flower, C.

Foljambe, C. G. S.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Forster, Sir C.
Fort, R.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Givan, J.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gordon, Lord D.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grey, A. H. G.
Guest, M. J.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holland, S.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, J.
Illingworth, A.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, C.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, D. J.
Johnson, E.
Jones-Parry, L.
Labouchere, H.
Laing, S.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lusk, Sir A.
Lymington, Viscount
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Coan, J. C.
M'Intyre, Æneas J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Minnies, J. G.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, E.
Marriott, W. T.
Martin, P.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M. H. Story-
Meldon, C. H.
Mellor, J. W.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hon. A. J.
Nicholson, W.
Noel, E.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
O'Beirne, Colonel F.
O'Shaughnessy, R.
O'Shea, W. H.
Otway, Sir A.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, G.
Palmer, J. H.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Peel, A. W.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Playfair, rt. hon. L.
Porter, A. M.
Portman, hn. W. H. B.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Richard, H.
Richardson, J. N.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Rylands, P.
Samuelson, B.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Smith, E.
Smith, S.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, J.
Summers, W.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Taylor, P. A.
Tennant, C.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Tracy, hon. F. S. A. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, A. P.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Waddy, S. D.
Walter, J.
Waterlow, Sir S. H.
Whalley, G. H.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wilson, C. H.
Woodall, W.
Woolf, S.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

NOES.

Alexander, Colonel
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Archdale, W. H.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hon. Sir M. H.
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, rt. hon. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, rt. hon. R.
Brise, Colonel R.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Burnaby, General E. S.
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaine, J.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Churchill, Lord R.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Cobbold, T. C.
Coddington, W.
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corry, J. P.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, rt. hon. G.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Col. hn. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Digby, Col. hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donaldson-Hudson, C.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elcho, Lord
Emlyn, Viscount
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Major-General R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fenwick-Bisset, M.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Forester, C. T. W.
Freshfield, C. K.
Garnier, J. C.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gorst, J. E.
Grantham, W.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Harcourt, E. W.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, rt. hn. A. J. B. B.
Jackson, W. L.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Knight, F. W.
Lacon, Sir E. H. K.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, Lord H. G.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.

Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.
March, Earl of
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, C. W.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Monckton, F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Murray, C. J.
Newport, Viscount
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, H. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Onslow, D.
Peek, Sir H.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
St. Aubyn, W. M.
Salt, T.
Schreiber, C.
Scott, Lord H.
Scott, M. D.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hn. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Welby-Gregory, Sir W.
Whitley, E.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Crichton, Viscount
Winn, R.

Main Question again proposed.

Debate arising.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not propose, Sir, to oppose the Motion for Adjournment; but, at the same time, as I understand that it is the intention of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to move one or both of his Resolutions on Monday, I think it would be as well that I should make an appeal to hon. Members to endeavour to restrict the remainder of this debate within reasonable limits. We have now been discussing Irish subjects discursively for four nights, and though we have not come to the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, it is obvious that a great deal that might have been said upon it has already been stated; and I would point out, further, that on account of the extremely short period that will elapse before Easter, and the amount of work there is to do, it is extremely desirable that the Business of Supply should be taken not later than on Thursday in next week. I would, for these reasons, therefore, urge hon. Members to condense their observations, so as to bring the debate on the Address to a close during the early part of next week.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked when the Supplementary Estimates would be brought in?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that perhaps he might be allowed to answer the question. Under the old Rules the Estimates could not have been presented before Supply was set up; but in consequence of the extremely short time they would have this year for dealing with Supply before Easter, they had, to save time, already presented part of the ordinary Supplementary Estimates. They had presented to-night special Supplementary Estimates, which would be circulated on Monday, explaining the expenditure on the Egyptian War, so that there would be no delay in going on with Supply on Thursday if the debate on the Address was finished.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER: Will the Army Estimates come on before Easter?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): They must.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

CONSOLIDATED FUND [PERMANENT CHARGES REDEMPTION].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to lend, out of moneys in their hands on account of Trustee and Post Office Savings Banks, sums payable by the Treasury in redemption of any permanent annuities charged on the Consolidated Fund or moneys provided by Parliament, and also to authorise the repayment of such loans by the creation of terminable annuities charged upon the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at One o'clock
till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 26*th February*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — Standing Orders, The Lord Clinton *added*.

PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Representative Peers (Scotland) (5).

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That this House will not receive any petition for a Private Bill after *Friday* the 9*th day of March* next, unless such Private Bill shall have been approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice; nor any petition for a Private Bill approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice after *Tuesday* the 8*th day of May* next:

That this House will not receive any report from the Judges upon petitions presented to this House for Private Bills after *Tuesday* the 8*th day of May* next:

Ordered, That the said orders be *printed* and *published*, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall. (No. 4.)

CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, in rising to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has given any intimation to the French Government that this country does not wish for the construction of a submarine tunnel between France and England, with a view to prevent the possibility of disappointment, or of claims arising in France for money expended in that country in attempts to construct a submarine tunnel under the misapprehensions caused by the fact of a Lord of the Treasury being the chairman of one of the tunnel companies? said, that to the Question which stood on the Notice Paper he had only to add that, notwithstanding that the works for the construction of a tunnel had been stopped on this side of the Channel, it was said they were still proceeding on the French side. He would like to point out that there appeared to be some inconsistency between taking out an injunction against one Channel Tunnel Company and not offering to the Chairman of the other Company the option of resigning the Lordship of the Treasury or the Chairmanship of the Tunnel Company.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I have to inform your Lordships that it is proposed that a Joint Committee of the two Houses shall be appointed to consider this subject, and that a proposal to that effect will shortly be made in the House of Commons. Under these circumstances, until the matter shall have been considered by the Committee, we think it undesirable that any progress should be made with the two Bills, or that any communication should be made to the French Government on the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I feel bound to say that I am considerably surprised to hear it stated by the noble Earl that the Government intend to refer this subject to a joint or any other Committee. I dare say that a Joint Committee would be as suitable an instrument as any other for conducting an inquiry; but, surely, the question as to whether it is expedient to make a junction between the two countries below the Channel is one which belongs to that class of political questions which, hitherto, the Government have always been held competent and been obliged to decide upon their own responsibility. It is impossible that any Committee can have all the considerations before them which should govern the decision to which this country ought to come. There are considerations which are present, no doubt, to the minds of the Foreign Secretary and the Cabinet —considerations which depend upon the knowledge which the Foreign Office possesses of the condition, of the intentions, and of the policy of the various States of Europe, but which it is impossible to produce in evidence, and which, therefore, cannot assist in the guidance of any Committee, however able or well-chosen. I do not wish to discuss the matter at length; but the course proposed is a Constitutional precedent of no little magnitude, and, therefore, I do not like to allow even a mention of it to pass by without entering a protest.

EARL GRANVILLE: I think, my Lords, it will be better to defer any discussion until the proposal is made to the House. As to the knowledge which the Foreign Office may possess with regard to the state of Europe at any particular time, I may say that it appears to me that this is a question which must be decided very much upon its general merits, and not in regard to the particular policy of any foreign country at this particular moment.

The EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he did not consider a Joint Committee a desirable method of settling the question, for this among other reasons—that it was impossible to say how such a Committee was to be formed which would be free from objections. The responsibility ought to rest with the Government. He trusted that when the proposal was made the noble Earl would tell them that the Members of their Lordships' House who were to be appointed to the Joint Committee would be named by the Government.

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

The LORD CHANCELLOR rose to present a Bill to regulate procedure at the elections of Representative Peers for Scotland. The noble and learned Earl pointed out that by some error, though he gave his Notice for to-day, it had been printed on the Paper circulated on Saturday as if it stood for to-morrow; but he did not think that any noble Lord would be prejudiced by his presenting the Bill at once. A communication had been made to the noble Earl (the Earl of Galloway), who took some interest in this subject, and he was sorry not to see that noble Earl in his place; but, on the whole, he thought it would be convenient to those present that he should proceed now. Their Lordships were aware that this subject had been frequently discussed in this House.

The EARL OF LIMERICK said, he rose to a point of Order. He objected to the subject being brought forward, as the noble and learned Earl's Notice for presenting the Bill was not on the Notice Paper for that day, which had been circulated to Members of the House.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that on Thursday last he gave Notice of his intention to proceed with the Bill to-day, and he had never retracted his Notice or authorized any variation of it. The Notice Paper now on the Table contained the correction.

The EARL OF LIMERICK: Then there must be two Notice Papers. The noble and learned Earl's Notice, and that of another noble Earl on the same subject, were on the Paper for to-morrow.

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: As to the point of Order, there can be no doubt that the Notice given in the House is the one to follow, and the printed Notice is of no authority whatever. That being so, there can be no objection to the course which the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack proposes to take.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, their Lordships were aware of the considerable divergence that existed in the three parts of the United Kingdom as to the mode of verifying the rights of Peers. In England there was every Session laid on their Lordships' Table a Roll of all the Peers entitled to sit in their Lordships' House; and if any succession took place by death, the usual course was for the Peer who desired to have a Writ to summon him to that House to make an application to the Lord Chancellor, who looked into the evidence of his succession, and if it appeared clear and satisfactory the Writ issued as a matter of course. A nominal Roll was also drawn up in Ireland, called the Ulster Roll, which contained a list of all Peerages in respect of which votes could be given; and, when any change took place there by succession, the practice was for the Peer claiming the right of succession to present a Petition to their Lordships' House; the Petition was then referred to the Lord Chancellor; and if he reported that the Petitioner was entitled to vote, the Peer was entered on the Roll as entitled to vote for the election of Representative Peers. If any substantial question were raised about the Petitioner's right, the matter was referred for investigation by the Committee of Privileges; and so it would be in England also, if there were any doubt or difficulty. With regard to Scotland, 16 Peers were elected to sit in that House in every Parliament; but, with that exception, all Scotch Peers were on a footing of perfect equality with English Peers. The Union Roll, which was made up under the direction of that House after the Union with Scotland, was a Roll of Peerages, and not a nominal Roll, and did not show who were entitled to vote. In cases of doubt no provision was made as to the admission or rejection of any claim; anybody who pleased might appear and vote; and, consequently, great inconvenience had sometimes arisen in connection with the elections of Scotch Representative Peers. As early as 1739 the matter was referred to the Court of Session, with a request that a general investigation of Peerage rights in Scotland might be made; but the Court reported that they could not perform that task. Then for a long time matters went on as before. In 1822 the House passed a Resolution determining that where the descent was not direct either from a lineal ancestor, or from a brother, there should be an application to the House to ascertain the succession before the right to vote was admitted. That was acted on for 40 years. But in 1862, not having been found completely to answer its purpose, the Rule was rescinded, on the Motion of the Duke of Buccleuch. Many Committees had inquired into the subject. There had been such inquiries in 1832, 1847, 1851, 1869, 1874, 1877, and 1882. All agreed in representing the state of the law and practice as very inconvenient and objectionable and requiring a remedy. The evil was thus stated in the Report of the Committee of 1847—

> "It is believed that the Peerage of Scotland is the only body invested with important privileges in this Kingdom without any provision being made for testing the right of those who may claim to exercise them; whereby, not only the dignity of this branch of the Peerage is compromised, but the return of Representative Peers to the House of Lords may be affected, and the public subjected to fraud by the conduct of persons acting as Peers of Scotland who are not justly entitled to the honours they assume. This state of things has been long felt to be a great evil and grievance, and various remedies have been proposed, some of a general and comprehensive nature, others in reference to particular cases brought before the notice of the House; but all these have either been abandoned before they were matured, or have been found insufficient for correcting the abuses which have been described."

In some points these abuses had since been mitigated, but in general they had remained to the present time. He said that the abuses had been mitigated, for there was legislation on the subject in 1847 and 1851. The legislation of 1847 directed that no title of Peerage should be called after that time at elections except those in respect of which votes had been tendered and received since the commencement of the century—namely, since 1800—unless the House of Lords should otherwise order. It provided, also, that no title of Peerage should be called when the House of Lords should direct the contrary after a vote had been disallowed on a contested election. It also provided that, in the case of two Lords protesting, the protest should be reported to that House, and the House might require the claimant to establish his right before the House, and, if he did not establish his claim, the House might direct his title not to be called. It was further provided that effect should be given to all claims of Peerage allowed by the House of Lords. In 1851 the time limited by the Act of 1847 was further abridged, the Lord Clerk Register being directed to report the titles of all Peerages appearing from time to time on the Roll in respect of which no votes had been received for 50 years; and it was provided that this House might, if it thought fit, order that they should not be called. In 1874 there was a general inquiry by a Committee, presided over by the Earl of Rosebery, into various questions affecting Scotch and also Irish Representative Peers; and that Committee reported in paragraph 6 as follows:—

> "They would recommend that for the future the Peers' Roll used at elections should be as in Ireland—a Roll of individuals, and not of Peerages; such new Roll of individual Peers of Scotland to be drawn up by the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, under the direction of the House of Lords; and no alteration to be made in that Roll at any time thereafter without the authority of the House of Lords. Some difficulty might at first be experienced in making up the Roll; but it would, in the opinion of the Committee, be practicable to lay down certain rules, as suggested by one of the witnesses, which would greatly simplify the proceeding."

This Bill was in substance founded upon, and it endeavoured to give effect to, that Report. Since that time, as he had stated, the matter had been still further considered. Last year, 1882, there was another inquiry by a Committee presided over by Lord Moncreiff, and that inquiry was followed by the introduction of a Bill. He (the Lord Chancellor) gave Notice of his intention to propose certain Amendments to that Bill; and the Bill which he now presented was, substantially, in accordance with what he then proposed. The difference between the Report of the Committee of 1882 and that of the Committee of 1874 was an important one. The Committee of 1874 proposed that the authority of that House should be the ruling authority, and should be preserved unimpaired in all these matters; but the Committee of 1882, influenced apparently by the evidence given by two learned witnesses, recommended that the jurisdiction of the Court of Session should be used for two purposes—in the first place, to set right all errors and omissions which might be alleged to exist in the Roll, as prepared by the Lord Clerk Register—he was not quite sure whether that was to be subject to the assent of that House or not; and, in the next place, it was proposed that the claims of all successors should, in the first instance, pass through the Court of Session, and then come to the House of Lords, which, as to those claims, should have final authority. He submitted to their Lordships that the recommendations of the Committee of 1874 were, in these respects, preferable to those of the Committee of 1882. He agreed that, looking to the difference between the law of Scotland and the law of England and Ireland, it might sometimes be convenient to send down cases for the opinion of the Court of Session, and also to refer it to that Court to take evidence. But he did not think there would be any advantage, whether from the point of view of Constitutional principle, or of Constitutional law and practice, in giving any direct power of determining questions of Peerage to the Court of Session. No ground whatever of a legal, historical, or Constitutional kind was suggested by or before the Committee of 1882, except that certain cases—he believed 10 or 11 in number—were mentioned, in which, before the Union, the Court of Session had exercised some authority as to certain Peerages. He would not trouble their Lordships with the questions which might exist as to the nature, validity, or final character of the jurisdiction which was so exercised in those 10 or 11 cases before the Union by the Court of Session. Assuming that jurisdiction to have been clear and unquestionable, it was under a state of things which had since entirely ceased. The only other jurisdiction which then existed was that of the Parliament of Scotland. There was evidence that the Parliament of Scotland did, more than once, come to resolutions on certain questions of Peerage. But in Scotland there was not a separate House of Lords. After the Act of Union, the Scottish Parliament ceased to exist. Although the Act of Union did not settle the mode of procedure so as to exclude the questions which had since arisen, yet it did provide that 16 Representative Peers should sit in that House, and that in all other respects all Peers of Scotland should be on an equality with the Peers of England; and if their Lordships were to give to any other authority the power of deciding who those Peers were, they would be delegating to another tribunal the right to determine, indirectly, who should have seats in that House. And the Peers of Scotland would not be in the same position as the Peers of England, if a different authority were to determine questions affecting their titles and dignities. Then there was the practice during the whole time since the Union. A single instance was, indeed, alleged in which there was some appearance of the Court of Session dealing with a question of succession to a Scotch Peerage, in 1730. But that, when examined, was found to be not really to the purpose. All that the Court of Session did in 1730 was to rescind, or reduce, a decree "in absence"—that was, *ex parte*—which it had made three or four years before the Union as to the succession to the Lovat Peerage. Even this exercise of jurisdiction was considered so doubtful, that it became the subject of a compromise; and there seemed reason to believe that a large sum of money was paid to prevent that order of the Court of Session from being brought to the House of Lords by way of appeal. With that one exception, every question of the kind was always determined by the House of Lords. Beginning with the year 1714, and coming down to the present time, 47 disputed questions of Scotch Peerage had been decided in one way or the other by the House of Lords, and 11 Scotch Peers had been added to the Union Roll, all by the authority of that House. Moreover, the authority of the House was affirmed and declared by all the legislation affecting Scotch Peerages. The Preamble of the Act of 1847 said that it was—

> "Expedient that no person should be allowed to vote on the Union Roll in respect of any Peerage which had been for some time dormant in any election until his claim had been admitted by the House of Lords."

And the same Statute, and the Act of 1851, contained those provisions which he had already brought to their Lordships' notice. The House's authority, therefore, was maintained by principle, by uniform practice since the Union, and by Parliamentary enactments. Under these circumstances, he considered that the proper course would be to legislate in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee of 1874. That Committee recommended that they should have a nominal Roll, which alone should be called, with proper provision for cases of succession, and to do that in the same way as in Ireland. The Bill which he introduced would accomplish these objects. It provided that the Lord Clerk Register should in every year make up this nominal Roll to be in force for one year from the 1st of January, subject to such amendments as might be made in it during the year by the authority of the House of Lords. It would contain, set against his title of Peerage, in the order of precedence appearing by the Union Roll, the Christian and surname of every Peer living at the time when the Roll was made out, who should have at any time been a Representative Peer in that House, or who should have voted at any election of Representative Peers since 1862, without protest, or whose right to vote had been established by an order of that House. It was proposed that on the death of a Peer anyone claiming to be his successor might proceed in the same way as was done in Ireland—namely, by presenting a Petition to that House. All orders of the House of Lords were to be given effect to. Errors in the Roll might be corrected, and claims of Peers not entered upon the Roll might be adjudicated upon, as at present, upon Petition to the Crown, which would be referred to that House, and considered before the Committee of Privileges. Special cases might be stated for the opinion of the Court of Session, which would also have power, on a reference from the House, to take evidence. The House of Lords would, in the same manner, decide all questions of precedence. He had been favoured with a communication from his noble and learned Friend (Lord Moncreiff), which led him to believe that these provisions would be satisfactory to that noble and learned Lord. He would therefore ask their Lordships to give the Bill a first reading.

Bill to regulate procedure at the elections of Representative Peers for Scotland; and for other purposes—*Presented* (The LORD CHANCELLOR).

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, it appeared to him that it would be better if the names of Peers were arranged alphabetically, instead of according to the order of precedence. He thought the arrangement he suggested would obviate a good deal of difference and difficulty. He agreed with every remark that had fallen from the noble and learned Earl (the Lord Chancellor), and he regretted that the noble and learned Earl had not taken the same view last Session as he now took.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that he could not let that observation pass without saying that what he had signified was that Lord Moncreiff had said that he should be satisfied with the Bill that was introduced on the last occasion. He thought it would be better that the Bill should not follow the Union Roll.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, he hoped the Bill would settle a long-vexed question; but suggested that the second reading should be postponed till after Easter, in order that Lord Moncreiff, who took so much interest in the subject, might be able to be present, and the House might have the benefit of his opinion upon the matter, with which he was so well acquainted.

LORD ELPHINSTONE said, that, as one of the elected Peers for Scotland, he thanked the Lord Chancellor for bringing forward the Bill. If any of their Lordships happened to be at Edinburgh at the time when the next election of Representative Peers took place, he would strongly recommend them to go down to Holyrood and see the proceedings. A table, covered with green cloth, was laid down the centre of the room, and there were benches for the accommodation of those of the Scottish public who wanted to see what was going on. The Lord Clerk Register appeared in his robes. There was a scramble among the people for seats, and how it was that they went there to witness such uninteresting proceedings was more than he could understand. The Lord Provost and Magistrates and the Town Council of Edinburgh attended in their official robes, and some Ministers were also present. The Union Roll was called, and then commenced the wrangling. When one Peer was called in precedence, he was represented by a learned gentleman in a gown and wig, who protested against any other Peer being called before him. Then they came to handing in their votes. A Peer handed in his vote, and votes for so-and-so, and then a learned counsel protested against so-and-so being allowed to vote, and another Peer protested against this being done, and so on *ad infinitum.* He had been about to describe the proceedings as disgraceful, but he would say, at all events, that they were not creditable. He thought the Bill now brought in would put an end to all that scandal. He therefore hoped their Lordships would permit it to pass.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he could hardly postpone the second reading till after Easter, but he would be quite willing not to take the Committee before then. It was in Committee that the presence of the noble and learned Lord (Lord Moncreiff) would be most valuable, and he hoped that arrangement would suit the convenience of the noble and learned Lord and other noble Lords. He proposed to take the second reading that day fortnight, and hoped the noble Lord would not object.

Bill read 1^a; and to be *printed.* (No. 5.)

THE EDDYSTONE LIGHTHOUSE.

QUESTIONS.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether a current report is true in regard to privations recently undergone by the light-keepers at Eddystone Lighthouse; and, if so, whether they have ordered an inquiry to be made?

THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether there is any intention of laying a telegraph cable from Plymouth to the Eddystone Lighthouse?

LORD SUDELEY: My Lords, in reply to the noble Earls, I have to state that although some of the reports which appeared in the Press have been exaggerated, it is undoubtedly true that the relief of the Eddystone has been delayed through very exceptionally boisterous weather eight weeks beyond the proper period. The keepers, who should have come on shore on the 28th of December, were not landed until the 20th of February. There appears to be nearly always some delay in the December reliefs, but this is the longest on record. During that period there were three or four days on which it is alleged the relief could have been attempted with some chance of success, and this is being inquired into. The relieving steamer for Eddystone is a contract vessel not belonging to the Trinity House. The district in which that lighthouse is included has its headquarters at Penzance; and as its steam vessel is stationed there, a special arrangement is made for the Eddystone to secure better service. The Great Western Dock Company's steamer, hired for that work, is stated to have been otherwise engaged at those times. This matter is under investigation. The keepers have a money allowance for food, and victual themselves by their own preference; but a reserve is kept in store upon which they can draw in case they fall short. This store was, or should have been, sufficient to last two months; but as the principal keeper is still on the rock, the reason of its earlier failure cannot yet be ascertained. This also is under inquiry. Signals were made from the rock on the 5th of February for glass lamp-chimneys; but none for provisions, so far as is at present known, until the 19th of February. When the men were relieved it was found that they had finished their reserve stock of tinned meat, and were living on biscuit, and had enough for two days more, together with a little flour, plenty of water, but no coal. If the relief had then proved impracticable, supplies would have been floated to them in the usual way. The men were at that time naturally depressed and anxious, but they were able to hail the boat and help in landing stores when the relief came, and are reported to be all in good health and spirits. The Trinity House propose to increase the reserve stock of provisions for the future. No telegraphic communication between the rock and the shore has ever been contemplated as necessary for lighthouse service, and it does not appear that the delay in relief was at all attributable to want of knowledge of the position of affairs in the lighthouse. As to communication for other purposes, such as signalling a wreck, &c., between the shore and outlying lightships, the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House have had for some time past, and still have, the question under consideration.

Earl STANHOPE said, he did not think the answer given was altogether satisfactory. He trusted the noble Lord would draw the attention of the Board of Trade and of the Trinity House to the immense importance of having telegraphic communication with Eddystone. The very fact of men being taken off in a dispirited condition showed the necessity of improved communication with the shore; besides which it was important to give notice of ships in distress at the earliest possible moment.

The Earl of HARDWICKE said, he hoped that the lighthouse on Wolf Rock, which was in a more dangerous and isolated position, would also not be overlooked in the matter of communication, as a means of rendering assistance to a vessel in distress.

The Earl of MOUNT-EDGCUMBE said, that it was a very serious matter that the men at such an important position as Eddystone should be left without food. He thought it was extremely curious that they had not been relieved, when it was stated that they might have been reached on several occasions.

Lord SUDELEY said, he thought he had explained that it was the practice to have provisions in the lighthouse for two months, and the last period of two months did not expire till the 28th of February. It was supposed, therefore, that there was a sufficient quantity of provisions in the lighthouse. With reference to the remark of the noble Earl, he could only repeat that the whole subject of telegraphic communication with lighthouses and lightships was under consideration.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 26th February, 1883.

MINUTES.] — Public Bills — *Resolution* [Feb 23] *reported—Ordered—First Reading—* Consolidated Fund, &c. [Permanent Charges Redemption] Act (1873) Amendment * [107]; Bills of Sale (Ireland) Act (1879) Amendment * [105]; Police * [106]; Seed Advances (Scotland) (No. 2) * [108].

Withdrawn—Seed Advances (Scotland) * [76].

NOTICES.

KILMAINHAM PRISON (RELEASE OF MR. PARNELL, &c.)

NOTICE OF MOTION (SIR S. NORTHCOTE).

Dr. CAMERON gave Notice that when the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon was brought forward, he would move the Previous Question.

Mr. LABOUCHERE gave Notice that in the apparently not very probable event of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon moving his Resolution in regard to the Kilmainham transaction, he would move an Amendment, to leave out all the words after the word "That," in order to substitute the following:—

> "The Prime Minister having stated that all the matters connected with the release of Mr. Parnell, M.P., Mr. Dillon, M.P., and Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., requisite for the House to form its judgment as to the said release have been made public, the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire further into these matters, and to examine witnesses upon oath in regard to them, would be a waste of public time and money, and an imputation upon the Prime Minister."

QUESTIONS.

SPAIN—SLAVERY IN CUBA.

Mr. A. PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to a communication in the "Standard" newspaper of the 9th instant, from its correspondent at Madrid, showing that the provisions of the "Moret" (Emancipation) Law are being extensively evaded in Cuba; and, whether, considering that this information is widely at variance with the brief report from Her Majesty's Consul in Cuba, recently presented to Parliament, Her Majesty's Government will obtain a more extended and detailed report not only from the Consul at Havana, but from the Vice Consuls in the other districts of the Island?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Consul General, who has returned to his post from leave of absence, will be instructed to send a full Report, and to supplement it, as far as possible, by Reports from the Vice Consuls.

RAILWAYS—WORKMEN'S TICKETS.

MR. BROADHURST asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he will use his influence with the Metropolitan Railway Companies to induce them to extend the times for issuing workmen's cheap weekly third-class tickets from 7 o'clock a.m., as is now the rule, until 9 o'clock a.m.; and, whether he will use his influence with the Railway Companies to induce them to issue weekly season tickets, as well as quarterly and yearly season tickets?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am afraid my hon. Friend overrates the influence he supposes me to have with the Metropolitan Railway Companies; but even if it was as great as he imagines, I am not certain that I could use it in order to secure the particular measures to which he calls attention, and to which there are some very considerable practical objections. I may add, however, that, in accordance with a promise I gave last Session, I have received a Report on the whole subject of the workmen's trains; and as soon as I have had time to consider this Report I propose to lay it on the Table.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked whether the right hon. Gentleman's attention had been called to the Railway Bills brought in this Session; and whether he would take care that proper facilities for the working classes were put into those Bills if they interfered with and pulled down workmen's houses in London?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The right hon. Gentleman knows I have no power to secure that. All I can do is to call the attention of the Committees to the subject. I propose to have the Bills carefully examined with that view.

ARMY—VETERINARY DEPARTMENT—POSITION OF OFFICERS.

MR. GREER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of the Government to act wholly or partially on that portion of Colonel Harrison's Report referring to the readjustment, relative rank, and improvement of the position of the Veterinary Officers generally?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The subjects to which this Question refers are under consideration, although not directly in connection with the recommendations in the Report of Colonel Harrison's Committee, which somewhat went beyond its instructions in entering on such matters.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT (IRELAND).

EXPLANATION.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of his recent statement

> "that it is supposed by some that by changes in the system of local self-government we can restore contentment to the Country. It would be madness, in my opinion, to give Ireland more extended self-government, unless we can receive from the Irish people some assurance that this boon would not be used for the purpose of agitation,"

the Government have abandoned the idea of introducing a measure for local self-government in Ireland, or whether the statement made in a recent speech by the President of the Board of Trade, that

> "as long as Ireland is without any institution of local government worthy of the name, so long the seeds of discontent and disloyalty will remain, only to burst forth into luxuriant growth at a favourable season,"

more accurately expresses the view entertained by Her Majesty's Government, and that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce such a measure; and, if so, when?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The hon. Member has given only a short extract from the speech of my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade. The passage in my right hon. Friend's speech to which he refers is, I think, the following:—

> "According to all precedent, we may now expect a breathing space, and for a considerable time at least we may look for peace and quiet. If we take advantage of this, if the British Parliament could be persuaded to seek out what are still the wrongs and grievances of the Irish people, and to endeavour to remedy them, not with a grudging hand, but in a broad and generous spirit, not waiting for clamorous agitation, then I believe that this expected truce will develop into a lasting treaty of peace and amity. But do not let us deceive ourselves. Do not let us suppose that our work is yet complete. As long as Ireland is without any institutions of local government worthy of the name; as long as nothing is done to cultivate the sense of responsibility among the people; as long as Irish-

men in their own country are deprived of rights and privileges which are conceded to Englishmen and Scotchmen—even to Irishmen in this country; as long as the large proportion of the population are shut out from any part in the management of their own affairs, while the education of the people is stinted, their prejudices ignored—so long the seeds of discontent and disloyalty will remain, only to burst forth into luxuriant growth at the first favourable season."

The House will see that my right hon. Friend was not speaking in these observations of any immediate legislation, but of the general tenour of English policy in Ireland. The other night, when addressing the House, I made such references as I thought were necessary to my own speech. I am sorry that the hon. Member should think that there is any difference between my right hon. Friend and myself; but I must leave these speeches to the judgment of the House.

LAW AND JUSTICE—OFFICE OF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet come to any decision as to the re-organisation of the office of Public Prosecutor, with the view of rendering the system more efficient, and really making the prosecution of serious offences a public and not a private function?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, he must answer this Question in the negative. No decision had yet been come to as to the re-organization of the Office of Public Prosecutor. In fact, such a reorganization would involve a great addition to the staff, and for that an appeal would have to be made to the Treasury. He was afraid that this was not a very opportune moment to ask for additional expenditure. At the same time, both the Home Secretary and himself were quite alive to the importance of that matter, and they would endeavour to make the best arrangements in their power in regard to it.

MR. GORST gave Notice, in consequence of this answer, that in Supply he would move the reduction of the Vote for the expenses of the Office of Public Prosecutor.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL gave Notice, in order to strengthen the hands of the Attorney General, that, after the second reading of the Criminal Procedure Bill, he would move—

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee to inform themselves as to the Law of Scotland with regard to criminal prosecutions so as to frame a Bill to operate throughout the United Kingdom; that the prosecution for serious offences shall be a public and not a private function."

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE CONGO.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If there is any truth in the rumour that Her Majesty's Government has entered into negotiations with the Portuguese Government by which both banks of the River Congo and a very large district in the interior of Africa would become part of the dominions of Portugal; and, if so, whether the Government will inform the House of the terms of such proposed Treaty before it is concluded?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Negotiations have been taking place between this country and Portugal with regard to the district on the West Coast of Africa to which my right hon. Friend alludes. They involve the consideration, not only of complicated questions of jurisdiction, but also of important points connected with religious liberty, freedom of commerce, and the prevention of the Slave Trade. It is impossible for me to make a statement on the subject within the limit usually assigned to the answer to a Question; but I may assure my right hon. Friend that Her Majesty's Government have no intention of taking the House by surprise, and that ample information will be afforded by Papers which will in due course be laid before Parliament. No decision has yet been arrived at.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Will the noble Lord give me any idea when the Papers will be produced?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: As I stated, negotiations are still proceeding, and the presentation of Papers will be as soon as the negotiations are concluded.

MR. BOURKE: A Treaty will not be signed until the Papers have been presented?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I give no pledge as to that.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: In consequence of what my noble Friend has stated, I suppose, in some form or another, information will be given to the House before the Treaty is signed?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think that was covered by what I said—that the House would not be taken by surprise.

THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE—SIR AUGUSTUS PAGET.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the five year rule is intended to be put in force in the case of Lord Lyons who has been Ambassador at Paris since July 1867; in the case of Lord Ampthill who has been Ambassador at Berlin since 1871; in the case of Sir Henry Elliot who has been Ambassador at Vienna since 1877; in the case of Sir John Lumley who has been Minister at Brussels since 1868; and in the case of Mr. Stuart who has been Minister at the Hague since October 1877; or whether the application of the rule is to be limited to the case of Sir Augustus Paget?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The House will readily see that it is not convenient that I should be called upon to explain how the Secretary of State proposes to deal with the discretion vested in him by regulations adopted on the recommendation of a Committee of the House of Commons, and sanctioned by subsequent votes of the House. In some of the cases quoted by my hon. Friend, the appointments have been renewed for the full term, in some provisionally, and in others the case has not arisen for Lord Granville's decision. My hon. Friend will readily understand that a more detailed or personal statement would be inconsistent with the interests of the Public Service?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, as he did not quite understand the answer of his noble Friend, he begged to give Notice that on the earliest possible occasion he should move for a Committee of the House to inquire into the circumstances and salaries of the Ministers mentioned in his Question.

NAVY—THE SICK BERTH STAFF.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any step has been taken to improve the pay and position of the sick berth staff of the Navy?

Mr. W. E. Forster

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir; no decision has yet been arrived at regarding the pay and position of the sick berth staff. The matter is part of a large question which is under consideration, extending to the whole system of attendance on the sick, both in naval hospitals and afloat.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. PETER FITZPATRICK.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Peter Fitzpatrick, of Corween, Ballybay, has recently been appointed a Sub-Commissioner under the Land Act; whether he is aware that he is an active member of the Land League; whether he attended a Land League meeting at Lattin Chapel, near Coote-hill, in the early part of 1881, when Mr. M'Aleese, the editor of the "People's Advocate," was in the chair; and, whether he was present and took the chair at another meeting of the same nature at Scotshouse, county Monaghan, about the same date?

MR. TREVELYAN: Mr. Peter Fitzpatrick, of Corween, Ballybay, has recently been appointed a Sub-Commissioner under the Land Act. He never was a member, active or otherwise, of the Land League, and he did not attend the meetings referred to in the Question. There was evidently some confusion between him and the Mr. Fitzpatrick residing in the neighbourhood.

MR. GIBSON asked was the other Mr. Fitzpatrick called Peter also?

MR. TREVELYAN: Some confusion exists; but there is no doubt that my answer is perfectly correct.

TURKEY IN ASIA—JEWS IN PALESTINE.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to a letter from Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, in the "Times" of the 30th January, according to which, in pursuance of an order of the Vilayet of Syria, issued in December last, the Camaikan of Haifa had prevented the landing at that place of a number of Jews who had arrived by sea, many of them being emigrants from Roumania, who had left their country because of the disabilities and oppression to which

Jews are there subjected, with the intention of forming part of an agricultural colony which was being established in Palestine, whilst the rest were of other nationalities, and included British subjects with British passports, who had come there for temporary purposes, or merely to visit the country. That notwithstanding the protest and remonstrances of the British Vice Consul, the Camaikan presisted in his refusal to allow any of them to land, and threatened to employ force, if necessary, to prevent it. That, in consequence, these unfortunate people, to the number of 120, were taken by sea, in violent, stormy weather, under great suffering and privations, to Alexandria; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will cause inquiry to be made into the circumstances, and will represent the case to the Turkish Government, with a view to the protection of Her Majesty's Jewish subjects in the future, and to the rescinding, if possible, of the order prohibiting the settlement of Jewish emigrants in Palestine?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The attention of the Secretary of State was called to the letter to which my hon. and learned Friend refers, and Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople has been instructed to make urgent and pressing inquiries, and report as to the alleged treatment by the local authorities of Haifa of these British subjects of the Hebrew faith, and to take any opportunity which may arise of calling the attention of the Porte to the violation of the general principles of religious liberty laid down in the Imperial Firmans.

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE—NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS.

Mr. STANHOPE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the proposed change of the Law relating to the trial of Europeans in India was submitted to the Council of the Secretary of State in England and approved by them?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Yes, Sir. The despatch of the Governor General of India proposing this change, and the draft in answer thereto, were submitted in the ordinary course to the Council of the Secretary of State and approved by them.

THE CENSUS RETURNS.

Mr. W. H. JAMES asked the President of the Local Government Board, When the Census Returns for England will be printed and circulated among Members?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The first two volumes of the Census Report are now being prepared for the Press, and will be printed and ready for circulation before the end of April. The remaining portion of the Report will be printed probably in September, and the Registrar General informs me that it will all be circulated before November.

PARLIAMENT — PRIVATE BUSINESS — RAILWAY BILLS—INCREASE OF RATES.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the increase in rates and higher classification adopted in many of the Railway Bills now before the House; whether it is the case that eighteen Bills propose to increase the rate or raise the classification of artificial manures; whether the Department of the Board of Trade has, in the Report to the House of Lords on Railway and other Bills, called attention to the proposed higher rates and classification of artificial manures; and, whether he can inform the House if the Board of Trade, or any official of this House, exercises any supervision of the rates and classification proposed in Railway Bills, so as to protect the public from excessive charges or unusual powers?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The Standing Order of the House of Lords, to which my hon. Friend refers, requires the Board of Trade to make a Report in all cases in which Railway Companies propose to increase their authorized rates; and in accordance with this Standing Order, the Board of Trade will report upon the Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway Bill, which, as I understand, is the only Bill this Session which proposes to increase authorized rates and fares. It is no part of the duty of the Board of Trade, and they have no authority, to report upon or to exercise any supervision over proposals of Railway Companies in regard to either the classification or the rates to be charged in the case of new Bills. In these cases, the Committees of the two Houses are the authorities who are competent to deal with the subject.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY: I do not think the right hon. Gentleman has answered the last Question.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I am under the impression that I have answered it. The Board of Trade does not exercise any supervision in the category of the Bills referred to.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY: May I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman can inform the House whether any official takes cognizance of these matters?

[No answer was given.]

INDIA—NATIVE STATES—MOHURBHUNJ.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to complaints against the virtual annexation of the Native State of Mohurbhunj in Orissa contrary to the Proclamation of 1857; whether his attention has been called to a statement in the "Calcutta Englishman," that the treatment of this Principality "seems to show that the days of high-handed interference with Native States are not yet over;" and, whether he will investigate the facts?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The attention of the Secretary of State has been called to the statement in *The Calcutta Englishman* to which the hon. Member's Question refers. From that statement it appears that the Rajah of Mohurbhunj having died, leaving a son only two years old, arrangements have as usual been made for the temporary administration of the State. The Secretary of State has no reason to question that these arrangements have been decided on, after full consideration by the Government of India, as the best suited to the circumstances of the case, and he does not consider there is any reason for his interference in the matter.

INDIA—NATIVE STATES—MYSORE.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the case that, ever since the restoration of Mysore to the Native Maharajah, the wishes of the Prince and people of Mysore in the selection of the administration have been ignored or rejected by the British Resident; whether it is the fact that British, Native, and European officials from Madras have been established in all the important and lucrative posts of administration in Mysore; whether it is the case that the late Dewan, Mr. Runga Charlu, an officer from Madras, was thus imposed upon the Government of Mysore; whether it is the fact that, acting in conjunction with the British Resident and former Regent, Sir James Gordon, the late Dewan dismissed every Native of Mysore he could, and gave the offices of the State to officers from Madras; whether it is now proposed to impose another British officer from Madras upon the Prince and people of Mysore; and, whether the Imperial Government will allow Mysore to be administered by its own Prince and people?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The hon. Member concludes his Question by asking—

> "Whether the Imperial Government will allow Mysore to be administered by its own Prince and people?"

In reply to that I can only repeat the answer which I gave the other night, that the administration of Mysore was transferred to the Maharajah on the 25th of March, 1881. The conditions of the transfer are to be found in the Blue Book presented to Parliament in 1881; and those conditions have been faithfully observed by the Maharajah, and by the Imperial Government. As regards the allegations contained in the hon. Member's Question, I have to say, after reference to the Government of India, that—

> "Since the transfer, no official whatever has been thrust on the Maharajah. No Madrassee has been introduced, and no Mysorean has been dismissed."

The present Dewan was chosen by the Maharajah himself. He is from Madras, but has been for 14 years in the service of the Mysore Government. Before sanctioning his appointment, the Government of India represented to the Maharajah the desirability of selecting, if possible, a Native of Mysore for the post. The Maharajah replied, that there was no Native of Mysore properly qualified, and pressed for the appointment of the Minister in whom he had confidence.

NAVY—THE ROYAL MARINES.

Viscount LEWISHAM asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether he has considered if, in the interests of the

Royal Marines, it would be advisable that a general officer of that force, who should alone be responsible for all things relating to the corps, and who should have direct communication with the Civil Lord, should have a seat on the Board of Admiralty; and, further, if he has considered whether, when Officers of the Royal Marines are under the Naval Discipline Act they should have the same rights and privileges as when under the Army Discipline Act?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, we have considered the subject of the noble Viscount's first Question, and it does not appear to us either necessary or desirable that an officer of Marines should have a seat at the Board of Admiralty. The Deputy Adjutant General is now in a position fully to advise the Board on all matters relating to the internal organization and discipline of the corps. With reference to the second Question, the subject of which was prominently brought to notice during the Egyptian operations, the decision arrived at will be expressed in the Bill which it is intended to introduce for the Amendment of the Naval Discipline Act.

MADAGASCAR—ADMIRAL GORE JONES'S REPORT.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, With reference to Admiral Gore Jones's Report of his official visit to the capital of the Hovas, at the instance of the Foreign Department, and his statement that the Prime Minister is forming a regular Army of 40,000 men in order to subject the tribes not now under Hova rule and submit the whole island to what the Admiral calls the "mild despotism" of the Hova Government, He has rightly represented the British Government when he says to the Hova Queen—

> "It is our ardent wish to see your Majesty's influence extended over the length and breadth of the land,"

and expresses the

> "sincere hope that the whole of Madagascar will soon be under the benign influence of your Majesty's control and of your Prime Minister and Commander in Chief;"

or, if not, whether Her Majesty's Government have taken steps to disabuse the Hova authorities of the incitement to conquest thus conveyed, and of the view, on which they seized, that the Admiral's general expressions of his belief in the friendship of the French towards them amounted to an assurance that the French also

> "desire the good of this country, and the extending of the Hova influence all over Madagascar?"

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Admiral Gore Jones's Report was laid before Parliament in accordance with a request addressed to my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, as an account of his visit to Madagascar, and not as a statement of the views of Her Majesty's Government, with regard to which full information will be found in the Papers about to be presented to Parliament.

EGYPT—PRISONS.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the Report respecting the Prisons in Egypt by Mr. Chermside and Mr. Beamen will be produced?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Report to which my right hon. Friend refers will be included in the next volume laid before Parliament of Papers relating to the affairs of Egypt.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: And Lord Dufferin's despatch?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Question of the noble Lord is not on the Paper.

THE COMORO ISLANDS.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If any Report has been received from Vice Consul Holmwood upon his visit to the Comoro Islands; and, if so, whether the Papers may be produced?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A Report upon the subject has been received from Consul Holmwood, and will be included in the Slave Trade Blue Book, which will shortly appear.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—VERDICTS OF CORONER'S JURIES.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will state the number of cases during the past two years in which coroner's juries in Ireland have returned verdicts of wilful murder against agents and officials of the Government; of the number of cases in which the Government applied to the Queen's Bench to quash the result of the coroner's inquisition; of the number of cases in which the Queen's Bench granted such applications by the Government; in how many cases the murdered persons were men, and in how many women; and of the number of cases in which the Government allowed the verdicts of coroner's juries charging Government agents or officials with wilful murder to be made the subject of trial according to law?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) (for Mr. TREVELYAN): In five different cases within the last two years verdicts of wilful murder were returned by Coroner's Juries in Ireland against members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. In three of these, the inquisitions were quashed in the Queen's Bench, on the application of the Crown. These were the only cases in which such application was made. In four cases the persons whose deaths were inquired into were men (5); in one they were women (2). In two cases there was no prosecution. In one, informations were applied for and refused. In one informations were granted and the Crown Prosecutors came to the conclusion that there was no case, and did not send up a bill. In the remaining case the bill was ignored by the Grand Jury.

MR. O'DONNELL: Do I understand that there were three cases in which applications were made to quash the convictions, and two cases in which there was no prosecution? Am I to conclude from that that in the five cases in which verdicts were returned against officials there was no prosecutions whatever against the incriminated servants of the Crown?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER): That is not the case. In three cases the inquisitions were quashed. In one of these proceedings were directed by the Crown before the magistrates, but informations were refused.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. FERGUSON.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the statement of Mr. Ferguson, Chairman of the West Riding of Cork County, at the trial of the appeal of Messrs. Gilhooly, O'Brien, and Hodnett for alleged intimidation at a public meeting, that he

> "Thought it was a cruel thing to allow those meetings to be held at all, for if the old lines were followed it was impossible that a man should not commit an offence against the Act, and it would be impossible for any man to speak at a meeting unless he had a lawyer telling him every word he should say;"

and, whether the Government intend to take any notice of Mr. Ferguson's statement of the operation of the Act?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have seen a report of the Judgment delivered by the County Court Judge in this case. The words quoted in the Question as quoted apart from their context are open to misconstruction. Mr. Ferguson spoke as follows:—

> "Mr. O'Brien said that the landlords were exacting an unnatural blood tax in the shape of rent, and that they should be got rid of. Now, could any one have any reasonable doubt but that any landlord reading those remarks or hearing of them about exercising his legal rights would be intimidated? Mr. O'Brien further told the tenants to pay only what they did not want. There, beyond doubt, was the advice given in the old agitation."

Having explained what he meant by the "old lines," Mr. Ferguson then used the words quoted in the Question. His obvious meaning was that a person who makes a public speech advising people not to pay rent is guilty of intimidation under the Prevention of Crime Act. The Government do not intend to take any notice of his statement—first, because it is perfectly easy for any speaker to refrain from advising people not to pay rent; and, secondly, because (and this cannot be too clearly understood) persons holding judicial positions, such as County Court Judges, are not officers of the Executive, and the Executive is not responsible for any remarks they may make.

THE DANUBE COMMISSION—THE KILIA MOUTH.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the fact, as stated by Hobart Pacha in a letter to the "Times," published on Friday last that the Kilia Branch of the Danube

> "Has only to be cleared of sandbanks and other minor impediments to receive the whole flow of the river into its watercourse, thus leav-

> ing dry and useless for navigation the channels lower down, called the Sulina and Saint George's Channels,"

and that Russia, if allowed to hold that branch of the river without being subject to the control of the Danubian Commission, as provided by Articles 15 and 16 of the Treaty of Paris, would not only hold

> "Entire command of the commerce of the Danube, but turn the flank of any warlike action on the part of Austria and Germany on the Eastern question, establishing, in fact, a second Gibraltar in the Black Sea, the more so as she would have the means, from the formation of the land at the entrance of the Kilia Branch, of making a magnificent seaport in those waters;"

if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will insist on the Articles of the Treaty of Paris, above quoted, being applied to the Kilia mouth as they are to all the other mouths of the Danube?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Full information on the Question asked by my hon. Friend, and the opinion of Hobart Pasha therein referred to, as to the Kilia branch of the Danube, will be contained in the Papers which will be laid before Parliament when the Conference now sitting has concluded its labours.

CUSTOMS RE-ORGANIZATION — THE NEW WAREHOUSING SCHEME— SURVEYORS.

MR. RITCHIE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is true that the Board of Customs last June, with the sanction of the Treasury, increased the number of surveyorships in the out-door department of the London Customs in order to provide for the establishment of the new Customs warehousing system; whether the Board of Customs has now decided to reduce the number of surveyorships; whether this proceeding, without giving compensation to the officers for the chances of promotion of which they are thus deprived, is a breach of faith to those clerks in the old warehousing departments who were transferred in June last to the new out-door department of the Customs, and who accepted employment in that department upon the strength of the new classification; and, whether this proceeding has been adopted with his sanction?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to state that I understand that the Board of Customs do not contemplate filling up an existing vacancy among the Surveyors in the Port of London, the number of which was increased last year, inasmuch as that number is found to be in excess of the requirements of the Public Service. I am informed that, as vacancies occur, the Board of Customs will, probably, still further reduce the number of Surveyors. As to the third Question of the hon. Member, I am afraid that I must distinctly say that, in my opinion, the number of officers in any rank must depend upon the requirements of the Service, and that I cannot admit that any breach of faith with junior officers is committed when it is found necessary to reduce the number of the seniors. No officer has any claim, moral or equitable, to the retention of any particular classification of officers senior to him. In answer to the last Question, I have to say that a decision of the Board of Customs, not to fill up a vacancy when the office was no longer necessary, is not one as to which I should interfere.

MR. RITCHIE gave Notice that on an early date he would call attention to the matter.

LAW AND POLICE—MURDER IN A POLICE CELL, NORTH SHIELDS.

MR. DAWNAY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to a murder, committed at North Shields, on February 21st, by a drunken man upon the drunken fellow-occupant of a police cell; and, whether, in view of the fact that but a short time ago another case of a similar nature occurred, when one drunken man was kicked to death by another, he will take the necessary steps to prohibit the promiscuous locking up of drunken men, and to arrange for separate confinement in such cases?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member is probably aware that the Secretary of State has no authority over the police in the Provinces, and that the local authorities are there supreme. With regard to the Metropolitan district, which is under the authority of the Home Office, regulations to the effect which the hon. Member considers desirable are at present in force.

SPAIN — INTERNATIONAL LAW—SURRENDER OF CUBAN REFUGEES.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the promised Papers on the subject of the Cuban Refugees will be presented to Parliament?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Papers will be laid on the Table as soon as a reply has been received from the Spanish Government to the last communication addressed to them on behalf of Her Majesty's Government.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked if there was any reason why the House should not have the Papers as far as they had gone? He should repeat the Question that day week; and if the reply was not more satisfactory he should move for the Papers.

IRELAND—ENGLISH POLICY—THE "ECHO" NEWSPAPER.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the following passage in a leading article in the "Echo," published on Friday 23rd February:—

> "If the history of Ireland teaches one thing more than another it is this, that no reform, however moderate and necessary, can be wrung from the British Parliament when Ireland is at peace. Mr. Gladstone has admitted it, Mr. Chamberlain has admitted it, and he who denies it goes in the teeth of facts. If that be so, can it be wondered that the Irish leaders, we will not say connive at crime, but at all events do nothing to check it? . . . . It is too much to expect that there will be any very earnest desire on the part of the Irish leaders to put an end to outrage when without it they are reduced to impotence. . . . . The temptation is too great to be resisted. . . . . Whatever may be the result of the trials now pending at Dublin, even though every secret society in Ireland is discovered and its members scattered, it is folly to expect that Ireland will long be free from the machinations of other secret societies. from murder, and from outrage, whilst by such means, rather than by reason, redress can be obtained for such wrongs;"

whether he is aware that the senior Member for Salisbury is proprietor of the paper; and, whether he is prepared to direct a prosecution of the publishers on the ground of inciting to outrage?

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: Before the right hon. and learned Gentleman answers the Question, I would like to ask him whether a statement to the same effect as that mentioned in this Question was not recently made at a public meeting in Ireland by an eminent Member of the Conservative Party—that is to say, whether the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) did not at a public meeting in the Rotunda use these words—

> "Now they (the Government) may wriggle, or deny, or suggest as they please; but every sane man in the Empire knows that but for the Land League, its meetings, and the crimes and outrages which too often follow those meetings, there would have been either no Land Act at all, or a very different one from that which now finds its place on the Statute Book."

I beg to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether this statement is not precisely to the same effect, only a little farther, to that mentioned in the Question, and what action he proposes to take thereupon?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am in the unfortunate position of knowing nothing of the contents of *The Echo*, and I am afraid I have not read the speech in the Rotunda. I can give no opinion upon either subject. If the writing in *The Echo*, which I have not had the advantage of reading, or the speech in the Rotunda, are at all to the effect of the passages quoted, I can only say they appear to be extremely mischievous, and in the highest degree reprehensible. As to the Rotunda speech, that is a more serious thing, because that was made in Ireland. With reference to this passage, which appears to be quoted from a paper, which I am told is an English paper, all I would say of it is that, in my opinion, sentiments of that kind meet with so universal reprobation in this country that prosecutions are the less necessary.

MR. PASSMORE EDWARDS: I beg most distinctly to say that I know nothing, and knew nothing, of the article till to-day. In the second place, I beg most distinctly to say that the extracts, as recorded, are most garbled and misleading.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: After the remarks of the hon. Member, I hope I may be allowed to say the extracts referred to are *verbatim* from the leader in *The Echo* of Friday last, and the omissions marked by asterisks were only made to prevent the Question from being of inordinate length.

COOLIES (INDIAN) AT LA REUNION.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If his attention has been called to the Special Correspondence of the "Standard" of the 23rd instant, which states that though—

> "The numerous complaints of ill-treatment, and breaches of the Convention under which the Réunion planter was permitted to obtain his labour in Hindostan, led, as is known, to the Indian Government stopping the immigration altogether, there are still 46,000 coolies on the island whose deplorable condition is not in the least degree affected by that much-needed measure. They are flogged, we are told, at the will of their masters. They may even be flogged to death, and there is no redress or punishment. They complain to the British Consul, who can do little to help them, that they are not paid regularly, and that when their term of service has expired they are detained for longer and indefinite periods on some excuse or other. Indeed, of these 46,000 men, women, and children — British subjects, but practically slaves—only some 800 annually get away from Réunion, and these chiefly are individuals unfit for work;"—

whether it is true that 46,000 British subjects continue to be subject at Réunion to the abuses which caused the Indian Government to prevent further Coolie immigration into the island; and, if so, what steps Her Majesty's Government intends to take?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The latest Annual Return in our possession is that of the 31st of December, 1881. At that date the number of Indian immigrants in Réunion was said to be 41,234. During last year only 813 were repatriated. The Government are doing all in their power, by representations to the French Government, and through the exertions of the Consuls, to ameliorate the condition of the immigrants. Now that immigration has been stopped, special attention is being paid to the question of repatriation.

MR. O'DONNELL gave Notice of a further Question on the subject, as he believed the Government of India were not doing their duty.

NAVY—THE EGYPTIAN WAR MEDAL.

MR. J. R. YORKE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Why the Egyptian War medal has not yet been distributed to Her Majesty's Naval Forces who were present at the Bombardment of Alexandria and elsewhere, in Egypt, during the late War; and who is responsible for the delay which has occurred?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The issue of the Egyptian War Medal to the Navy has now commenced, and will be carried on with as little interruption as possible. The delay has arisen from the fact, that, under the arrangements hitherto in force, medals were supplied to the Admiralty by the War Office, and thus the Army obtained precedence in the issue. In future the Royal Mint will furnish medals directly to the Admiralty, so that this complication will be avoided.

THE EXTRA POLICE TAX (IRELAND)—GREAN AND BALLINACLOUGH.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the extra-police tax assessed on the parishes of Grean and Ballinaclough, in the county of Limerick, amounted from the 24th of August to the 30th September 1882 to 3½*d.* in the pound on the valuation, and the extra-police tax from the 30th September to 31st December 1882 upon the same area amounted to £276 8*s.* 11*d.* or about 11*d.* in the pound on the valuation; what was the number of policemen stationed in the district previously to these dates; how many extra constables were added; what is the present strength of the police force there; and at what rate of pay the assessment of £276 8*s.* 11*d.* is calculated; whether it is the fact that, since the 15th of August last, no agrarian offence of any nature has been committed within the district; and, whether, in view of the peacefulness of the district during that period, of the sufferings of the farmers from adverse seasons, and in view of the fact that the small parishes of Grean and Ballinaclough (covering less than half the present Catholic parish of Pallasgreen) include the place where petty session charges are heard, he will be prepared to recommend the Lord Lieutenant to relieve the people from this burden?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am aware of the circumstances mentioned in the first paragraph of this Question. The number of policemen in the district previously to the appointment of additional Constabulary was 20; there were 18 added, and the present actual strength of the force is 36, showing two vacancies of the ordinary description. The rate of pay upon which the assessment is calculated is the ordinary rate. It is not the fact that there has been no agrarian outrages in the district since the 15th of August. There have been six, including cases of malicious burning, assault, malicious injuries by flooding meadows, "Boycotting" notices, and threatening letters. The presence of the extra police is required in consequence of the existence in the district of secret societies, and the necessity of affording protection to several respectable families and others in the locality. At present no reduction in the force can be made.

Mr. O'BRIEN: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the agrarian outrages referred to have occurred within the district actually described; or whether they are referrable to the entire petty sessions district?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I conclude from the terms of the telegram I received that they occurred in the district, because it mentions specially the two parishes referred to in the Question.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE ASSASSINATIONS—MAGISTERIAL INQUIRY AT KILMAINHAM.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will state to the House why an official shorthand writer should have been present during portions of the examinations of witnesses at Dublin Castle, under the Sixteenth Clause of the Crimes Act, and absent during other portions of these examinations?

Mr. TREVELYAN: For reasons which I think will be obvious to the House, I must decline to answer this inquiry.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—RETURN SHOWING THE ESTABLISHMENT, NUMBER, AND STRENGTH.

Mr. KENNY (for Mr. Arthur O'Connor) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will lay upon the Table a Return showing the establishment, number, and the effective strength of the Constabulary Force in each county in Ireland on the first day of each month during the year 1882; the number of extra police employed in each county, with the dates from and to which they were so employed; the amount charged against each county for such extra police; and the area of charge in each case?

Mr. TRELVEYAN: There will be no objection to lay upon the Table, if moved for, a Return such as that suggested in the first part of the Question. It will be a Return that will take a long time to prepare, as some of the accounts will not be made up until after the 31st of next month; so, perhaps, the hon. Member (Mr. A. O'Connor) will let me have the form of his Return in manuscript.

PORTUGAL—MOZAMBIQUE—TARIFF 1877.

Mr. STEVENSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it will be a provision of the Treaty understood to be now pending with the Portuguese Government, that the Tariff of 1877 for the Province of Mozambique, imposing an uniform Duty of three per cent. upon Imports, and Transit Duties averaging three per cent. upon goods passing through the countries lying north of the mouth of the Shire River, shall be confirmed as a permanent arrangement?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Mozambique Tariff of 1877, which was a liberal one, was modified to a certain extent in 1880. Further alterations in it, made recently by the Governor, of a restrictive tendency, have been disavowed by the Portuguese Government. Its application to the other African Possessions of Portugal is under discussion in the negotiations.

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE—NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS.

Mr. DALRYMPLE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he would state who are the eminent authorities, unconnected with the present Government of India, by whom the principle of the Procedure Bill, which confers increased jurisdiction over Europeans on certain classes of Native magistrates, is supported; and, where any record, accessible to Members of the House of Commons, is to be found, which shows that the subject has been under consideration for many years?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: In reply to the hon. Member for Buteshire, whose Question arises out of an answer which I gave on Friday last to the hon. Member for Lambeth, I have to say that the eminent authorities whose names were in my mind were Lord Napier of Murchistoun, Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Richard Temple, the late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, now Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), and Sir Barrow Ellis, now a member of the Secretary of State's Council. These opinions may be found in the Supplement to *The Gazette of India* of the 4th of May, 1872. So long ago as 1854 the question of equal jurisdiction was under consideration, and the Indian Law Commission, appointed by the Crown and presided over by Lord Romilly, based its recommendations on the same principle. In the Papers presented to Parliament in 1856 the following passage may be found:—

> "We assume that the special privileges now enjoyed by British subjects are to be abolished; and we, therefore, make no provision for such exceptional cases. In the system which we propose, all classes of the community will be equally amenable to the Criminal Courts of the country."

Papers on the subject have been promised by Lord Kimberley, and will shortly be presented.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—PROVISIONS AS TO LABOURERS' COTTAGES—MINUTES OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

MR. METGE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to the Minutes issued by the Land Commissioners on the 29th May 1882, on the provisions of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," as to labourers' cottages; and, whether any effort has been made to put the recommendations therein contained into effect; if not, whether it is the intention of the Government to amend the Land Law Act, with respect to these provisions, during this Session?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, an Amendment, which was made at the suggestion of the hon. Member for the County of Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), enacted that a tenant who neglected to comply with the order of the Land Commission might be summoned before the Justices at Petty Sessions at the suit of the labourer; but, having regard to the conditions of the employment of the labourers, that remedy was naturally not a very efficient one. A suggestion had been made, which was evidently the more effective proposal—namely, that the farmer should make proper provision for labourers' cottages, in case an order to that effect was made before the decree fixing a fair rent was made by the Commissioners. But the Government were not prepared to propose any legislation on the subject.

KILMAINHAM PRISON (RELEASE OF MR. PARNELL, &c.).

NOTICE OF MOTION (SIR S. NORTHCOTE).

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I wish to ask the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, Whether it will be in his power, or the power of the Government, to give me any facilities for bringing forward the Motion of which I have given Notice for a Select Committee to inquire into the circumstances of the release of certain Members of this House from Kilmainham Gaol?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Mr. Speaker, before stating to the House the course which the Government propose to take in this matter, I beg to ask leave to make one observation. In the course of the observations which the right hon. Gentleman made on Thursday night on the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, he said he considered that I had rather unfairly commented on the action of the Opposition in regard to the matter of the release of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and of the other Irish Members who had been imprisoned. He did not specify—it was not consistent with Order at the time—the particular observation of mine to which he referred, and, therefore, it is impossible for me to offer to the House any explanation in detail. But I wish to say that it was very far from my intention to comment unfairly on the action of the Opposition in this matter; and not only so, but I had no intention whatever at that time to utter even any comments, either of an unfair or of an unnecessarily Party character. I fully expected that the right hon. Gentleman would have immediately followed me in the debate; and I certainly would not willingly have committed myself to any statement or imputation which could have been so described.

Having made that explanation, I have to state, in reply to the Question which has just been put to me by the right hon. Gentleman, that, in the opinion of the Government, this transaction, having now been under discussion in this House for nearly a week, on the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst)—a Motion which was adopted and supported by the Opposition—the Government are not now prepared to assent to the appointment of a Select Committee, because it would, in their opinion, have the effect of reviving and keeping open the controversy for an indefinite period, which we consider would be extremely embarrassing to the Government of Ireland, and prejudicial to the interests of order in Ireland. Admitting, as we do, the obligation under ordinary circumstances of affording to the Opposition the earliest opportunity of bringing forward any Motion involving either censure or want of confidence in the Government, we cannot admit an indefinite obligation—an obligation to find time for such Motions indefinitely repeated. We have understood the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham as virtually, though perhaps rather indistinctly, aimed at the conduct of the Government in regard to these transactions. It has been so treated in the speech of the hon. and learned Member himself; it has been so treated in the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), and other speakers on the Opposition Benches, and, to a certain extent, in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition himself. Having been so treated, it was met by us in that sense; we believe it was so understood by the House, and the House has pronounced its judgment upon it. It would be impossible, under any circumstances, looking to the protracted nature of the debate which has already taken place, and which is not yet concluded, on the Address; looking also to the urgent necessity of making progress in Supply, and also to other Business of great importance which has not yet even been commenced, for the Government to have afforded an early day for this discussion. But I do not at all desire to limit myself to a consideration of this kind. I wish to state distinctly, that while there may be occasions and opportunities of which it may be possible for the right hon. Gentleman to avail himself for bringing forward this Motion, the Government are not prepared to offer any part of the time over which they have control for the renewal of a controversy which, in their opinion, has been already fully debated, and upon which the judgment of the House has been pronounced.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am quite aware, Sir, that it is not in my power to address the House on this occasion; but with their indulgence I would make one remark on what has fallen from the noble Marquess. I wish to remind him that the original suggestion—that the proper way to deal with this question, if it is to be dealt with at all, was by a Select Committee—was the suggestion that came from the Prime Minister. Circumstances at the time at which that suggestion was made rendered it perfectly impossible for my hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Mr. J. R. Yorke) to bring such a Motion forward without the assistance of the Government. That assistance was declined. On the very first occasion of the discussion in this House of Irish affairs, the noble Marquess renewed, as I understood his language, in a very distinct manner the challenge of the Prime Minister, which challenge I at once accepted. I am rather surprised that these challenges are made with the understanding that they are not to be taken up. I can only say, having received an answer which has rather surprised me, I must take a short time to consider what course I shall take.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE ASSASSINATIONS—INTERVIEWS WITH JAMES CAREY, THE INFORMER.

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is in a position to inform the House if there is any truth in reports appearing in certain newspapers to-day as to interviews alleged to have been had with James Carey, the informer, and as to statements alleged to have been made by him?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am very glad my hon. Friend has given me an opportunity of referring to this matter, and to say that certainly there have not been any interviews.

SCOTLAND—THE SKYE CROFTERS.

MR. STEWART: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, having regard to the statements in the public journals to the effect that the crofters charged with being chiefly concerned in the recent disturbances in Skye have made their submission to the Supreme Court, the Government are now prepared to make any announcement on the subject of a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make an inquiry into this matter, and I will take a later opportunity to state in further detail what it will be.

MR. MACFARLANE: As I understood the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, it is that the Government have made up their minds to issue a Royal Commission to do that which I previously asked them to do. If my understanding is right, I will withdraw the Amendment which stands in my name to the Address, as the object with which I placed it on the Paper has been attained.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member offers me a great temptation, and I hope the answer I have given will substantially be found to satisfy the objects he has in view.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Might I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman when he expects to find the "later opportunity" of explaining the details?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope to make a statement shortly.

POST OFFICE — CONTRACTS — THE MAILS BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN—THE PAPERS.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, When the Papers relating to the Irish Mail Contract will be laid on the Table? There is great anxiety in Dublin that they should be presented to Parliament as soon as possible.

MR. COURTNEY: I will lay them on the Table as soon as possible; but I cannot name a day.

CRIME (IRELAND)—ALLEGED POSTING OF A LETTER CONTAINING DYNAMITE TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he had received any information respecting the alleged posting at the Ballydehob Post Office of a letter containing dynamite, and addressed to the Lord Lieutenant?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have not, Sir.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [EIGHTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [15th February]—[See page 98.]

Main Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. PARNELL: Sir, in rising to move the Amendment which stands in my name, I wish to express the opinion that the Irish Government, and the Government generally, lost a very great opportunity, after the assassinations in the Phœnix Park, of restoring peace and order in Ireland by the only means by which it will ever be possible to restore peace permanently in that country, and that is, by the aid and sympathy of the people in that work. I think, Sir, that never, during all the centuries of English rule in Ireland, has any Government had such an opportunity, as was then presented, of rallying to the side of law and order the sympathy of the masses of the people in Ireland; and I regret exceedingly to find that the impression in that direction which, during the discussions on the Crimes Bill, seemed to hold to a certain extent the mind of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevelyan) has since his contact with the evil influences of Dublin Castle been removed, and that he has expressed his opinion that, without the Crimes Act, it would be impossible for the Government to maintain order in Ireland. I wonder whether the Chief Secretary, and those who are responsible with him for the government of Ireland, have ever considered what they are going to do when the Crimes Act expires; whether they will propose to renew that Act, or, perhaps, to replace it with something of a still more drastic character; or whether they will propose to do without it. If they contemplate being able to do without it at the end of the three years during which the Act has to last, I think it would be much better if they had not tried it at all, because their chances of enlisting the Irish people on the side of law and order on the expiration of that Act, in view of the irritation which its daily administration is exciting throughout the country, will be infinitesimally small as compared with what they would have been had the Government trusted to the honour of the people, and had the right hon. Gentleman gone to Ireland without the Crimes Act to aid him in governing that country. It seems to be supposed, on account of what are known as the "Kilmainham Revelations," that we are not to be entitled to discuss the Administration of the Irish Government. If that be the view of Her Majesty's Government, I can only say that they would most fittingly carry it out by disfranchising the Irish constituencies. But so long as the Constitution allows Ireland to send Members to this House, so long will Members sent by Ireland assert their right to criticize and condemn the conduct of the Government in Ireland. The House generally, and public opinion also, seem to forget what sort of an Act it is that is being administered—they seem to forget that it is an Act of the most drastic severity that has ever been passed against that country. [Mr. TREVELYAN: No, no.] The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland says "No, no;" but if you compare the provisions of the Crimes Act with the provisions of the other Coercion Acts, you will find that these repressive provisions are more numerous and more sweeping than those contained in any other Act which has ever been passed. You have powers granted under that Act to establish a special Commission of Judges for the trial, without juries, of certain offences; you have provisions for trials by special juries, selected from the county and city panels, with unlimited right to the Crown to order jurors to stand by, and limited right of challenge to the prisoners, a power which has resulted in the selection of juries, for the trial of the gravest offences, for the purpose of condemning men to death, from the very classes who are smarting in pocket, in prestige, and in reputation, from the results of the Land League agittion, and of the legislation of the Government, and for whom it is perfectly impossible to approach the consideration of these grave political and agarian cases, which are brought before them, with that judicial frame of mind which it is so imperatively necessary for jurors to possess. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), said that if he had allowed the verdicts of coroners' juries in Ireland to be followed up, judicial murders would have taken place. With regard to that, I would point out that the class from whom coroners' juries are chosen represent the majority of the people; and the right hon. Gentleman, of course, meant that if to this class were given the right of deciding matters of life and death, they could not be expected to approach to questions involved in the proceedings brought before coroners' juries with any judicial impartiality of mind. I do not pronounce any opinion upon this point; but, if it be so, it is an argument which tells with ten-fold force against the course which the Government are pursuing, of empanelling juries to try issues of life and death solely from the other class, constituting, as they do, the minority of the people of Ireland, and the garrison, or the descendants of the garrison, which was planted in the country three centuries ago. You have a provision in this Crimes Act for the appointment of tribunals of summary jurisdiction to try offences against the Act. The following acts are constituted offences:—Intimidation, specially defined in such a way as to render it impossible for any speaker, in the words of the County Court Judge of Cork, "to address any meeting without breaking the law, unless he has a lawyer at his elbow to advise him." You have what are called "unlawful associations" — comprising any association which the Lord Lieutenant may consider to be unlawful, however lawful it may be according to the ordinary law; you have power of suppressing meetings which may be held by the Lord Lieutenant to be illegal, and of punishing people who may not disperse from those meetings. You give power to tribunals of summary jurisdiction to try these offences. You give power to any policeman to arrest persons out after sunset. That power has, I shall show, been very extensively used; and in hardly one of the hundreds of cases where the police have arrested people out after sunset and kept them in the lock-up for that night, or for several nights, have the magistrates considered it necessary to convict the prisoners. You have power given to any policeman to arrest strangers, and we have had an example of the way they have occasionally used that power in the arrest of Mr. Joynes and Mr. Henry George. You have power also to seize newspapers and to make searches by day or night. It is a remarkable fact that although the Lord Lieutenant desired he should not be given this power of searching by night, it was thrust upon him by the House of Commons, and has actually been extensively used. Again, you have the application of the Alien Act to aliens—I believe that is one of the few provisions of the Act which have not been used and abused, although the Secretary of State for the Home Department stated he knew several dangerous characters who were in the country whom he wished to have removed. You gave power to the justices to summon witnesses, to examine them privately, and to commit them to prison for an indefinite term. You have power to send additional constabulary into a district and to charge the cost on any area, no matter what its size. You have power to levy blood money on a district. Nearly all these powers have been used; and, as I think I shall be able to show, they have also been abused. I submit that, under these circumstances, we are entitled to criticize the working of the Act, especially in view of the fact that this is the first opportunity we have had of reviewing the administration of an Act conferring such enormous powers upon the Irish Executive, which practically has so very little responsibility. We are entitled to put our case before the House, and to take its opinion thereon, and we ought not to permit ourselves to be deterred or intimidated, by any outside influences whatever, from exercising our right and performing our duty in this respect. Now, Sir, I said, a while ago, that I regretted exceedingly the Irish Government had not taken the tide which commenced to flow in their favour for the first time after the Phœnix Park assassinations. It is an indisputable fact, known to everybody who has studied Irish politics, that, during the last eight or nine months, a feeling did arise in the country after the terrible event in the Phœnix Park, such as had never appeared there before, a feeling of active sympathy in favour of the law and against crime; but by stupid bungling, which I can scarcely call less than criminal, and which this Government will have to atone for, in the loss of confidence by the country in its administration, that tide was not taken advantage of. The Coercion Act was brought in instead, and, in consequence, the feeling to which I have referred was turned back to such an extent, that I believe there was never greater hostility to English rule in Ireland than exists at present; there was never greater disinclination on the part of the people to aid law and order; and although there may be a reduction in the number of agrarian offences, that reduction is only due to the fact that you are keeping down the people by a brutal and terrible Coercion Act, which you are administering in a brutal and terrible way. To show you how matters were going on subsequent to the assassinations—there were in April 738 outrages of all kinds, in May 702, in June 547, July 474, August 376, September 280; but in October, by which time the Crimes Act had got fully to work, they rose to 310; and although there has been some diminution recently, yet we find that the outrages for the last month, the agrarian especially, show a slight increase upon those of the month before, so that instead of the diminution going on, as it had been during the months succeeding the Phœnix Park assassinations, and before the Crimes Act had got into operation, by leaps and bounds, that diminution has ceased, and the monthly Returns show a slight increase of outrages. Sir, I said that almost every power given by the Crimes Act had been used and abused; that is remarkably exemplified by the power which was given to arrest under the Curfew Clause. I find that, on the 20th

July, a respectable shoemaker named John Maher was ordered off the streets by the police, and told to go home. He refused. He was arrested, and the head constable detained him in the barracks that night. Next morning he was allowed out on bail, and on July 24th, at Roscrea Petty Sessions, Mr. Vaughan, R.M., discharged him. At Carrick-on-Shannon, on July 30th, Patrick Mahon was arrested in Drumshambo as a stranger. He was then six miles from home. The Resident Magistrate discharged him. In nearly all the cases where men were arrested and detained under the Curfew Clause, no conviction followed, which shows that the police are not fitted to exercise the powers with which the Act has entrusted them. There were numerous other cases in which persons, well-known inhabitants of the counties of Mayo and Galway, had been arrested under the Curfew Clause, or as suspicious strangers, or on suspicion of intending criminal offence, but who, subsequently, were discharged, because they had been able to give a satisfactory account of themselves, though, in many instances, they had been kept in prison, sometimes all night, and sometimes for a week or a fortnight, being remanded without the option of bail. One case, in which conviction followed arrest, was that of Maurice Fitzgerald, arrested on suspicion, and Captain Massey, the Resident Magistrate, deemed the man's explanation unsatisfactory, and sent him to gaol for 14 days. The police were most reckless in their action, for in most cases, on examination, it turned out that no ground whatever of suspicion existed against the person charged. In one case a house was visited from which the tenant had been evicted. The man himself was absent; but his wife and children were in bed, and they were turned out on to the roadside in the middle of the night. On the 4th of August two men were charged with being on the roadside in circumstances which were said to constitute a case of reasonable suspicion against them. No evidence was forthcoming, and the magistrate observed that it was not the object of the Act to terrorize the people of Ireland. The case of Mr. Joynes, the companion of Mr. Henry George, had been made familiar to everbody in the newspapers, and it was unnecessary to detail the circumstances of that case. The case of Stephen John Meany, the newspaper correspondent, was equally well known to the House. Meany was removed to the county gaol, and suffered one month's imprisonment with hard labour. At Loughrea, one Barratt, who had long been a resident in the neighbourhood, was ordered to leave the town, and bound over in his own recognizances in £20, or in default to go to prison for three months. Subsequently, however, it was discovered that there was no evidence against him, and the case was dismissed. On the 8th of October a man was charged by the police with being in the road after hours on the 29th of September; the case was dismissed. Then came the extraordinary attempt at intimidation by constables against Mr. Harrington, the recently elected Member for Westmeath. He was walking in the road three or four miles from his residence, when he was accosted by a constable, who asked him what was his business there. Mr. Harrington declined to give him any information, whereupon the constable said to another constable who was with him—"We must do our duty." But the constables did not perform their duty, for Mr. Harrington was allowed to return home. Then there was another case of a man who, being being about to leave for America, was out late at night on his way to visit his friends. He was arrested and lodged in a police barracks all night, but was discharged on the following day, on the condition of his leaving at once for America. On the 13th of November, two farmers were arrested, but were discharged on the following day. On the 17th of November a respectable farmer was arrested under the Curfew Clause, and had to spend the night in a police barrack. On the 17th of December two young men were charged with being out of doors at half-past 9 the previous evening; the case was dismissed. On another occasion three young men were charged under the Crimes Act with being out at 10 o'clock; the case was dismissed. At a special Court, held on the 12th of January, Sub-Inspector King prosecuted three men for being absent from their abodes after hours. It was proved that they were men of exemplary character, and they were discharged. On the 14th of January nine respectable farmers were arrested under the Curfew Clause; the magistrate dismissed the charge against all of them. On the 11th of January the Castle island police arrested persons who were going to a dance. They were discharged the next day, after having spent the night in the lock-up. But the magistrate told them that, if they were brought up again, he would give them three months. On the 11th of January three men were arrested, of whom one was sentenced to one month's hard labour, and the other two to two months' imprisonment. Out of all I have read, up to the present, there are only two in which convictions were obtained in the case of persons arrested under the provisions of the Curfew Clause. On the 5th of January, four young lads were charged with being out of their homes a little after 9, &c. After a quarter of an hour's consultation, the magistrates announced that considering the character of the night on which they were out—it was St. Stephen's night—considering also that the brother of the prisoners was with them, and that they were but a short distance from their homes, they had a doubt whether they were out for any unlawful purpose. They gave them the benefit of the doubt and discharged them. I think I have given proof of how the Curfew Clause has been used and abused; because it is evident they have not arrested men who were out for the purpose of committing crime, but men who were out for legitimate purposes, against whom no harm could be proved when the cases came subsequently to be investigated before the magistrates. We next come to the powers given to prosecute editors of newspapers under the intimidation section of the Act. The first prosecution which took place under this section against a Pressman was that against Mr. Richard Kelly, proprietor of *The Tuam Herald*. He published a letter in his paper which had been written by somebody else. Mr. Burke, the defendant's solicitor, said he thought the officer of the Crown had made a great mistake in prosecuting Mr. Kelly. The defendant, he understood, was sorry for having inserted the letter, repudiated the contents, and said it had been inserted in his absence and without his knowledge. The bench retired and the chairman announced that they were unanimously in favour of sending the case for trial before the Judge of the Assizes. This action seems to have been really taken by the Resident Magistrates and not by the local unpaid justices, because we find that they drew up the following memorial:—

> "We, the undersigned justices of the peace assembled at Tuam, having heard the case of the Queen *v.* Kelly, although there was no other course open but to send the case forward, yet desire to state strongly our opinion that the defendant's statement is true."

That statement being that a letter bearing the name of James Redpath had been printed in *The Tuam Herald* while Mr. Kelly was from home. The memorialists added that they had known Mr. Kelly for many years as a most respectable man; that *The Tuam Herald* had always been a supporter of law and order, and they respectfully requested his acquittal. I believe that the recommendation of the local unpaid magistrates subsequently prevailed, and the proceedings against Mr. Kelly were dropped. Then I come to the celebrated case against the proprietor of *United Ireland*, which I will not go into, because the Chief Secretary for Ireland has announced that the proceedings will be dropped. We now come to the case of the Mayor of Wexford, proprietor and editor of a newspaper, who was prosecuted for publishing a report of a meeting of the Ladies' Land League, and in which the Crown Solicitor, Mr. M'Mahon, said—"We have nothing to do with the effect of the article; it was the intention to intimidate." But the Chief Secretary for Ireland gave a different construction of the law. He said that where the effect was intimidation, the person should be proceeded against, even if the intention was not such. So that the effect of the Act is to make intimidation penal, whether there was an actual intention to intimidate or not. Then we have the case of a number of reporters, and Mr. M'Philpin, an editor of a newspaper, who were prosecuted for attending a proclaimed meeting, and *The Freeman*, in its report, stated that not only were the gentlemen convicted and sentenced to cumulative terms of imprisonment, but they were marched through the town of Mullingar in prison garb and handcuffed together. We now come to the suppression of meetings, including the suppression of the meetings of their constituents, which my hon. Friends the Members for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) and Roscommon (Dr. Commins) intended to address. The Chief Secretary for Ireland made a very remarkable statement in connection with this matter, in which he said that if he knew that the hon. Member for Sligo intended to address the meeting, it would not have been proclaimed. But I think that statement carries with it the condemnation of having proclaimed the meeting at all. My hon. Friend the Member for Sligo would have only been one of the speakers at the meeting in question, and we may reasonably suppose that the same speakers would have addressed the meeting in his presence as would have addressed it in his absence. In what way could this matter, then, be affected by the presence of the Member for Sligo? How could he take away by his presence from the mischief that might have been done, in the opinion of the chief Secretary for Ireland, by the other speakers. It seems to me, then, to be absurd to say that, if one speaker was to attend a meeting it would not be proclaimable, but if he did not attend, all the other probable speakers being the same, that therefore the meeting ought to be proclaimed. The only meeting called to hear an address from my hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon was also suppressed, and he too was prevented, like the hon. Member for Sligo, from fulfilling his Constitutional duty. Why was not the same consideration shown to him? There are some who say that the reason why the meeting called to hear the hon. Member for Roscommon was suppressed was because he voted against the Liberal candidate at Liverpool, or took some action against him, and that accordingly this piece of vengeance was taken on my hon. Friend, for I am sure from his character for sobriety and Constitutional attributes, quite equal to those which have been given to my hon. Friend the Member for Sligo, and the fact that he is a lawyer of considerable ability and lengthened experience, he would know what might be said, and what should be left unsaid, and be very well able to say what he had to say even within such a stringent Act as the Crimes Act. The case, however, is, that meetings have been proclaimed without apparently the slightest discrimination, or the slightest necessity—in fact, to such an extent are these proclamations being carried that the people have given up all idea of holding meetings at all, except when there happens to be an election of a Member of Parliament. The Government have not yet gone to the extent of proclaiming election meetings; but I have no doubt that they will arrive at that happy condition of things. There is no freedom of speech under this Administration in Ireland; and I think that any public speaker will agree with Mr. Ferguson, the County Court Judge of Cork, that he would be a fool who would attempt to speak in Ireland under the clauses of this Act, and would deserve the plank bed for his foolishness. I now come to one of the most important clauses of the Act. I allude to the powers given to the Crown in empannelling special juries taken from the special jury panel of the county and city where the case is tried. These powers were first enforced in the trial of Francis Hynes; and I believe that their effect in this and a number of the succeeding murder trials was that the juries in these murders were composed exclusively, or almost exclusively, of Protestants, drawn from the class known as Castle tradesmen, or persons who are dependent on the aristocracy, who are, of course, the landlord class in Ireland, for their means of living, from persons who are on terms of friendly intimacy, social companionship, with Lord Spencer and the Castle officials, or with persons connected in some way or other with the admistration of the present system of government in Dublin; of persons drawn from a class who, by the very nature of the case, cannot be expected to approach the decision of a case of such a character with any sort of judicial impartiality of mind. Now, I wish to be perfectly understood. I do not suppose that the great majority of jurors in the cases tried deliberately brought in verdicts against innocent men. I believe, however, some of them did. You talk about "Boycotting." The Secretary of State for the Home Department, in introducing the Crimes Act, said that he would try and prevent "Boycotting." Well, I was talking to a juror some weeks since, and this juror left me strongly under the impression that if he had returned a verdict of a different character he would have been "Boycotted" in his business, the business he was carrying on being dependent mostly upon the support of the landlord and official classes in Ireland. Well, I can assure the House that any prisoner, when he is being tried, cannot feel the slightest confidence in the impartiality of juries so composed. Nobody can believe, in the face of the constitution of the tribunals which have been empannelled to try murder cases in Ireland, that the prisoner has the chance of the benefit of the doubt which every prisoner is entitled to have. It is not only, however, of the actual constitution of the juries that I have to speak. I have to complain, also, of the conduct of the Judges. The conduct of many of the Irish Judges, and particularly of what I shall call the "Castle," the political Judges, has not been judicial. There are exceptions, and noble exceptions, however, on the Irish Bench; but, unhappily, it is too true that a great number of the Irish Judges are chosen from political partizans of one Government or the other. The reasons for this are not difficult to see. In England you never appoint Judges for political services—you appoint them on account of their legal ability. In England you do not give salaries to Judges that exceed the average emoluments of the Profession to which they belong, and you can get the best men for a salary the amount of which is very much below what the person appointed was in the habit of making from his Profession at the Bar. In Ireland, however, the case is entirely different. Your Judges are appointed by reason of the person successfully contesting some seat like Mallow, and receiving as a reward the Office of Solicitor General or Attorney General. In saying that, I speak without wishing, in the slightest degree, to make any offensive or personal allusion to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the present Attorney General for Ireland, because I recognize in him a man to whom the words do not apply, who has won his position as Member of Parliament for Londonderry fairly, and after a hard contest, and who undoubtedly represents the voice and feelings of the majority of the electors of that portion of Ireland from which he comes, and who has also, I believe, fairly won his position as Attorney General by his great ability as a lawyer. What I say has, however, I think, a general application, and it holds good with reference to the majority of the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland. The Judges are men who have obtained their positions for some political reason, and not from the fact that they are the best men; and when they leave their Profession and become Judges, they are given larger salaries than they were able to earn as private lawyers. Consequently, a direct inducement is held out to the Bar in Ireland to use their profession for the Political service of some Government or the other, for the purpose thereby of obtaining a seat on the Bench; and the conduct of the Judges in trying political cases, or cases of an agrarian character, has been such as to persuade the Irish people that they are not fit to be entrusted with the trial of such cases. I say there are noble exceptions. For instance, Mr. Justice Harrison. He is a fair Judge. He tried grave cases the other day, and he obtained convictions. He tried murder cases and other important cases, and nobody found fault with his conduct on these trials. Contrast the attitude of Mr. Justice Lawson or Mr. Justice O'Brien, both of them political Judges, or the late Judge Keogh or Chief Justice May, who had to retire from the Bench during the State Trials of 1879, owing to the fact that he had disgracefully prejudged the case, and who, I see, is to be entrusted with the trial of murder cases to be shortly proceeded with in Ireland. Contrast, I say, the conduct of those Judges with the conduct of Sir James Stephen, who tried Walsh, who was tried for supplying arms to persons in Ireland, and was convicted of treason. Contrast the way in which Judge Harrison and Sir James Stephen summed up, with the way in which Mr. Justice O'Brien and Mr. Justice Lawson were in the habit of summing up. I can tell the House that these things make a deep impression on the Irish people. They have an earnest longing for fair play—they desire nothing but fair play; but when they see juries packed in the way described, and Judges jumping about on the Bench and delivering their judgments, making themselves practically Crown prosecutors—when they see these things done while prisoners are on trial for their lives, then, I say, the inevitable result is to destroy all sympathy of the people for law and order, and make the people endeavour to shield criminals. It can have no other effect. The worst traditions of

English rule in Ireland are associated with this question of jury packing and of the conduct of Judges, and I regret to say that during the administration of this Crimes Act there have been more scandals within that short space of time than have ever occurred in the same time before. Sir, I have said that the juries in all these murder cases have been chiefly composed of Protestants. I have here a table showing the constitutions of the juries who tried a number of murder and other cases in Dublin recently. It represents seven of the principal trials which have taken place under the Crimes Act—namely, two trials for arson, four trials arising out of the Lough Mask murders, and the trial of Patrick Delaney for the attempt on the life of Judge Lawson. The number of jurors who took part in those seven trials, out of a panel of 200, was 56—that is to say, that the Crown, not content with the enormous power they possess of selecting entirely Protestant juries, and juries from a particular class, have made a further selection from amongst that class, and they selected 56 out of 200 to try all these seven cases. Out of those 56, 47 were Protestants, and nine were Catholics. Now, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants on that jury panel of 200 is just the other way. The just proportion on this particular panel is represented by four and a-half Catholics to one Protestant. The proportion of four and a-half to one would have represented 45 Catholics to 10 Protestants, instead of 47 Protestants to 9 Catholics. In fact, the proper order of things was reversed. In one trial the Crown Solicitor ordered 13 Catholics in succession to stand aside, and eventually there were on the jury 3 Catholics and 9 Protestants. The jury disagreed; and, on the second trial, the jury which convicted the prisoner consisted of 11 Protestants and 1 Catholic, the one Catholic being James Talbot Power, distiller. For the trial of Patrick Higgins 106 jurors answered. Twenty Protestants were challenged for the prisoner, and 26 Catholics were ordered to stand aside by the Crown. The jury disagreed; and the second jury which tried Higgins consisted of 11 Protestants and 1 Whig Catholic, the same Mr. James Talbot Power whose services were called into requisition on the second trial. Thomas (Tom) Higgins was convicted by a jury consisting of 10 Protestants and 2 Catholics. Michael Flynn was tried by 10 Protestants and 2 Catholics, the Crown having ordered to stand aside 53 jurors, of whom 41 were Catholics. Patrick Delaney, for the attempt on Judge Lawson, was convicted by 11 Protestants and 1 Catholic. Now, Sir, when O'Connell was tried, the Crown empannelled a jury consisting exclusively of Protestants. A great commotion was excited by this, and the Government of the day was held up to execration for the course which it took. But the proceedings against O'Connell did not involve his life; at the outside they only involved a sentence of two years' imprisonment as a first-class misdemeanant. But nothing could exceed the severity of the strictures which were passed by Liberal and Radical public opinion in England upon the conduct of the Crown in empannelling an exclusively Protestant jury in his case; and the proceedings were subsequently set aside by the House of Lords, on the ground that the High Sheriff, in packing the jury in this fashion, had been guilty of illegal conduct. By the Crimes Act it is no longer necessary for the Sheriff to pack the jury; the Crown do it themselves. They are, however, obliged to do it now in an open manner, so that it can be seen by everybody. They select their juries in open Court, and certainly they have selected their juries in the most unblushing fashion in the recent trials. But if O'Connell was entitled to commiseration for having to go before an exclusively Protestant jury, so, I say, men on trial for their lives are entitled to greater commiseration for having to go before exclusively Protestant juries. I think it would have been far better, and would have given rise to far less criticism and distrust in Ireland, if you had, instead of resorting to the old system of jury packing, or jury selection, as I suppose the Government will call it—if you had constituted your tribunal of Judges at once, and have brought before it the persons whom you desire to try under this exceptional system of justice, or what you call justice. The farce, for it is a farce, of saying that you desire to preserve the right of trial by jury does not deceive anybody. There is no such thing in Ireland now as trial by jury. You have trials by tribunals of partizans, just as much partizans as the juries alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), because they are, every one of them, smarting under a sense of injury sustained during the land movement. They feel that their incomes have been reduced, as undoubtedly they have been reduced, by the land agitation. It is impossible for these tribunals to give any prisoner a fair trial; and I believe that public opinion in Ireland is practically unanimous in saying that it would have been far better, far more honest and straightforward, if, instead of pretending that you are attempting to preserve the sacred right of trial by jury, you had gone straight to work and established your Commission of Judges, as provided by the 1st section of the Crimes Act. I think, Sir, in what I have said, I have made out my case that this Act has been administered in such a way as to cause profound irritation and distrust of the law in Ireland. There does not appear to be any particle of right of a political character left to any individual in the country. Everything is at the mercy of Lord Spencer, who is just as much an autocrat in Ireland as the Czar of Russia is in his own Imperial Dominions. I can see no distinction whatever between the picture presented by Lord Spencer, riding at the head of his dragoons through the streets of Dublin, and that presented by the Czar, when he goes about accompanied by his military escort. The only difference is that it may be that the Emperor of Russia has a very much larger proportion—perhaps a majority —of the people of the country in his favour. Certainly, the administration of the Irish Government in Ireland at present is universally detested by everybody. It is driving many who formerly deprecated crime to feel that they, at least, will not sympathize with the attempts of the Government in future to bring criminals to trial. I defy you to continue the government of Ireland unless you do obtain the sympathy of the majority of the people. I know well that there was a desire amongst all sections last summer, before this Crimes Act came into force, to discourage outrage and resistance to the law, and to conduct whatever further agitation for other reforms might be necessary in Ireland upon strictly Constitutional and moderate lines. I believe that this feeling had permeated amongst every class of the community, even the lowest. [A right hon. MEMBER: Except the Assassination Society.] The right hon. Gentleman says the Assassination Society excepted; but it will be noticed that the Assassination Society—if there be an Assassination Society—and upon that subject we are not entitled to give any opinion until the result of the judicial proceedings in Dublin has been ascertained—it will be observed that no further attempted outrage was made in Dublin by these men during all the months between May and, I think it was, November or December, when the attempt on Mr. Justice Lawson took place. During those six months there was not the slightest sign of what the right hon. Gentleman designates as an Assassination Society; and it was not until the extraordinary conduct of Mr. Justice Lawson in imprisoning my hon. Friend the High Sheriff of the City of Dublin (Mr. Gray), and the extraordinary way in which he conducted the trials in Dublin for murder—it was not until then that there was an unhappy and lamentable recurrence of the attempts which have been alluded to as having been made by the so-called Assassination Society. I believe, Sir, that, as I have before remarked, all classes in the country were, at the passing of the Crimes Act, desirous of restoring peace and order in Ireland, and that it would have been possible for the right hon. Gentleman and for Lord Spencer to have governed without a Coercion Act. I feel convinced, however, that by the passing of the Crimes Act, by the way in which the Irish Government has administered it, conciliation has been postponed for many a long day and year. You may, perhaps, keep the country quiet; but anybody can govern during a state of siege; and the problem will again come up—"What are we to do to reconcile Ireland to England? What are we to do enable the ordinary process of the law to be effected without resistance? What are we to do to restore peace—permanent peace and order in that country?" You will have to consider this question between now and the expiration of the time to which the present Coercion or Crimes Act is limited. You will have to find some answer to the question. Is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to find an answer? Has he any recommendation to make to the Government as a satisfactory answer to that question, but this — that, by a firm administration of the law, and by prompt punishment of evil-doers who offend against the law, and of a great many people who have not offended, it will be possible to work out the problem of the government of Ireland? But such proceedings are simply a repetition of those which abound in the history of your connection with Ireland during the 700 years in which your rule has existed, and you admit yourselves that you are not any nearer the end than you were at the beginning. Why, then, do you insist upon persevering in a course which has been amply discredited by the result? We are told we are to have no more remedial legislation for Ireland because of the alleged discovery of an Assassination Society in Dublin—that is practically the effect of the speech of the noble Marquess the present Leader of the Government (the Marquess of Hartington); that is practically the effect of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; it is not, however, the practical effect of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain). It is not the effect of the speech of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), but it is the effect of what has been said by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, who may be assumed to be speaking the sentiments of Lord Spencer. If I were asked to say why it is that Ireland is to obtain no more remedial legislation at present, I should say it was not because the Government thought that they were contending with any grave crime in Ireland at present, because I do not believe they are contending with any grave crime; but it is because they believe that they have succeeded in putting down crime and agitation in Ireland, and that, having succeeded in putting down crime and agitation in Ireland, it is no longer necessary for England to pay any attention to the Constitutional wants of Ireland. This is the lesson you have taught Ireland, by the history of century after century and generation after generation—that whenever we are orderly, whenever we obey the law, whenever a strong Coersion Act compels that appearance only of respect and obedience to the law which the people do not feel, we receive no attention to our wants and necessities; but that when a great agitation arises which shakes the foundations of society, threatens revolution or civil war, we may expect that the undivided attention of the House of Commons may be given to the affairs of Ireland. Well, Sir, Ireland is quiet now. It will be many a long day before she is quieter. If you are going to wait until you have more peace and order in Ireland than at present, I fear the youngest amongst us will not see the resumption of remedial legislation for Ireland. I would urge this House—while there is yet time, while they are able to say that Ireland is orderly — even though the efforts by which that order has been produced are infamous—I would urge them to show that they still do think of justice for Ireland—that the requirements of that country are still in their minds. Nobody can pretend, for instance, that there is any question, Imperial or English, more worthy the attention of the House at this moment than the Irish Question. No one can say, for a moment, that the defects of the Land Act—large and far-reaching as we hold them to be—small and trifling as you hold them to be—are not worthy of the attention of this House. Let us not lose the ship for the want of a half-pennyworth of tar. Perhaps, for want of amendment to the Land Act, you may lose the opportunity of permanently settling the Irish Land Question. I should regret extremely if that should be the case. I believe it would be possible for this House, if they allowed their minds to be drawn away from the contemplation—the exclusive contemplation—of whatever is evil in the state of affairs in Ireland at the present moment, and to take up once more the question of Irish reform, to work out a permanent settlement of the Land Question. I believe this House, if it did this, would feel, in the satisfaction which would come to its conscience, an infinite reward for any trouble and any loss of time which might be entailed. But I do not, I cannot, hold out any hope that it would be rewarded by any quenching of the spirit of Irish nationality. But I believe that a way might be found of settling this question which would be an advantage to both countries, and which would bring about a restoration of good feeling between both countries—a way which would not injure your Empire, or the integrity of that Empire, in the slightest degree. I trust that the House may pause before it blindly believes the reports which are brought from Ireland by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. It is natural that the right hon. Gentleman, who, I suppose, imagines that he had been in daily and hourly danger of his life for some months past, should find himself unable to take a just view of the situation. I believe that his impressions and his attitude are not of a vindictive character; that he went over to Ireland desirous of doing his duty, but that the situation has proved too much for him, and that, like other well-intentioned English officials, he has had his mind perverted by the associates and officials by whom he has been surrounded. I feel sure that if we could get through this time of prejudice, of difficulty, of danger, the House would see that it is for the interest of England, as well as of Ireland, that the course which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister inaugurated two years ago, of remedying the grievances of Ireland, should be continued and persevered with to the end. I should have wished that we had heard from some English Member of Radical proclivities some sentiments like those expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. I believe him to be one of the few Englishmen in this House who correctly appreciate the Irish Question; and I think it is a great pity that his advice and his opinion are not more sought for than they apparently are. Nobody can deny that the situation and position of Ireland in the English Constitutional system is one of the greatest importance, and that it will be impossible for the great Liberal Party to continue its course of usefulness to England, the Empire, and, I trust, to the world at large, without the support and the assistance—the cordial assistance—of Ireland. You never can have that assistance so long as you trample upon and oppress her people. I am not now speaking of the Irish vote in the English constituencies. I do not wish to suppose that any Member of this House would be influenced by considerations such as those to undertake any course which he considered wrong and contrary to his duty. But it is a fact that Ireland occupies to-day a more important position in your Constitutional system—a position fraught with greater danger to yourselves, unless you satisfy her, than she has ever occupied before. You may talk about the fewness of her numbers, about the loyalty of Ulster, but I tell you that the people of Ulster are no more loyal than the people of Munster. You may say that we are only 5,000,000 in number, but we have many millions of our countrymen scattered over the world, who sympathize with Ireland, who are as willing to make as great a sacrifice as any of those at home, and who have ability and means superior to those in Ireland itself. We have a greater Ireland beyond the seas; and I say this without any desire to disparage our people at home; but there is no doubt that in the sympathy, and attention, and interest which are now being paid by the Irish millions of America to the progress of affairs in Ireland, we have a certain guarantee of ultimate success. That force was never enlisted in favour of Ireland before. It rested with the Land League movement of 1879 to obtain for us the cultivated and trained ability of the Irish citizens of the West. We have that force now, and I believe it will be utilized in such a way, constitutionally and moderately in favour of Ireland, as will be of enormous advantage to our country; and, therefore, I would entreat this House not to put this problem lightly on one side. It is the very greatest and gravest problem that they can be called upon to solve. Do not despair of attempts to satisfy the Irish people if you desire to do justice to them, and I believe no time would be better spent than in amending the Land Act, because I am satisfied that if you renew your course of remedial legislation good and happy results will ensue. If you think we are not to be trusted with the terrible powers of local self-government, which are so appalling to the mind of the noble Marquess the Leader of the House (the Marquess of Hartington), there are many other local questions you might take up; but so long as this House asserts its right to legislate for Ireland, you are bound to legislate on those points which require your attention. You may say that English affairs require attention—I admit that; but they are not of so grave and pressing importance as are the wants of Ireland at the present moment.

I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed,

To insert, at the end of the 10th paragraph, after the word "Executive," the words:—"And humbly to assure Her Majesty that the manner in which the exceptional legislation known as the Crimes Act has been and is exercised by the officials of the Crown in Ireland is tyrannical and unjust. That gross licence of oppression is granted to persons and classes bitterly hostile to the mass of the Irish people. That Constitutional agitation is despotically impeded and persecuted. That justice is administered in a most partial and prejudiced spirit, and that the confidence of the people in the application of the Law is destroyed by a system of jury packing which has already, in the opinion of the vast majority of the Irish people, led to many iniquitous sentences and the execution of innocent persons, while it is practically impossible to obtain justice or protection for the masses of the people from the present administrators of the Law. And that, unless the Irish Executive abandon unconstitutional and tyrannical courses, and depend upon the Constitutional administration of the ordinary Law, the result may be prejudicial in an extreme degree to the cause of peace and order in Ireland."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he was not surprised that the hon. Member for the City of Cork should have concluded his observations without referring to the terms of the Amendment. In the course of his speech the hon. Member had made an attack on the principle of the Crimes Act, and he had advanced a number of instances of hardship arising out of its administration, as to which he had furnished the House with no evidence whatever. He would, at the outset, refer the House to the words of the Amendment which the hon. Member had brought before the House; and with reference to the charge which was embodied in that Amendment, he would ask the House whether the hon. Member had been justified in putting such a charge, without strong proof, before the House and the country. The Amendment said—

"That justice is administered in a most partial and prejudiced spirit, and the confidence of the people in the application of the Law is destroyed by a system of jury packing, which has already led to many iniquitous sentences and the execution of innocent persons, while it is practically impossible to obtain justice or protection for the masses of the people from the present administrators of the Law."

Now, that was a very grave charge—a charge that there had been iniquitous sentences, many innocent persons executed, and that it was impossible for the vast majority of the people of the country to obtain protection from the administrators of the law. In reference to these matters, they were charges of a very grave character, which, unless supported by the very strongest evidence, ought not to have been preferred. But the hon. Member had concluded without even expressing as much as an opinion on the subject, much less had he referred to one single case upon which he could adduce any evidence. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) did not propose to debate the policy of the Crimes Act, because that had been discussed fully during last Session. It was quite true that that Act contained stringent clauses, which were as many and as stringent as any that had ever passed the Legislature in reference to Ireland. In reference to that Statute, however, it had been forced upon the country and the House by the obvious and admitted necessity of the case, for they had come to a state of things in which crime experienced an almost complete immunity. As regarded its provisions, he did not now propose to discuss them. It had not, for instance, been necessary to use that tribunal of Judges which there was power in the Act to substitute for the jury. That power he hoped it would not be necessary to use. The hon. Member had referred to the portion of the Act which re-enacted the Alien Act. Although that provision had never been used, and could not, therefore, have been a very powerful agent of tyranny on the part of the Executive, he did not think it had been an unnecessary provision, and had undoubtedly relieved the country of many persons who would have been dangerous to it. The hon. Member had referred at considerable length to a number of instances, which he was apparently reading from some document. He was not complaining of that, for it was physically impossible for an hon. Member to carry in his head the names, dates, and places referred to; but the hon. Member had given about a score of instances of cases in which the provision of the 11th section of the Act had been put into requisition and persons brought before the magistrates. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) was not in a position, having never heard of these illustrations, to discuss each particular case; but he could only say that the hon. Member had not adduced a single fact of positive hardship or injustice. He would admit that there might have been mistakes committed by policemen entrusted with the Administration of that section of the Act; but it did not follow that mistakes had generally been made by the police, which was a force consisting of men of whom the marvellously great majority were persons of very great intelligence and humanity. It had been the custom in many quarters to sneer at the want of detective power among the Irish police; but in the matter of the better detection of crime the police displayed a more than ordinary intelligence, which would add credit to any detective force in the world. With regard to the exercise of the discretionary power entrusted to them under that Act, they had necessarily, in cases of suspicion, acted upon their own discretion. In cases where persons refused any name or explanation it could not be wondered at that the policemen regarded the circumstances as suspicious, and brought those persons before the magistrates. Another class of complaint which had been made by the hon. Member had been with reference to cases of intimidation by newspapers, and particularly that of the case of Mr. Kelly, an editor, who had been sent for trial by a magistrate before a Judge of Assize. After all the time which had elapsed that case had been brought forward as a charge against the administration of the Crimes Act. If it had been a charge under the Crimes Act it could not have been sent before a Judge of Assize at all. As a matter of fact, the prosecution had been under the ordinary law, and after Mr. Kelly had been returned for trial by a magistrate the prosecution dropped and an apology tendered by Mr. Kelly was accepted. What had been the reason of making that charge as one of hardship against the Irish Executive? It had had nothing whatever to do with the Crimes Act, and in the case of *United Ireland* he had to remind the hon. Member that that case was not under the Crimes Act at all.

MR. PARNELL: You seized the paper under the Crimes Act.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he had understood the hon. Member to refer to the prosecution of Mr. O'Brien, editor of *United Ireland*, as under the Crimes Act. That prosecution had not been taken under the Crimes Act, and the seizure of the paper had taken place long before the Crimes Act was passed.

MR. PARNELL: The jury in that case were selected, and the panel struck, under the Crimes Act.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, the jury had been a special jury; but, except in that particular, the case had not been tried under the Crimes Act. With regard to the case of the Mayor of Wexford, that had certainly been taken under the Crimes Act; but the Mayor of Wexford was not different in the eye of the law from any other individual. It was said that he suffered hardship because, though there was undoubtedly intimidation, it was not his own, but the work of the Ladies' Land League. But he himself was, in the eye of the law, responsible for it. The next case referred to was that of the three reporters, and there were circumstances in connection with this matter which his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary would possibly bring before the House in the course of the debate. The hon. Member mentioned two other cases—meetings which were held in Roscommon and Sligo. As regarded those meetings which were to have been addressed by two hon. Members of the House, the hon. Member for the City of Cork had been astonished at the statement of the Chief Secretary, that if it had been known that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was going to address his constituents a point would have been strained and the meeting not stopped. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) thought the case was easily understood. In the first place, the presence of hon. Members would be some guarantee that the proceedings would be conducted in an orderly manner; and, in the next place, there was naturally a disinclination on the part of the Executive to interfere with the intercourse of Members of that House with their constituents. But in the cases in question the Government had not been able to act in accordance with that view. These were the illustrations which had been given as tyrannous conduct of the Irish Executive. He would, however, confidently appeal to the House whether the cases brought forward by the hon. Member were the slightest justification for the most atrocious charge he had made. He could characterize the charge as nothing less than atrocious, brought as it was against men who tried to do their duty honestly and fearlessly, in times of great difficulty, and under much responsibility and some danger. The illustrations amounted to nothing more than a "grumble" on the part of the hon. Member against the policy of the Act of Parliament. He would now pass to that which the hon. Member made the real *gravamen* of his charge—the accusation of packing special juries. He did not know whether the hon. Member had a clear conception of what jury-packing meant, for he certainly did not give the House a clear explanation. What he (the Attorney General for Ireland) understood by it was, putting upon a jury persons who were improper to try a case; and he could not think that the mere fact that a particular person who might have tried a case with perfect fairness was not on the jury would amount to the charge of jury-packing, nor was there jury-packing in placing on any particular case men who would be fair and impartial. There was no portion of the Crimes Act which he regarded as of more importance than that which referred to special juries, and he believed it could be advantageously introduced into the jurisprudence of this country as well as Ireland. The provision, however, was a positive enactment of the Crimes Act for the purpose of securing juries who were not only superior in intelligence, but in independence, and free from intimidation. They had seen how the law broke down in many counties from the intimidation which was practised upon men of humble station and limited means; and with a view to provide men who were intelligent, independent, and fearless, and who would return impartial verdicts, the House passed an Act imposing a further property qualification upon jurors. He desired this to be borne in mind—that no change was really introduced by the Crimes Act in reference to the selection of juries, to their being sworn and empannelled. It simply substituted a higher rating qualification; and in this respect, therefore, there had been no change in the law. The powers given to Crown solicitors under this Act to direct persons attending to serve on a jury to stand by were of great value, especially when intimidation was to be feared. But these powers were merely those under which they had acted from time immemorial, and no alteration whatever had been made by the Crimes Act. It was not regarded as a slur when a juryman was ordered to "stand by," as the hon. Member had stated. He could refer to cases in which jurors themselves had asked to be so ordered, so that they might be relieved of the difficult and peculiar position in which they were placed. With respect to a case mentioned by the hon. Member in which a person who had served upon a special jury had told him that he was threatened with "Boycotting" by his fellow jurors if he returned a verdict according to his conscience, he could hardly believe that any special juror would have been guilty of returning a verdict against his conscience because of any such threat; but if this case struck the hon. Member as being an illustration worthy of being brought before the House, he would ask him what he thought of the number of cases in which jurors of lower social position and less independence—men who were much more open to be thus acted upon—had been practised upon. And it was a notorious fact that this class of men were intimidated, until it became necessary for the Government to take care that only persons who were superior to such intimidation should be called on to serve. He might refer to the murder of Mr. Herbert and the attempted murder of Mr. Field to show the dangers incurred by serving in the jury-box. The Government were bound to take care that persons who were called on to serve in the trial of cases were protected from outrage at the same time that they were fearless and independent. The charge of the hon. Member that the juries were intentionally filled with Protestants to the exclusion of Catholics was also without foundation. The hon. Member said the percentage of Catholics and Protestants upon the special jury panel was about 4½ to 1; but his recollection was that of the panel of 200—100 of whom were from the county and 100 from the City of Dublin—the proportion in the City was two Protestants to one Catholic, and in the county nearly one to one—the figures being in the one case

61 to 35, and in the other 51 to 48, some deaths having taken place in each. He believed that the Crown solicitors exercised their discretion under the rule absolutely without regard to religion. They were exercising a power which they had been directed to exercise, and were guided solely by a desire to prevent persons from serving on juries who were influenced by fear, favour, or affection. The directions to Crown Solicitors were in print, and required them to set aside all persons likely to be influenced by fear or favour, and all persons engaged in the retail spirit trade. It was the anxious desire of all representing the Crown in the recent trials that there should be no distinction of religion, and there had been none whatever. With respect to Roman Catholics of good position and well known to be independent men, the Crown would be most anxious that they should serve on juries; but in many cases they were challenged by the prisoners. He would take the case of Hynes's jury. This was taken as a case of extraordinary clearness as against the prosecution. In that case 26 persons were told to stand by under the ordinary law. Of these, four were Protestants; eight or nine were grocers or vintners, most of whom held retail Excise licences; three were farmers from remote districts, who could not be expected to give an independent judgment; of the remainder, two were graziers, one a pawnbroker, and another a butcher. Thus there only seven persons for whose rejection no specific reason could be assigned; but in those cases the Crown solicitors, though knowing nothing against their moral character, believed that they were not removed from influence or intimidation. That was the entire jury-packing on the part of the Crown. As to the allegation of the Crown putting people on juries, it should be remembered that the prisoners had the right of challenge. There were organizations which placed their information at the service of prisoners to guide them in challenging jurors. Each prisoner had a right to challenge 20, without giving any reason, and any number if he gave a satisfactory reason. Hynes did exercise his right to the extent of 11, but challenged no more. It was clear, therefore, that his advisers, who might have challenged nine of the jury who tried the case, but did not do so, were satisfied with the jury.

MR. PARNELL said, that a country solicitor appeared for Hynes, who knew nothing of the men.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, that the country solicitor was advised by a town solicitor. In the case of Patrick Walsh only four of those challenged by the Crown were to be accounted for, and in that case the prisoner only challenged 11. In Michael Walsh's case 17 were directed to stand by; two were Protestants, leaving 15 Roman Catholics; of the Catholics, eight were vintners and grocers, five were farmers, and one was a butcher, leaving only one unaccounted for. The right of challenge was exercised in eight cases by Michael Walsh. He regretted very much that the hon. Member for the City of Cork had thought it right to refer by name to one Catholic gentleman who had served upon several of these juries. Having regard to recent events, and what happened to Mr. Field in consequence of his being named, and in regard to the state of society in Dublin, the hon. Member might have spared the allusion to the name. The hon. Member had observed that, having regard to the conduct of the juries, there was no chance of prisoners being given the benefit of the doubt. On the contrary, a special jury acquitted a man against whom there was a strong case. He did not complain of that, but it was a fact that they acquitted him. In another case, although the jury felt themselves constrained to convict, they brought in a recommendation to mercy, and the Lord Lieutenant was enabled to exercise his clemency; and in other cases the juries had disagreed. So far from being men blinded by political partizanship, as was alleged, the jurors were men who were brought from their homes to discharge a most difficult and a most onerous duty, entirely unremunerated, and had done their duty carefully, impartially, and without shrinking; and it really was that they had done their duty unterrorized that was the extent of their offending. Not content with attacking the jury panels, the hon. Member attacked the conduct of the Judges, who, if his account were true, had been guilty of conduct, through political partizanship, amounting to wilful murder. Reference had particularly been made to Mr. Justice Lawson and Mr. Justice O'Brien. The hon. Member had paid him (the Attorney General for Ireland) a compliment, but he accepted no compliment at the cost either of his Colleagues or his Predecessors. His Predecessors were men of infinitely greater ability than himself, and equal honesty. With respect to Mr. Justice Lawson, he was a scholar and a gentleman, a man of large heart and the largest charity, a man known favourably throughout the United Kingdom as a man of culture and training; and why was he to be dragged before the public? Who was his accuser? Mr. Justice Lawson was trained from his youth in the study of the law; he was a man of judicial experience and great strength of mind. Why should he be a party to convict innocence? What had he to hope for? He was never a political partizan in any extreme sense. He was only a partizan in the sense of being a Member of one of the great Parties in the State; and when he had gone upon the Bench, why should there be any distinction made between him and the Judges of England, who had invariably been credited with fairness and impartiality, whatever their previous political action might have been? As regarded Judge O'Brien, he had never been one of the Law Officers of the Crown, and he was unable to imagine how any reasonable being could suppose for a moment that he would ever be guilty of judicial murder. The hon. Member stated that Chief Justice May had admitted that he was incapable of trying a case in consequence of misconduct. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) absolutely denied that. Some words which the Chief Justice used had been misinterpreted, and had been held to convey a meaning which he did not intend. Under these circumstances, as there might have been a suspicion of prejudice, he retired from the Bench upon the occasion referred to. The hon. Member had also referred to the conduct of the English Judge who recently tried a man called Walsh for treason-felony in London, and had contrasted his fairness with the unfairness of the Irish Judges. Now, it so happened that that English Judge—who was Mr. Justice Stephen—had sat upon the Bench at some of the Dublin trials, and he (the Attorney General for Ireland) was willing to abide by his estimate of the fairness of those trials. The proceedings in the Courts were conducted by officials in Court absolutely independent of the Executive, Lord Spencer having no more to do with the conduct of a case in Dublin than in London. The hon. Member had tried to make much of the fact that there were no outrages in Dublin between last May and November. But in November came the attack on Mr. Field and on Mr. Justice Lawson, and those who committed the assassinations in May would have continued their work with less intermission if it had not been for the terror inspired by the Crimes Act. After describing the outrages committed in Dublin as unhappy, wretched, and lamentable, the hon. Member asked what was to be done to reconcile Ireland to England. He would reply to the hon. Member's question in these words—"Cease to abuse every person connected with authority and the law; cease from agitation; cease from encouraging, or, at any rate, from not discouraging, a state of society which must necessarily lead to crime, and let the Land Act and other remedial measures have time to produce the results anticipated from them; let the people's minds have some rest, and let us settle down in peace and freedom from agitation." If that advice were followed, although he agreed that there was an amount of discontent at present, he believed that discontent would vanish much sooner than the hon. Member expected, and then the people of Ireland would realize how anxious the House was to legislate for the substantial good of their country as an integral part of the United Kingdom.

Mr. KENNY said, that, judging from the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, there could be very little expected from him in the direction of leniency. The right hon. and learned Gentleman found fault with his (Mr. Kenny's) hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork for advancing certain objections to the administration of the Crimes Act; but, having listened to the speech of the Attorney General, the House would come to the conclusion that his effort to justify the administration of that Act was a great and thorough failure. He wished, at this early stage of the discussion, to join in the protest against this iniquitous Act, which was thrust upon Ireland during a wave of English anger. It was the last link of the blood-stained chain of coercion, and was, perhaps, the foulest and most objectionable link, which merited their condemnation and censure. The system of intrusting to the Executive absolute and despotic powers was highly censurable and dangerous. The conduct of the Government had been that of highwaymen, who held down their victims while they plundered them. Some doubts had been expressed as to whether the hon. Member for the City of Cork would propose this Amendment; but he (Mr. Kenny) was at a loss to conceive how for a moment the idea could enter the minds of hon. Members. The supposition, he supposed, was prompted by the fact that certain disclosures had been made in Dublin, and that certain ferocious attacks were made on the Party with which he (Mr. Kenny) was associated and the Land League; but, so far, nothing of the slightest moment had been brought home. The disclosures in Dublin, moreover, did not affect the administration of the Crimes Act elsewhere in Ireland; and they had an accusation to bring against the Government for the administration of the Act. In the country districts in Ireland every vestige of liberty had been taken away. The powers of the Act were not placed merely in the hands of special magistrates appointed by Dublin Castle, who were not popular with the people, but in the hands of every Irish constable. Matters had come to this—that the humblest Irish policeman considered himself an important influence in the Government of Ireland. This Act gave the Government almost unlimited power over life and property in Ireland, and, as an instance which he could quote would show, had been administered in a tyrannical, unjust, and unfair manner. Amongst the other powers, the Government could send into districts extra police when they considered that the police already there were not sufficient. Extra police had been sent into his own district of Tulla; and the Board of Guardians, which now were really the only existing elected Boards in the counties, had passed a resolution in which they set out that not only had there been no outrage or crime in the locality since the removal of Inspector Crane and Constable Grady, but that the last disturbance was caused by the policemen themselves. Why, then, should the parish be taxed with an extra police rate amounting to 6*s*. in the pound? Various instances of arbitrary arrest might be cited. There was the case of Mr. Stephen J. Meany, who was taken up in Ennis, his native place, though it must have been known to the authorities that Mr. Meany was the editorial correspondent of *The New York Daily Star*, and had come over to Ireland merely to give an account of the state of the country. He would next call the attention of the House to the suppression of the right of public meeting; but as his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) had fully treated upon this portion of the Act, he would simply express his amazement that such an apology as was made should have been made by the Chief Secretary. If the right hon. Gentleman did not know that his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was to have addressed his constituents at the suppressed meeting at Sligo, he must have perfectly well known that the hon. Member for Roscommon proposed to speak at his suppressed meeting. Why did he suppress him and deny him the Constitutional right of addressing his constituents? He was afraid that the defence pleaded by the right hon. Gentleman was not a valid one, and it certainly was not a very good one. He then came to the Intimidation Clause of the Act, and would again refer to the Irish newspaper reports which had gone unchallenged, and which he had reason to believe were absolutely correct.

Mr. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. Member that it is against the Rules of Debate for the hon. Member to read his speech.

Mr. KENNY said, that he was simply referring to reports for the purpose of bearing out what he intended to state in his speech. These reports, he maintained, amply showed that the persons having charge of the administration of the Act in Ireland had grossly and most unfairly abused their powers. No doubt hon. Members who sat below the Gangway opposite would join with him in condemning the imprisonment for what was called intimidation of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Timothy Harrington). The Chief Secretary the other day had the candour to admit that they imprisoned him not for intimidating those farmers who had just elected him of their own free will to represent them in Parliament, but because it was necessary, by hook or by crook, to do something to silence the leaders of the popular movement in Ireland. In considering the administration of the Change of Venue Clause in the Act, there is the case of Francis Hynes, with respect to which the Attorney General for Ireland had laboured to show that the jury had not been packed; whereas the true object of the right hon. and learned Gentleman should have been to prove that they were not drunk during the trial, that they did not separate at the hotel, and that they had no communication there with other persons while the case was being tried. The right hon. and learned Gentleman combated an allegation which no one had made, and ignored the sworn affidavits of those who noticed and made public the misconduct of the jury and their inebriate condition. These affidavits alone should have been sufficient to have quashed the indictment; but the case did not rest there. Instead of condemning it, however, that very virtuous Judge, who was defended with such pains by the Attorney General for Ireland, ordered the imprisonment of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray), in whose paper the comments appeared. The fine of £500 which was inflicted in addition to the sentence was promptly subscribed by the people, and the Government remitted the greater part of the sentence. Mr. Gray, for comments on the behaviour of the jury, had been imprisoned and fined; Mr. O'Brien, for similar criticism, had been put upon his trial, so that both these Gentlemen had suffered severely from the unfair, he might almost say the savage, administration of the Act. As for Hynes himself, he was hanged; but such was the popular feeling aroused in Ireland by the evidently unfair trial, that Petitions were sent from all parts for a reprieve, and if the heart of the Lord Lieutenant was hardened on every other point, it was anticipated that he would have yielded to the impulse of mercy and generosity if he would not give way to justice. The indifference of the Executive to the manifestation of public feeling in this case reminded him of one which occurred a hundred years ago, in which, after the execution, some of the jury confessed that they had been drunk during the trial. This case of Francis Hynes had given fair grounds to the people of Ireland for concluding that they must expect no fair play, no mercy, and no justice from the administrators of this atrocious Crimes Act. The Maamtrasna murders were so atrocious that they affected all the people of Ireland, and moved them deeply, and witnesses came forward voluntarily to help in the conviction of the murderers. Of the three who were executed, Myles Joyce protested his innocence to the end, and the other two, while not denying their own guilt, united in declaring that Joyce was innocent, and was not on the scene of the murder at the time. Sooner than bring discredit on a Dublin jury, the Executive preferred that this man should be executed, in spite of the doubt thrown on the justice of his conviction. The two men, named Poff and Barrett, convicted of the murder of a man named Brown, made the most formal and solemn declarations of their innocence; and, although they were convicted on the evidence of a woman who contradicted herself in giving it, they were executed, and the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), for mentioning their declarations, was exposed to a State prosecution, and was only saved from imprisonment with hard labour by the disagreement of the jury. The Prime Minister's denunciations of imprisonment without legal process, trial by exceptional tribunals, and sentences by dependent Judges, provoked by despotism in Italy, might be applied to Ireland, where these proceedings terrified not the criminal classes so much as well-conducted citizens. There was no such thing as sympathy with crime in Ireland. There was, however, a feeling among the vast majority of the people that when a man was accused of crime it was 10 to 1 that he would not be fairly tried. There was a want of confidence in the Government and a feeling of misgiving; and it was no wonder, therefore, that the people, who had such grave and serious reasons for mistrusting the present Government, should at times unite in concealing for a certain time those who were supposed to be guilty of certain offences. If criminal prosecutions were conducted in Ireland as they were in England, and if the people were taught to have confidence in the laws, witnesses in Ireland would be as ready to offer their evidence as they were in England; but while the pure fountain of justice was polluted, as it had been, by successive repression Acts, it must be expected that the people would mistrust the Government, and that crime would go undetected. It had been alleged that crime followed in the trail of the Land League. In point of fact, crime had always followed the trail, not of the Land League, but of the landlords; and when they indulged in heartless evictions, which, according to the Prime Minister, were equivalent to sentences of death, it was no wonder that men who were denied the protection of the law should resort to certain means that were unlawful. It required long years of repression and injustice to make men indulge in crimes like the assassinations in the Phœnix Park.

MR. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member was not speaking to the Amendment before the House.

MR. KENNY went on to remark that it was with the sincerest desire to assist and not to harass the Government that he pointed out to them the fact that their administration had been most mischievous, and calculated to make it still more difficult, and perhaps eventually impossible, to reconcile the Irish with the English people. Throughout the agitation at least four-fifths of the people of Ireland had been on the side of the Land League; and, but for that circumstance, it would have been impossible for that body to force an unwilling Government to grant concessions which would otherwise have been denied. He would only add, in conclusion, that the courses open to the Government were either to indulge to the full in coercion, or, abandoning this Crimes Act, and jury packing, and every other repulsive form of government which was antagonistic to the principles of English liberty, to deal with the Irish people honestly and justly. Then they might expect the people of Ireland to become as tranquil and law-abiding as the people of England, for the Irish people would readily extend the hand of friendship to any Minister or Government which showed a sincere desire to throw aside the blood-stained traditions of coercion, and enter upon that path of true reform and just concession which was so necessary for the welfare of Ireland, and which the people of that country were determined to obtain.

COLONEL DAWNAY said, he thought that the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) scarcely required the very powerful and convincing arguments put forward by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Porter) to demolish it, for, in his (Colonel Dawnay's) opinion, it answered itself; for, considering that it had been proved to the satisfaction of the overwhelming majority of the House that the operation of the Crimes Act was strengthening the cause of law and order in Ireland, it was hardly advisable or proper to ask, or possible that they would be persuaded, to repeal that Act in the so-called interests of law and order, which it was now so successfully promoting. The course of the debate, however, had strongly shown one fact, and that was how little the Government had failed, up to a recent period, to comprehend the real state of affairs in Ireland, and how little they understood the sort of people with whom they had to deal. They had been dealing with men who had two objects in view—one of which was to get the land of Ireland without paying for it, and the other to separate Ireland from England; and they sought to attain those ends by murdering, mutilating, and ruining everybody who stood in their way. And how did the Government meet those lawless men? Why, at first, by offering to purchase their obedience at the price of security of tenure, a large reduction of rents, and the passing of the Arrears Act. And the virtual answer made by the disaffected to that offer was—"Since we have gained so much from a system of murderous agitation, we shall continue that system until there is nothing left to agitate for." The result was that although Ireland, as the present Prime Minister had admitted, under the late Government was in a state of remarkable tranquillity and prosperity, she again relapsed into the most deplorable condition of misery and crime. With regard to the Irish vote at Newcastle, he denied that it had been given to the Conservative candidate; but, if it had been, the House might rely upon it, it was more out of hatred to the present Government than from any other motive

—that they preferred open enemies to doubtful friends. But it should not be forgotten that Government had themselves come into power on the strength of the Irish vote, and that they did not repudiate it on the occasion of the last Liverpool Election. He therefore hoped the House would hear no more insinuations of that kind. In the course of the debate the speeches of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) and the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Collings) had undergone much criticism. The opinions of the hon. Member for Leeds had elicited universal reprobation from all except those whose praise, especially after recent disclosures, was hardly to be desired by any loyal Englishman. The hon. Member for Ipswich was in a different position. He was a Gentleman whose age ought to have endowed him with judgment and experience, if not with wisdom. Therefore his speech was received with a good deal of hostile criticism, but it could be very easily explained. The hon. Member belonged to that very small section of the Liberal Party whom he (Colonel Dawnay) had heard defined as "the unteachable Radicals," who were for ever repeating the well-worn phrases that "force is no remedy," that "crime is the result of coercion," and that "the present condition of Ireland is due to an unjust land system," until they have come to believe that there is a sort of charm or talisman about these remarks, and whose speeches were only not mischievous, because they were so utterly unpractical. They had learned in the most convincing manner that the real cause of the present lamentable condition of Ireland was due to the evil influence of agitators over an ignorant and excitable people, and the want of the controlling power of a strong and just Government. He was glad to find that such a controlling power was being exercised by the present Lord Lieutenant and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland; but although there was now some improvement in the state of that country, that improvement was not owing to any gratitude for past concessions on the part of the Government, but to the fear of punishment on the part of evildoers, and the belief that the law was being firmly administered. How long, however, was that state of things likely to continue? The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) on Friday was not very re-assuring on that point. At any moment that right hon. Gentleman's sympathy for the Land League might become too strong to be repressed. The right hon. Gentleman still adhered to the speech at Liverpool, in which he declared that the original objects of the Land League were "legal and even praiseworthy," and that to stifle its agitation would be to prevent reform. It was difficult, however, to understand how the objects of any association which depended upon murder and outrage for its success could be "legal and praiseworthy." There appeared, therefore, to be influences in the Cabinet which at any moment might lead to disastrous results; but he hoped that the Government would take warning from the sad experience of the past, and would steadfastly reject the counsels of those who, like the right hon. Gentleman, might again tempt them to try to govern Ireland through such infamous agencies as the Land League.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he should not have intruded himself into that debate, but for the fact that, by a pure accident, he was able to give, from his own personal experience, the most complete contradiction to one of the assertions made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). The hon. Member had said that, since the Crimes Act was passed, juries in Ireland could not be trusted to exercise judicial impartiality—that trial by jury in Ireland did not exist; by which he (Mr. Osborne Morgan) supposed was meant that juries empannelled under the Crimes Act could not be trusted to do their duty. Now, he happened himself to be in Dublin when one of the trials for murder—which had been several times alluded to in the course of that debate, and which had been pointedly referred to in an extract in *United Ireland*, quoted by his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland—was going on, and he had heard the most important part of the trial. That was the trial of Michael Walsh, at which the presiding Judge was Mr. Justice Lawson, and the foreman of the jury was Mr. Field, both of whose lives had, as was currently reported, been attempted in consequence of the part they had taken in that trial. It would be impertinent in him to say anything in commendation of the admirable way in which Mr. Justice Lawson had discharged his duties on that occasion. But he did wish to say a word about the jury. He went into Court as an entirely unprejudiced spectator. He did not know what proportion of the jury was Protestant and what was Catholic; but he desired to say, having had some experience, both favourable and unfavourable, of juries in this country, that never in the whole course of his life had he beheld a more intelligent, a more patient, or a more impartial jury, and, he thought he might add, a jury more indulgent to the prisoner. Every single question they put was directly to the point, and, as far as he could judge, most of their questions were directed to elicit some point in favour of the prisoner. He could say, emphatically, that no man could have had a fairer trial; and, at the conclusion of it, he could not help saying that if that was the way they "packed" juries in Ireland, he only wished they would pack English juries in the same way. The jury was compelled, by evidence as clear as the noonday sun in Heaven, to convict the prisoner; but they added a strong recommendation to mercy, which was acted upon; and for doing that Mr. Field, the foreman of the jury, was all but murdered. As far as that jury was concerned, he asserted deliberately that a more wanton and unfounded charge—he was afraid he could not use a stronger expression without transgressing the Rules of Parliamentary debate—was never made against any jury in the world than that made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He did not wish to say more; but he could not, after what had been said in that debate, sit still in his place and refrain from bearing his personal testimony to the conduct of men who, at the peril of their lives, had done their duty fearlessly and faithfully to their Queen and their country.

MR. O'SULLIVAN said, that though he did not agree with the whole of the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), still he thought, among other things that required amendment, there was one portion of the Crimes Act to which he should call attention, and that was the taxation clause. He knew, from personal experience of different parts of the county of Limerick, that the taxation for extra police was most unjust and unfair. He did not object to the Government placing as many police as they desired in a district, as long as they paid for them themselves; but the strange part of the story was that some time ago they reduced the force in certain places, and then charged the people for the rest. He could not understand why there were extra police in the Kilmallock district, when there was not a single outrage committed there for the past 12 months. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland said there was one outrage there in that time; but he (Mr. O'Sullivan) had made inquiries, and beyond the fact of a boy getting a month for telling an old woman not to sell a pennyworth of apples to the servant boy of a person who was "Boycotted," there was no so-called outrage in the district for 12 months. That was the only outrage he could discover. The real reason, he believed, for keeping the police there was this. It was conveyed to the people that if they asked Mr. Clifford Lloyd to have the extra police removed it would be done; but he was sure the people would be content to pay for three times the force of Constabulary rather than go to Mr. Clifford Lloyd to ask him to relieve them from an unjust charge. It was quite evident that Dublin Castle had nothing to do with the district—it was quite clear that Mr. Lloyd was the sole and only government. The same thing applied to the taxation for extra police in Bulgadden and other districts of the county of Limerick. He might also complain that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Porter) had entirely failed to show how it was that so many Catholics and so very few Protestants had been ordered to stand aside in making up the juries in the recent trials. There was, he could tell the House, a strong feeling in Ireland about the direction, "Catholics aside."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD regretted very much that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) should have proposed this Amendment. It was reported that he would defer to the opinion of many of his Colleagues from Ireland, and would abandon the proposal. He was bound, however, to admit that a section of the British Press had done all in its power to render such prudence most difficult, and to afford the hon.

Member no way of retreat from a position which the Government might safely have left in the hands of hon. Members from Ireland. But the hon. Member for the City of Cork insisted upon their expression of opinion as to the administration of the Crimes Act. There could be no doubt that, with regard to the vast majority on both sides of the House, that opinion must be formed upon their reading of the newspapers. Those who affirmed last year that the suspension of trial by jury was not a necessary provision of the Crimes Act must have seen with deep satisfaction that the Government concurred in their opinion; and from those Members—he thought there were nearly 80—who formed that opinion, the most cordial acknowledgment was due to the courage and the patriotism of those Irishmen who had encountered the dangers of a manly performance of their duty, nor had they failed to observe that Lord Spencer had been sensible of the imperative claims which those men had to protection in the discharge of one of the severest obligations which civil life had ever imposed. He had felt it his duty to read with care and fidelity the proceedings of the trials—he spoke, of course, only of those which had been concluded—and he was bound to say that the perusal had left on his mind no other feeling with regard to those jurymen, but that they had earned the high credit which was due to men who had preserved one of the most cherished institutions of the country from a suspension which he deeply regretted had received the sanction of Parliament. He often wished, when he read the comments of Irish papers upon the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary, that Irishmen possessed even as much acquaintance as he had with those distinguished men. He wished to see Ireland governed solely and wholly by Irishmen; but if they had the whole of the Kingdom to choose from, no two men could be selected upon whose freedom from prejudice, upon whose warm-hearted love of justice, and whose hatred of oppression they could rely more safely than on theirs. He confessed that when he first read the Amendment there was one sentence which struck him as containing matter for careful consideration by the Government, and it was that which referred to the impediments that so hindered Constitutional agitation. He had intended to express his concurrence, in part at least, with this allegation, and his regret that the Government should have afforded the slightest ground for such a charge. But his right hon. Friend, with that frankness which was his peculiar charm, had anticipated nearly all that could be said, and had expressed his regret that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was not permitted to address a meeting of his constituents. He hoped he would find means to communicate his own honourable feelings of regret to all those who, misusing his authority, might be ill-advisedly led to interfere with legitimate and Constitutional agitation; and if he acted in the spirit of his own confession there would be little to complain of. He did not wonder that those few Irishmen who were anarchists desired the return of a Conservative Government. That was a condition which would bring them within a measurable distance of civil war. It was because the policy of the Government was twofold that they were able to hope for a brighter future, to demand from Irishmen a peaceful and orderly conduct. They were anxious to reform the government of Ireland. The late Lord Beaconsfield, when Mr. Disraeli, described the great ills of Ireland in the words—

> "A starving people, an absentee aristocracy, and the weakest Executive in the world;"

and upon no better model could the desired reform proceed than that suggested by the same eminent statesman, when he said—

> "We ought so to reform the Government that it will bear a nearer relation to the leading classes and characters of the country than it has done."

Forty years ago Mr. Disraeli said that the present system of governing Ireland was doomed; it had survived even to the present time. But it would, it must, be changed. Nothing would stay the progress of reform except the increase of crime in Ireland. He grieved to see the ill weeds of exasperation growing apace in that House. The responsibility lay, and would rest heavily, upon those who had fostered that noxious development.

Dr. COMMINS said, there were some parts of the Amendment which he should have been inclined to draft differently; but there were some parts which deserved the attention of the House, and particularly of those who at present governed Ireland under what, he would admit, was very grievous difficulty. The

Amendment affirmed, amongst other things, that Constitutional agitation in Ireland had been practically suppressed; and one instance of suppression had been given which he thought would have received some explanation either from the Attorney General for Ireland or the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. It had been said that he (Dr. Commins) was prohibited from addressing his constituents in the County Roscommon. He had never been extreme in his language when advancing his views either in that House or outside; but he had always used the strongest language that he was capable of commanding in denunciation of outrage and every violation of the law, and he was at a loss to kno wwhy, when he desired to give an account of his stewardship to his constituents, he should have been prevented. He could not understand why the Attorney General for Ireland had passed over that incident without in any way accounting for the action of the Government in the matter. Why was the meeting suppressed? In the absence of any reason being assigned he could not help thinking it was suppressed capriciously. He could not help believing that if such action continued in Ireland things would become very much worse than they were at present. If discontent could not express itself in public meeting, agitation would be driven beneath the surface only to rise, as it had already done, not in the shape of Constitutional action, but in that of murder and assassination. If Constitutional agitation was despotically impeded the result could only be the promotion of un-Constitutional agitation and the designs of men who did not desire peace, union, and goodwill between this country and Ireland—designs which, if carried out, could only bring grief and despair to those who were responsible for the government of the country. The Attorney General for Ireland denied that there had been any jury-packing or jury-selection. It was, however, a most strange fact that Catholics should have been carefully eliminated from the sworn juries. It had been said it was the result of chance. The Attorney General for Ireland had positively made no answer to the charge with reference to the jury which had tried Francis Hynes. No explanation had been given. It was all very well to say that certain men had been left ou to suit their convenience; but that reason applied equally to Catholics and Protestants. In the case of Patrick Walsh, tried at the same Commission, all the jurymen were Protestants. Walsh had been twice tried, and in both cases the jury had been exclusively composed of Protestants. In the case of Michael Walsh, every single juror had been a Protestant; and it had been the same in the case of Ryan, Kinsella, and others, although the panel had been nearly equally divided. He had made a calculation, taking a panel of 78, equally divided as to religion, as to what the odds would be, that the jury should be composed of 11 Protestants and one Catholic. The odds were 28,000 to 1, and against a jury being composed of 12 Protestants 336,000. The attempted explanation amounted to no explanation at all. If the composition of these juries were not fortuitous, as in human probability it could not have been, it must have been so composed designedly. He would ask who the party was that was responsible for it? The Attorney General for Ireland had given no answer to the question, and it was certain that the result had been designed. If the law was ever to be respected in Ireland, and the administration of the Act was to avoid deserving the bitterest hatred of the people, the system should be brought to an end. He had been glad to hear the Attorney General for Ireland pay a tribute to the independence of the jurors and the manner in which they had returned verdicts, irrespective of any apprehension for their personal safety; but in passing that eulogium on the jurors the Attorney General for Ireland had condemned the Crimes Act in the strongest possible way. If jurors could be found in Ireland who would do their duty despite any risk, why had the condemnation of the jury system which was implied in the Crimes Act ever been passed? He would advise the Government to try back, and trust to jurors more. He would not condemn the administration of the Crimes Act if it were used only against criminals and persons meditating crime. But war could not be made with rose-water, and the effect of Acts like the Crimes Act could not but be oppressive upon many people who were entirely innocent. Whatever the effect of the Act upon criminals, there was no doubt that it oppressed and intimidated men who were neither criminals nor who meditated crime. The Act had had the effect that everybody had thought it would have, and had laid a burden upon the necks of those who were neither criminals nor sympathizers with crime. He admitted that there was a desire on the part of the Executive to administer it fairly. He looked forward to a reunion between the two countries of good feeling and of good work, a union which would not be forced, or the result of mere arbitrary power entrusted to the Executive. But as one means of helping to bring about that result, he appealed to the Government to do away with the system of jury-packing.

Mr. PLUNKET said, he had no intention of making any detailed criticism of the vague and wandering accusations which had been brought with such excessive detail against the Government, many of which were founded, he believed, on the bare statement or bare suspicion of hon. Members; but before the debate closed he wished to express the opinion of those who sat round him with respect to the Amendment now before the House. He desired to condemn, in the strongest way he could, the policy which had prompted the hon. Member for the City of Cork to put the Amendment on the Paper, the terms in which it was couched, and the total failure which he had exhibited in his attempt to support it by argument or facts. What was the position of the hon. Member? He had long led the Land League agitation, and was proud to be the leader of an agitation which had brought about the necessity for the stringent—the severe, as he (Mr. Plunket) deemed it to be—Coercion Act—not a bit, however, more strong, or stringent, or severe, than had been absolutely required by the necessities of the case. It had been his agitation which had given rise to the fearful development of crime and outrage which at last had made it necessary to carry the Act, and which now made it necessary to enforce it strictly. When the Crimes Bill was passing through that House, the hon. Member and his Friends did all they could to oppose it. The House would remember with what difficulty it had been carried against the opposition of the Irish Party. They prophesied its failure for the purposes for which it was intended. As soon as it was passed they and their friends in Ireland on the platform and in the Press did everything in their power to discredit its administration, to mark its failure, to defeat the object for which it was passed; and now when its success was such as could not be denied, when those abominable outrages which had disgraced the land for months and years were fading away, when the tale of crime was day by day, week by week, and month by month, diminishing—what did the hon. Member and his Friends do? The hon. Member put upon the Paper an Amendment for which he could find no guarantee or warrant in the arguments or facts, and which could have no other effect, if it had any, but to stimulate the people of Ireland to carry on this hopeless and fatal struggle, and to bring more victims to the gaol and the scaffold. It was, of course, most painful and melancholy that it should be necessary that such laws as these should be enacted at all; but he, for one, felt bound in duty to support Her Majesty's Government in their vigorous and just administration of them. He was glad to see the success that had attended their efforts; and he wished on his own behalf, and on behalf of those who sat about him, to express sympathy with them. The words of the Amendment would be very important if they were true; if they were founded on fact they would be well calculated to stir up the feelings of the Irish people. The Amendment first said—

> "That the manner in which the exceptional legislation known as the Crimes Act has been and is exercised by the officials of the Crown in Ireland is tyrannical and unjust."

What warrant did the hon. Member for Cork City give for that accusation? In what instance had he shown that those entrusted with the most dangerous business of Crown officials in Ireland had been tyrannical or unjust in such instances as he had brought forward? The Amendment also said—

> "That gross licence of oppression is granted to persons and classes bitterly hostile to the mass of the Irish people."

The hon. Member had argued that the class of men who had not taken part in the agitation were now hostile because they had been deprived of their property by legislation. No doubt, that class had been severely tried; but he would tell the hon. Member, in spite of all he had said, that whatever might have been the effect upon the people who were being perpetually stimulated in the fanatic hatred of every other class, that no such feeling existed in the minds of those to whom the hon. Member had alluded, and he would defy him to bring forward any proof of what he had stated. Well, then, what was the next accusation?—

> "That Constitutional agitation is despotically impeded and persecuted."

He would leave the Chief Secretary to add anything he might think necessary to what had seemed to him (Mr. Plunket) to be the conclusive argument of the Attorney General for Ireland in respect to that charge. There had been the prosecution of one or two editors, and there had been an interference with one or two meetings. Nearly all the meetings held during the Land League agitation had been attended by crime and violence; and that the Chief Secretary should not have exercised the powers entrusted to him by Parliament to prevent a recurrence of such outrages was, to his mind, an absurd supposition. Then, again—

> "That justice is administered in a most partial and prejudiced spirit, and that the confidence of the people in the application of the Law is destroyed by a system of jury packing which has already, in the opinion of the vast majority of the Irish people, led to many iniquitous sentences and the execution of innocent persons, while it is practically impossible to obtain justice or protection for the masses of the people from the present administrators of the Law."

Well, he would not travel over again the arguments of his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland; he thought they showed as plainly as possible that there had been no systematic exclusion of jurymen on account of their religion; all the persons who had been ordered to stand aside had been ordered to do so for good and sufficient reasons—such reasons as in a similar state of things in this country jurymen here would be passed by; and it was clear that the juries so selected were fairly and justly selected from the fact that the prisoners had not exhausted their right of challenge. Then there were the attacks upon the Irish Judges. When everything else failed, the Irish Members below the Gangway could always attack the Irish Judges; he need not add anything to the tribute of well-deserved praise pronounced on the Judges assailed there that evening by his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland — Mr. Justice Lawson, Mr. Justice O'Brien, and Lord Chief Justice May. They were told that the Judges in Ireland were put upon the Bench merely for political reasons, and had been persons of no practice at the Irish Bar. He ventured to say that in the case of those assailed that evening, though it was easy to make general charges, there were no three men who had at the time they were appointed Judges a better practice or a higher reputation at the Irish Bar. Mr. Justice Lawson had a large practice on both sides, both at Equity and at Common Law, and there were very few men who were making so large a professional income. As for Mr. Justice O'Brien, nothing could be more absurd than to fix such a charge upon him. He had been all his life an advanced Liberal in politics; and as for his character at the Bar, he supposed there never was a man more entirely above suspicion. And the same might be said of the Lord Chief Justice also. And yet these three high Judges on the Bench of Ireland were brought by name into the debates in that House, and denounced as persons wholly unfit to occupy the positions which their great abilities and professional reputation so well fitted them for. But it was easy to know why that was done. There was a speech made by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) at a banquet at the Mansion House, in Dublin, from which he would quote a passage. It was as follows:—

> "Justice Lawson was paid a handsome salary, and for his part he liked to see a man earning his wages, and he knew not how better an English placeman could earn his wages than in sending an Irish patriot to a prison cell. It ill became Irishmen, in whatever difficulties they might encounter, or might befall them, to find fault with the acts of the enemy. There was an old proverb that those who played at bowls must expect rubbers, and Mr. Justice Lawson was one of those. When dealing with the enemy they must expect to be dealt with as enemies. The mistake the Irish people make was in being surprised; and he considered it better that the men who represented enemies—the garrison in this country—should stand forth naked in their true guise. They had in the ermine—they had shadowed forth to them the actions simply of an English salaried official, and that being so, he could make no complaint of what had been done."

He asked the House to listen to the argument created from this very fair statement by the hon. Member for Wexford! Then, again—

> "This country either had to be ruled by England or it had not. England had got to maintain her hold on this country or to drop it. 'To this complexion things must come at last.' The people of this country must be prepared to face all and everything that stands before the patriot which was set before them in past days, or else be prepared to let England come in and govern them, and rule their country. England maintained in this country a very large garrison. Some were uniformed as policemen, some as soldiers, some as Militia, some wore the ermine; but whatever shape or form these men might take, he looked upon them all, every one of them, from the bailiff to the Judge, as their enemy, and he was glad to say they made the people feel it."

This was plain language. These Judges who did their duty honestly, and were loyal to the connection between the two countries, were denounced as aliens and enemies. They were personally insulted, and false charges were raked up and brought against them. Then, as to the Amendment, he had one or two words to say as to the manner in which the hon. Member for the City of Cork had undertaken to support those grave charges. Let the House consider whether it was possible for the perverse ingenuity of any man to frame words calculated to rankle more in the minds of the Irish people, or to more inflame their passions and drive them to despair. They were told in it—

> "That justice is administered in a most partial and prejudiced spirit, and that the confidence of the people in the application of the Law is destroyed by a system of jury packing which has already, in the opinion of the vast majority of the Irish people, led to many iniquitous sentences and the execution of innocent persons."

He wanted to know on what evidence the hon. Member founded that charge. The only case which he did mention was the case of the Huddys—one of the foulest murders ever perpetrated. He knew those persons; the one a harmless, tottering old man, who had committed no other crime than that of acting as bailiff, and the other his grandson. Such was the frenzy created in the minds of the people, so far were they demoralized, that these two harmless and inoffensive men were murdered in the most brutal manner in the open day, and their bodies thrown into the lake. No one ever doubted or questioned for a moment the justice of the verdict, the sentence, or the penalty; but, notwitanding this, the hon. Member came forward and told not only the Irish people, but the English people, that the system had "led to many iniquitous sentences and the execution of innocent persons," bringing forward only this one case to support the charge. But the hon. Member had thrown a touch of sarcasm into the whole matter when he said—

> "And that unless the Irish Executive abandon unconstitutional and tyrannical courses, and depend upon the Constitutional administration of the ordinary Law, the result may be prejudicial in the extreme degree to the cause of peace and order in Ireland."

He thought the Government had made an experiment in depending upon the Constitutional administration of the ordinary law; for when they came into power one of their first acts was to fall back upon the ordinary law—a rash and reckless proceeding, which had been attended with most disastrous consequences, and, as the results had shown, an experiment which they had to come and tell the House had failed. But why did it fail? That experiment of itself had the seeds of great danger in it; but it failed because the hon. Member for Cork City and his Friends set themselves, from the very day of their election to this Parliament, by every means in their power to stir up the passions of the Irish people and to set on foot an agitation, which, as he (Mr. Plunket) said at the time, could lead to nothing but a bloody resistance. It had led to nothing else; but now that organisation had been broken down by a strong Act of repression firmly administered. Then the hon. Member actually came to the House and told them that they had better have recourse to a Constitutional administration of the ordinary law. He thought that the present time was the most injudicious time possible to raise this question. They had seen lately in Ireland the policy which he advocated illustrated and illumined by fierce and terrible lights. They had seen how agitation was followed by outrages. The progress of the agitation seemed to walk and talk in the persons of men high in the confidence of the hon. Member, and yet the hon. Member asked the Government to to say what they would do when the Crimes Act expired? He should say that the information he asked of the House and the country would depend very much upon the state in which Ireland might be found when that time arrived. They could easily judge of the state in which it would be found if the teaching of the hon. Member and his Friends were to be taken and acted upon. He would read a few words of a speech made by the hon. Member for Wexford, who was speaking of the operation of the Crimes Act. Having admitted that it had had a very depressing effect on the cause in which he was interested, he went on to say that—

> "He asked his friends not to display impatience of result, but to continue as they had been going on, and to say to themselves, that although there might be a pause and a lull at present in consequence of coercion, yet that the movement and its leaders were only, to use an Irish expression, 'backing for a leap;'"

and having explained that their movement had started for the purpose of clearing out the English garrison from Ireland, he added—

> "Therefore men of Ireland lift up your hearts! The Crimes Act lasts only for three years, and when that Act expires we will once more sally forth upon the enemy with renewed courage and greater experience."

Now, it would depend on the people of this country whether the disastrous history of the past few years in Ireland was to be continued or not. It would depend on that House whether it was to go on, stage by stage, from unwise concession to unwise concession, until they landed themselves on the brink of a precipice, over which they would topple and bring to an end all the greatness and all the glory of their country. It was no use for the people of England to say, "It must come; it is inevitable." It need not come, and it would not come unless they chose. He would also refer to the remarkable observations of the hon. Member for the City of Cork that evening. When he called attention to the differences which he detected between the expressed views and the declared policy of the various sections of the present Government, he denounced the action and condemned the policy of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Chief Secretary, and others in the Government, and said that all his confidence was in a certain section of politicians, and his greatest faith in the President of the Board of Trade. He (Mr. Plunket), ventured to submit to the House and the country that here was the real danger. If they once persuaded the Irish people that England and the English people, as a whole, were resolved that, whatever other matters they would discuss in the way of conciliation and concession, there was one matter which they would not entertain, which they would not admit into the field of discussion at all—namely, the question of the disseverance of the Union between the two countries—they would understand perfectly well that they would have no hope of obtaining such a thing; they would apply themselves, as Englishmen did, to seek reform and improvement by fair discussion and legitimate political agitation; they would return to the ways of peace, capital would come back to the country, and that course of prosperity which was proceeding steadily until a few years ago would be resumed and carried successfully forward. In his opinion there was one view which must be taken of the action of the hon. Member for the City of Cork in bringing forward the Amendment and pressing it to a division. Of course, it would go all over the country that the hon. Member had pressed the Amendment containing the passages which he had quoted. It was all very well to talk with pathos and passion of oppression and of suffering in Ireland, of the gallows and the gaol; but the Amendment, pressed as it had been, by hon. Members below the Gangway, was as much calculated as anything could possibly be to rouse the Irish people, and to rouse them in what must be an ineffectual struggle. It was urged that the Crimes Act was passed because of the assassination of high officials, and that it was being applied in Ireland with increased severity because of the attempt to assassinate Judges and jurymen. Could anything be more calculated to agitate an excitable people to commit again such crimes, or attempt to commit them, than appeals to the passions which were embodied in such an Amendment as this? It was all very well for the hon. Member to charge the Government with exciting and exasperating the people by such legislation as the Crimes Act; but he threw back the charge on the hon. Member and his Friends; and if it should appear after the debate of that evening, and after the Amendment was brought forward, that fresh outrages occurred, then upon him (Mr. Parnell) and those who acted with him would the responsibility rest; on him and them would rest the great responsibility if more murdered men were thrown upon the heap that already lay there, not only of those who met sudden and untimely deaths at the hands of the assassin in pursuance of the dictates and the policy of this agitation, but also of those other unhappy men who—criminals though they were, one could not help regretting their fate—were the instruments and the misguided victims of their machinations.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Sir, I had not the advantage of hearing the whole of the speech of the right hon. and learned the Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Porter); but the position, so far as I can make it out, taken by Her Majesty's present Advisers in Ireland is that, because there have been crimes springing from the attempt to repress agitation, all agitation in Ireland is a crime, and must be put down. Notwithstanding all the jocosity and the disinterested indignation of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who is just after addressing the House (Mr. Plunket), I venture to assert that no serious attempt has been made to answer or dispute the facts that were enumerated by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). The argument appears to be that, even admitting all the matters which he enumerated to be uncontested, as they are incontestable, if they can show a decrease in the statistics of crime, no matter how produced—whether naturally, as I and my Friends say, by the release of the "suspects" and the operations of the Land and Arrears Acts; or violently and unnaturally, as our opponents say, by the hangman—they need give no further justification for any and every assault upon public freedom in Ireland. The field of complaint against the Irish Government is so wide that I shall confine my observations to two of the subjects that have been dealt with in the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; and, with the leave of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who last addressed you, I venture to say that they alone would justify, and amply justify, the terms of this Amendment. The two subjects I speak of are the attacks upon the Press and the so-called administration of justice in Green Street. The kind of circular argument by which these two sets of Governmental outrages are made to justify one another is worthy of the ingenious Gentlemen who are the present Advisers of the Crown in Dublin Castle. As far as I can see, it is necessary to the case of the Government to prove, in the first place, that crimes have disappeared, because of the hangings; and it is necessary for them to defend their attacks on the freedom of the Press, by arguing that very desperate crimes in Dublin did follow in the wake of the hangman. Now, I will go at once straight to the grounds upon which these trials in Dublin were impeached in Ireland, and upon which they are also impeached in this Amendment. As to the charge of misconduct against the jury in the Hynes' case—a charge which alleged that three jurors were engaged in riotous and indecent conduct the night before they sent that unfortunate youth to the gallows—I only press the matter to this extent. The Irish public have before them, on the one side, the oaths of 11 independent witnesses, not one of whom I spoke to upon the subject, until I went with a solicitor to take their affidavits, and one of whom was the sister of an eminent ecclesiastic, who happened to be staying in the hotel, and with whom I never had the honour of exchanging a word, until, in the interests of truth, she came forward to give her testimony. Upon the other side, there are loose declarations by the incriminated jurors and officials, admitting that there was noise and disorder. Then there is the evidence of the hotel bill, showing a consumption of liquor which would account for more than all I ever alleged. If that charge were unfounded, it was due to the jurors themselves that its falsehood should have been fully and publicly established and punished; but when, in Ireland, anything like free or public inquiry was shirked, when the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray), merely because he called for an inquiry, was punished in a manner and a temper which has since brought down the silent censure of a Bill in this House to limit the power of Judges, what were the Irish people to conclude, except what they have concluded—that the sting and scandal of that charge was that it was true? These charges might have been small in themselves; but they must be taken in connection with the conduct of the Judge; in connection with the fact that one of these jurors—their champion in the newspapers—was the Secretary of the Property Defence Association, whose name was signed at that time to an appeal for funds to be used against the Irish tenantry. Above all, who denies that during that whole Commission, in a city in which the Catholics are five to one, the jury sworn in each of the four capital cases was composed exclusively of Protestants, and the Catholics were bidden to stand by to a man. That extraordinary state of facts was debated here during the Autumn Session. I think I do not go too far in saying it created a feeling of profound uncomfortableness among the English people. If rumour goes for anything, even the highest quarters are credited with a determination that the practices in Green Street were unfortunate for the ends of justice, and ought to be amended. At the next following Commission, at all events, before Mr. Justice Barry, a very remarkable change was manifested. On the jury that tried Patrick Joyce for the Maamtrasna massacre, there were at least five Catholics sworn, where previously every man of their creed had been banned. These gentlemen did their duty like fearless citizens, their verdict was acquiesced in by public opinion, and there was an universal feeling of relief and satisfaction in Ireland that, to a great extent, trial by jury had been rehabilitated so as to be a fair tribunal for the trial of what all believed to be revolting crimes. Therefore, the Government had arrived at a time when juries which, if not fairly, were at least decently constituted, found verdicts that gained respect and confidence. What followed? The December Commission came, at which Mr. Justice O'Brien presided. Upon one trial, that of Patrick Higgins (Long), upon more doubtful evidence, a jury dared to have a doubt, and disagreed. A particular juror (a Catholic) was held up to public obloquy by *The Daily Express*, as unmistakeably as if he had been singled out by name as the cause of the disagreement. Did the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, who previously laid down, in the case of the hon. Member for Carlow, that newspapers had no right to review judicial proceedings — did the right hon. and learned Gentleman institute a prosecution for wilful and malicious libel against *The Daily Express*? Did he uphold the right of honest juries to acquit as well as to convict according to the evidence? On the contrary, from that moment the system of merciless exclusion of Catholics, which had been dropped as a scandal, was resorted to more persistently than before. In the first trials, only 26 jurors had been set aside in the Hynes' case, only 20 in the case of Patrick Walsh, and 17 in the case of Michael Walsh. In the last trials, after one jury had been guilty of a disagreement, 41 jurors, 36 of whom were Catholics, were set aside on the trial of Patrick Higgins; 50 jurors, of whom 44 were Catholics, were set aside on the trial of Thomas Higgins (Long), and 53 jurors, 41 of them Catholics, were ordered to stand aside on the trial of Michael Flynn. The fact that one Whig Catholic was retained on each jury only made the exclusion of his co-religionists more galling, and brought out the fact that juries, instead of being indifferently chosen from the panels prescribed by the Act, were so concocted that those who would have heard the evidence free from vengefulness or panic were excluded, while those who were bidden to indulge their prejudice as a sacred duty to society were sworn. Was the constitution of these juries corrected by the conduct of the Judge? I do not intend to answer the eulogiums of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) with denunciations. I will just give the House one example—I could give hundreds just as easily. Patrick Higgins (Long) was the first of three persons tried before Mr. Justice O'Brien, for the murders referred to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman—the murders of the Huddys. He was convicted, beyond doubt, on the testimony of the informer Kerrigan. The informer stated that Higgins' part in the murder was striking the elder Huddy on the head with a stone, while he described the two other prisoners yet to be tried as the persons who fired the shots that caused the deaths, and the ringleaders in the disposal of the bodies. Such being the state of the evidence, the Judge came to pass sentence in the case of the first prisoner, Thomas Higgins (Long). The learned Judge evidently had present to his mind that his simple duty then was to have pronounced that sentence, for he commenced by saying—

> "As the prisoner does not understand the English language, and as there are other persons to be tried on the same charge, I forbear

at present, for obvious and necessary reasons, from any observations in passing sentence."

Nothing could have been more consonant with fair play and good sense. Yet, fresh from this resolve not to prejudice the other men whom next day he had to try for life or death, the learned Judge in the very next sentence bursts out into this astounding statement—

> "Agreeing as I do, entirely and confidently, in the justice and necessity of the verdict of 'Guilty' that has been found by the jury, I consider it my duty at the same time to state that, in my opinion, the prisoner is the least guilty of the persons concerned in the murder. The evidence has produced in my mind the firm belief that the murder did not originate with him."

Here we have the Judge laying down two excellent reasons for silence and forbearance—one, that the prisoner whom he was supposed to be addressing did not understand a word he said; the other, that two prisoners remained to be tried on the same charge, and with precisely the same evidence. But here, in the very next breath, he breaks violently through his own prudent rule, and declares the man whom he considers to be guilty, to be yet the least guilty of the persons concerned in that murder, the only other persons with whom he or the jury had to do, the only other persons whom they had reason to suspect of greater or any guilt, being the two men who yet remained to be tried, and whom the informer Kerrigan declared to be the principals. These observations of the Judge's were not meant for the prisoner whom he was sentencing. He knew that he did not understand the language. They were not meant by way of intercession, for he knew where to address any appeal of that kind. He knew that he had said, in justice to the other men, that he was bound to guard himself. The jury evidently received a shock from the Judge's speech. The gentleman who stood up at the foreman's request, in agreeing with the Judge, conveyed to him unintentionally a very heavy rebuke. He said—

> "The jury did not wish to express any opinion as regards the amount of the guilt of the present prisoner, as there were two others to be tried; but his Lordship, in passing sentence, having mentioned that Patrick Higgins (Long) was the least guilty of the three, they fully endorsed that opinion."

Something extraordinary — something that, according to the newspaper reports, made them almost speechless with emotion had occurred; but as it was a Judge who had said it, they said the same, probably feeling that, if they erred at all, they erred in good company. A still more extraordinary thing happened in the second case, when the second prisoner was arraigned and the jury came up to be sworn. Two of the very jurors whose expression of belief that the man they had just convicted was the least guilty of the three, had barely left their lips, were re-sworn to try one of the only two other persons upon earth whom they had reason to suspect of greater guilt. In any other language than that of legal fiction, they were pledged up to the hilt to convict. Was any answer given to that? Has any answer to-night been given to facts like these? Did the Crown officials, in the case of the hon. Member for Carlow, or my own, attempt to disprove the allegations that the juries were packed, that the Judges were prejudiced, and that the whole proceedings were shameful enough to give some point to the remark of one of the men in the dock?—"This place is no better than a slaughter-house." That is only a small part of what has been happening in Ireland. We hear a great deal of the sufferings of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government in Ireland and of the officials. I do not undervalue the risk that the right hon. Gentleman and others may have had up to a short time ago, for, unhappily, in the condition in which Ireland has been governed, both for the governors and the governed, risk, and sacrifice, and suffering is the badge of all our tribe. I do not doubt that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland finds his work thoroughly disagreeable, apart from the personal risk. I hope the work of dragooning and breaking the spirit of the Irish people will always be found disagreeable, and will always end, as it always has ended, in political brokenheartedness and failure. But if the right hon. Gentleman and others go about invoking sympathy for a knot of Castle officials, who are keeping Ireland in hot water, and, perhaps, burning their own fingers sometimes, I ask this House not to forget that these Gentlemen, who enjoy escorts of police and marines, have not a monopoly of the suffering which is going on in Ireland. Men, perhaps as disinterested as they, are in Irish prisons to-day — degraded to the dress, and the food, and the company, they cannot be degraded to the level of common thieves—because they happened to be formidable to the right hon. Gentleman. We ought to be grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for the assurance given that the hon. Members for Sligo and Roscommon can, for the future, call a meeting of their constituents, without the leave of the local police officers; but there are men in every town and village in Ireland to-day who, every time they open their lips, know that some bungling police reporter is taking down their words, or perhaps mangling them, so that, as in the case of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), a pretext may be found for putting formidable men on a plank bed for months. There are numbers of men who, every time their newspaper is published, do not know what minute paragraphs of local news, or obscure advertisements, may bring down fine and imprisonment on their heads. There are men just as sensitive as the right hon. Gentleman who are every other day the object of murderous accusations, incendiary writings, and speeches at Hawick and elsewhere. If the right hon. Gentleman and others point to their sufferings, we point to whole districts—Castleisland, in Kerry, is one of them—where the starving people are called upon to pay *3s.* in the pound for extra police, and where there would be either a general fiscal revolt or universal bankruptcy if the right hon. Gentleman dared to enforce payment of the blood-tax which he holds suspended over the heads of the people. If the right hon. Gentleman lamented his hard fate in his Secretary's lodge, I am forced to remind him that Irishmen who have been hustled to the scaffold by packed juries and by ferocious Judges are crying out from their graves that if the law has been vindicated in Ireland it has been vindicated at the expense of justice and decency and of innocent life. It has been amply shown that, instead of justly claiming credit because crime in Ireland has subsided, Lord Spencer's Administration is responsible for whatever crime has survived the departure of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. I submit that not only has Lord Spencer's Administration been the cause of crime in others, but Lord Spencer has used against the public liberty the power with which he has been intrusted by the House to operate against crime and outrage, and used it in such a manner as before now in this House, when it was tried in England, has been the signal for armed revolution, and for a more humble Address to the Throne.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that there were some portions of the speech of the hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) which all, on whatever side of the House they sat, must have heard with deep regret. The hon. Member had drawn a picture of parts of the country and portions of the population that was deplorable in the extreme. How far it might be exaggerated he, for one, did not know; but even assuming the picture to be true, who was responsible, and to whom, in the first instance, was it owing? The hon. Gentleman must know, as well as any hon. Member in the House, that it was to the organization of which he was one of the most prominent leaders that the desperate state of things to which he had pointed was entirely due. He was not the least surprised at the Amendment placed on the Paper by the hon. Member, and still less so at the hon. Member's total failure to adduce a single argument in its support. From some of the antecedents of the hon. Member, which they had lately witnessed, it was precisely what he should have expected. He was not there to vindicate the Government from the long string of aspersions which the Amendment contained. The Chief Secretary was more than equal to the task, if he thought fit to undertake it; but he might observe, in passing, that he was totally unaware of any practice or precedent in Parliament which required a Member of the Government or any Member of the House to take up the gauntlet of any other Member who had left the gravest accusations against himself unanswered and unrefuted—accusations which to all appearance he could not, or dared not, meet. His object in rising, however, was to call attention to, and to emphasize, the present situation, which, as far as he knew, was without precedent in the annals of the House. He would not dwell on the very remarkable incident which occurred early in the evening, when a demand from the responsible

Leader of the Opposition for a day to move a Vote of Censure was deliberately refused by the noble Marquess who was now the Leader of the House. That appeared to him to afford an admirable illustration of the courage and candour of the present Administration. To the best of his recollection it was a proceeding without precedent in that House. Of this he was certain—that never when a Vote was challenged, not once but twice, first by the Prime Minister, and next by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, was a day refused. A day or two ago they saw the hon. Member for the City of Cork in the character of defendant in the House against accusations distinctly and deliberately brought against him by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster)—accusations of a character, it should be remembered, which, if true, covered the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his associates with shame, and which, if not true, must entail the severest condemnation and even the censure of the House of Commons upon the man who made them. There was no escape from that position. Consequently, when the hon. Member for the City of Cork rose the other night, those who heard him in that House, and that infinitely larger audience beyond those walls, waited with bated breath to hear what explanations were possible on the part of the hon. Member. Those explanations had not hitherto been forthcoming, and yet to-day the hon. Member, with brazen front and demeanour unabashed, almost came forward, in the terms of an Amendment which he was totally unable to support, in the character of an accuser of the Government of crimes and misdemeanours of every shade and hue. He took leave to tell the hon. Member that it did not lie with him, or with any Member of that House who was himself the subject of the gravest possible accusation, which had been left unrefuted and unanswered, to bring forward accusations against others. He would remind the hon. Member of the scorn which awaited every Member of the House who, when challenged and charged with accusations which, if true, were disgraceful and scandalous in the opinion of them all, was yet slow and backward in defending his honour and his good name, or who could not, or who dared not, meet them. It was idle to appeal from England to the public opinion of Ireland. Surely the hon. Member could not suppose that the people of Ireland, a people quick to resent injuries and to hurl back accusations, would be satisfied with his defence? It was a pitiable sight for them the other night, it was not a pleasant one for any Member of the House of Commons, to see the hon. Member cowering beneath the charges and the contumely of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, and being all the time either afraid or unable to answer him. He (Mr. Chaplin) never would believe that his speech on that occasion was satisfactory to the people of Ireland, craven as it was; and he apprehended that as soon as it was widely known, that evil influence which he had wielded so long in Ireland would be weakened among Irish men and Irish women, and wherever the Irish tongue was spoken in every country of the world. The hon. Member's excuses would not do, and would not serve to hide the fact that he was totally unable to meet the charges of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford; and it would remain on record that the right hon. Gentleman, through the silence of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, had established the charges made by him on that occasion, and his assertions that the hon. Member either connived at outrages or was willing to gain advantage by them. In the face of an unanswered charge like that, it did not lie with the hon. Member to asperse the Government or any Member of the House, and he had no claim or right or title to any answer whatever. He wished that the matter might end here; but if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had so established his charges as to do much to crush the leaders of the Land League, he had also done something to crush and expose his late Colleagues in the Cabinet, and especially the President of the Board of Trade, who had always been notorious for the patronage, support, and sympathy for the Association which now stood convicted by the right hon. Member for Bradford of having systematically incited to outrage and murders since 1880. He was not the least surprised at the terms in which he hon. Member for the City of Cork had spoken of his old and faithful ally—the President of the Board of Trade—as one of the few Englishmen in the House who correctly appreciated the merits of the Irish Question. Interpreting those merits from the point of view of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, it was sincerely to be hoped that he stood alone in that appreciation. The President of the Board of Trade, when charged with countenancing outrages to pass Liberal measures, said he would treat such charges with contempt. Without endorsing or repeating any charges of that nature, he would submit to the House one or two facts which not even the right hon. Gentleman could treat with contempt, unless he wished to be classed in the same category as the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It was abundantly proved by the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary that the Land League had, by its agents and *employés*, systematically incited to outrage and murder as far back as the year 1880. That knowledge must, of course, have been communicated to the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues in the Cabinet, it being far too important to be withheld from them. Yet, with all this knowledge and information on his mind, the President of the Board of Trade went down to Liverpool in October, 1881, and there deliberately made a speech than which nothing was more calculated to encourage and strengthen the Land League to continue in its hateful course. The right hon. Gentleman said that the avowed objects of the League were legal; and he coolly limited these avowed objects to the examination of a system and the reform of an unjust law. The right hon. Gentleman knew that the Leader of the Land League, who was the true exponent of its objects, would not endorse that statement; he would not acknowledge that the avowed objects were limited in any way as the right hon Gentleman had suggested that they were; indeed, he had publicly declared the contrary. A year and a-half before the right hon. Gentleman made his speech at Liverpool, the hon. Member for the City of Cork had said—

> "None of us in Ireland or America, wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which connects Ireland with England."

This was the original object of the Land League, and always had been from the first; and yet, in spite of this distinct and deliberate expression of opinion on the part of the Leader of the Land League—as the exponent of its objects and its views—the President of the Board of Trade did not scruple to declare, at Liverpool, that—

> "The original objects of the Land League were legal, and even praiseworthy; and that to have stifled agitation at that time would have been to have prevented reform."

It came to this, that to have stifled agitation—and, remember, that in stifling agitation they would have in great degree stifled the outrages and the murders which were the outcome of it—would have been to have stifled reform, by which, he supposed, was meant the passing of some Liberal measures. The right hon. Gentleman, therefore, persistently neglected to take the steps that were necessary and which would have been effectual. In what respect, he asked, did the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman differ from that of the hon. Member for the City of Cork in this, that both were contented to profit and to gain advantage from the state of things—the agitation and outrages—which then existed in Ireland? He awaited an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman with as much anxiety as he had awaited that of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and he trusted it would be with a more satisfactory result. The Conservatives had been taunted throughout these debates that what they desired was to discredit the policy of conciliation. They desired nothing of the kind. They were sick, and they believed the country to be sick of weak and unworthy concession to agitation and outrage; but they had no desire, and never had a desire, to discredit the policy of wise conciliation and reform. They had been taunted with this—that the Tory Party had no policy whatever except coercion. There never was a statement more exactly the opposite of truth. They had advocated for years measures for Ireland which would have tended to the permanent benefit and the permanent amelioration of the people of that country. [*Cries of* "Name!"] They had advocated emigration from the congested districts of the country, and migration; the introduction and encouragement, wherever it was possible, of manufactures; the opening of public works; they had advocated anything and everything by which the attention of the people could be diverted in some degree from the cultivation of the soil as the only means of their existence wherever it was inadequate for their sustenance and support, whilst the policy of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who ridiculed all Tory propositions of reform, had always been the same—namely, to link them and bind them to the soil more inseparably than ever. The charges which had been brought against the Tory Party in that respect he considered totally unjustified, and totally unworthy of those who made them. They were asked another question, and it was this—"When this conspiracy of assassination is destroyed, what message are you going to send to Ireland? What are you going to do then for the mass of Irish people?" He ventured to reply to that question in this way. Ever since he had been in Parliament, which was some time longer than the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), the Prime Minister and the Liberal Party had been sending messages of peace to Ireland, and these messages of peace had always been of the same character and description, and had invariably ended in the same results. To take away property from one class and give it to another class as a sop to agitation had been their only and their sole resource. Confiscation on the one hand, and concession to outrage on the other hand, were apparently the highest flights of statemanship at which they had ever aimed. Between them the Liberal Party had rung the changes, till it came to this that, except Home Rule, they had little more to give, and as far as property in Ireland was concerned, they had literally left nothing more to take, and they had so demoralized the country by measures of this nature, repeated over and over again, that the last state of the country was infinitely worse than it was at first. Then, what were they to do now? He would tell them in a sentence. They must first make the law respected, and then, since they spurned all the Tory propositions for the amelioration of Ireland, and would have nothing to do with them, let them for a considerable period, at all events, leave Ireland alone. Try it, at all events, for a time, and it would be a new policy with them. "No," said the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, "it would be impossible for any Liberal Government to entertain such a policy for a moment. Why, it would involve the creation of a new Poland within four hours of this country!" He (Mr. Chaplin) did not wonder at the looks of blank dismay on the Treasury Bench among some of his Colleagues when the right hon. Gentleman gave utterance to that remarkable, very foolish, and, he feared, painful statement. Some of them, at all events, appeared at last to recognize how desperate was the condition of Ireland at the present moment; and he (Mr. Chaplin) put it to hon. Members on both sides of the House, if it was possible to conceive on the part of a responsible Minister of the Crown, with all the information they had before them of Ireland, and of the circumstances of Ireland, at the present moment, if it was possible to conceive a statement more calculated to render the government of Ireland impossible by his Colleagues? The right hon. Gentleman had been freely charged, in the course of these debates, with intriguing behind the backs of his Colleagues. He (Mr. Chaplin) should not repeat, nor did he desire to, for a single moment, endorse any charge of that character against the right hon. Gentleman. But he did unhesitatingly say, that if the right hon. Gentleman had been guilty of the worst and most unworthy of all the unworthy motives which had been imputed to him, he could not have devised a course more likely to embarrass or to thwart the action of Lord Spencer and his Colleagues at that moment than by the language he had used that night, or one more calculated to retard the hope of lasting peace or permanent prosperity for unfortunate and unhappy Ireland.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, the House had just been favoured with a somewhat lively contribution towards the strange and singular sort of triangular duel which had been progressing for some time within the walls of the House. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the Government side of the House attacked the Opposition, and there was a vigorous exchange of fire from the other side; then right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House opened fire upon the Irish Benches, and united in assailing his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). Well, let them fire away. The Irish Members could reply to them and to any attack which might be made upon them from any side of the House. They were animated by no contentions for situations in the Administration; they had no desire to obtain power and pay. They stood there to defend their country, and they had no interest in all these matters, except the wish to sustain the cause of right and justice, and of an oppressed Nationality. The administration of the Crimes Act in Ireland was really what had been brought under discussion by the Amendment now before the House, and they had heard such a defence for it as could be made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Porter). They had certainly been immensely edified by the innocence of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and of the Party he represented, who were now located in Dublin Castle. As to jury-packing, why, such a thing had never been heard of. No jury had ever been packed in Ireland. It was only some innocent and mild process of eliminating one set of men from the jury panel, and allowing another set of men to remain. The thing was a popular delusion; but how did it happen that this delusion was so prevalent in Ireland? There was no use in trying to hoodwink the Irish people. He did not believe the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland could hoodwink the House of Commons; but he was satisfied the people of Ireland could not be deceived. Did they suppose that no innocent man had ever been convicted in Ireland and hanged? Not only had innocent men been convicted and hanged in Ireland, but it was a matter of history that such had been the case in England also. In England, however, they had trial by jury in its full development, and the Judges upon the Bench were not seething over with political hatred against the men who were put upon their trial. In Ireland there was no such security, and no such safety; at any rate, they did not exist at the present day. Did they not all know how men of the highest position and influence felt towards the people of Ireland at the present moment? They were, in point of fact, in a state of exasperation against any man who was alleged to have taken any part whatever in the organization of the Land League. Then, could it be supposed that men charged before these special juries for alleged offences arising out of the organization of the Land League could possibly obtain a fair trial? There was not the most remote chance of it. It was in vain that the Attorney General for Ireland tried to smooth over this burning question. It was in vain that the right hon. and learned Gentleman represented that this process of elimination in which the Roman Catholic jurors of the country were made to disappear from the jury panel was in harmony with justice. The feeling in Ireland was this—that a case which came before these special juries, and these very remarkable Judges, especially the case of men charged with offences arising out of the recent agitation, had no chance. The verdict was as good as returned against the prisoner the moment he was put upon his trial, and the utmost that could be expected was that, in some cases, there might be a disagreement among the jury. He would ask the House to consider for a moment the petty persecution which was going on all over the length and breadth of the land, and then to say whether the moment a case was ordered to be tried before a special jury, it was not just the same as a conviction. All over the land special magistrates had been appointed to work this Crimes Act; and they were exercising their powers in a manner that rendered the idea of a fair trial an absolute farce. He would take the case of Mr. Timothy Harrington, who was recently tried in Westmeath for having made a so-called intimidatory speech. He (Mr. Sullivan) would assert there, in the presence of the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland, that the prosecution of Mr. Harrington turned entirely upon a single sentence in that speech; in point of fact, upon a single word in a single sentence, and that word was the word "agitation." Mr. Harrington was addressing a meeting at Mullingar, composed largely of farmers, and he asked the farmers of Westmeath to deal considerately with their labourers. He said to the farmers—

> "The labouring classes assisted you in working out the agitation which has obtained for you considerable advantages, and I ask you in this, their day of trial, to remember that in their favour; to give them a fair day's wage

for a fair day's work, and to open out as much employment for them as you possibly can. Some time ago a labourers' agitation was started in Ireland. I did not join in that agitation, because I do not like class movements at all; but I wish the farmers and labourers to stand together, and I say to you, the farmers of Westmeath, if you do not give them help in their distress, the force of the agitation which has been carried on will be turned against you.

Now this was the head and front of that Gentleman's offending. The Government chose to attach to that word "agitation" a particular meaning—a meaning which was never in the mind of the speaker, or attached to it by anybody, except by the policeman who took a note of it. It was said that by "agitation," Mr. Harrington meant "intimidation," crime, outrage, arson, and heaven knows what besides. That was a forced meaning attached to the word, and a meaning never intended to be conveyed to the mind of anybody. But on that single word, and the Castle interpretation of that single word, Mr. Harrington had been sent to Mullingar Gaol, to undergo two months' imprisonment. He was compelled to wear prison clothes, to feed on convict fare, and to lie on a plank bed. Was that justice? He (Mr. Sullivan) called it an outrage upon justice. There was an official in Dublin Castle called the Law Adviser. To this Law Adviser the magistrates applied, if they wanted to know the law; and when the Law Adviser directed the prosecution of anybody before two special magistrates, was it to be presumed that they would differ from the law placed before them by the Law Adviser of the Castle? There was no chance of it. The Special Resident Magistrates, therefore, were simply Government clerks. They took their reading of the law from the prosecutor, who was the Law Adviser of the Castle, and they found whatever decision, and acted in whatever manner, he directed. Now, the farmers of Westmeath were said to have been intimidated, or likely to be intimidated by the speech of Mr. Harrington. What reply had the farmers of Westmeath themselves made to that allegation? Westmeath was an agricultural constituency, and Mr. Harrington, while an inmate of Mullingar Gaol, had been returned unopposed to represent that agricultural constituency upon the Benches he (Mr. Sullivan) was now addressing. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevellyan), in answering a Question upon that very subject a few nights ago, said he desired to protect the large farmers. Now, it so happened that four nomination papers were handed in for Mr. Harrington, three of which were signed by some of the largest farmers in the county of Westmeath. The farmers, large and small, all co-operated in electing him for their Representative, and not one of that class came forward to say that he had been intimidated, or was likely to be intimidated, by this speech of Mr. Harrington. And yet the Government had the indecency, he would not use any other term, on the wretched pretence of an intimidatory speech, to send Mr. Harrington to two months' imprisonment. The result of the election was announced to Mr. Harrington by a signal on Saturday night, when it was not allowed to be announced to him by any of his friends, and Mr. Harrington replied by another signal from the window of his gaol. That was the way the Government were developing respect for law and order in Ireland. They were at their old work, making the very words "law" and "order" hateful and detestable to the Irish people. Those words were invariably associated in that country with unfair and oppressive measures, persecution, and injustice. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) had told them, with regard to the suppressed meeting in Ireland, a meeting about to be addressed by hon. Members of that House, that the police officers committed a mistake, and they were told that it was not to be expected that the police in Ireland should be infallible. A similar apology had been made for a speech delivered by a distinguished young Gentleman who was a Member of that House. It was said that some of the observations made by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) did not meet with the approbation of the Government. It was further said that the Government did not hold themselves responsible for every utterance of every one of its Members, and that, although, in this instance, the speaker was a son of a distinguished politician, and the Leader of the Liberal Party, the Members of Her Majesty's Government were not to be held responsible for any statement which he might have made. That was all right; but the Land League was held responsible for the utterances of every man, however obscure or unknown in any part of the country. They were called to account for the utterances of every man young or old, educated or uneducated, in the country, and for words in regard to which it was impossible for the Land League to exercise any control whatever. Where was the justice of that? He objected, further, to the way in which indictments were framed against members of the Land League. A one-sided set of quotations was picked carefully out, and put together, and then launched at their heads. He could only say, in answer to such treatment, that the Irish Members would stand to their principles, and trust to the knowledge and opinion of the country, and the action of the constituencies to justifying them by-and-bye. Only recently, the Hon. Mr. Forbes, a Special Resident Magistrate, in a certain town in the county of Sligo, where the hon Member (Mr. Sexton) was to address a meeting, said that he considered it necessary to have the meeting proclaimed, as the district had been in a very disturbed state, and several persons had been "Boycotted" in it. Further, it was not long since that an ex-"suspect" had been sent to gaol for six months for assaulting somebody or other. The consequence was that his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) was not allowed to address the meeting. The same course was taken in the case of the hon. Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins). In that case it was also stated that the district had been disturbed, and that someone had been sent to gaol, and, therefore, the ordinary right of holding a public meeting, and the right of a Member of Parliament to address his constituents, were trampled down at the bidding of a police officer, under the threat of imprisonment and a plank bed. In the town of Bantry, three men had been sent to gaol for two months each, and one for three months, and the magistrate, in sentencing them, explained that they were imprisoned because they had been promoting an agitation, which agitation, however, was perfectly legal and perfectly legitimate. Those were the words of the magistrate himself—"that the agitation was perfectly legal and legitimate." Nevertheless, the men were convicted, and upon appealing against the sentence, it was confirmed by the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, who stated at the time, that it would really be a mercy not to allow any public meetings to be held in these critical times, as it was impossible for men to speak upon the Land Question, or any other question of that character, with safety. Where, then, was the right of public speaking? They had been told that crime only was to be dealt with, and that political rights and political liberty were to remain untouched. He asked the House if that promise had been carried out? He knew that some special pleading might be heard in that House, and they might be told that speeches were part of the machinery of murder. Speeches might, or might not, partake of that character; but the speeches in question did not partake of that character, and the whole case was not to be covered up by a well-rounded period of that kind. On the other hand, where intimidation was so strongly forbidden and so severely punished, in the case of men who were alleged to be acting on the part of the Land League interest, how was it that other men, clearly guilty of intimidation, were not punished at all? It would be admitted, he presumed, that it was a legal right, even in Ireland, to hold meetings for legal and Constitutional purposes. Why, then, were men intimidated from doing what they had a legal right to do? Men were not allowed to assemble in public meetings without a policemen at their elbow, with a book in his hand, asking every man as he entered the door his name. Of course, men were intimidated by that act. Policemen did not even content themselves with standing at the door; frequently they went into the room, sat down, scrutinized every man who went in, interfered with the business of the meeting, and asked to see the books. Even more than that. He had a report in his hand of a case where a police constable went upon a railway platform, and, accosting one of the persons he met there, called him a "liar" and a "blackguard." The matter was brought before the magistrates; but Mr. Caffey, the complainant, got no redress. The constable did not deny the use of the words attributed to him; but he asked loftily that the case might be scouted out of Court. Why? Because the police constable was a high and mighty official, and the complainant was merely a civilian. The magistrate, Mr. Breddan, after hearing the case, retired with a Sub-Inspector into another room. After being absent for some time, he returned into Court, and said that, after carefully considering the case, he thought that the constable had used language that he ought not to have used, and which was very improper for him to have used. However, as he was a peace officer, the Court could not bind him over to keep the peace; and so there was no satisfaction and no justice for the man who had been thus outraged and insulted on a public platform. Mr. Breddan dismissed the case, and said that, in his opinion, it was better to let the matter drop; he had no doubt that language of an improper character had been used by the constable, but it was better to let the matter drop. Of course, it was necessary to preserve law and order; but that was the sort of law and order dealt out to the Irish people. The Land League had been assailed over and over again in that House, and the flotsam and jetsam of former debates spread out before them night after night. Now, he did contend, and he should continue to contend, that the Land League was organized for a good and patriotic purpose; that the Land League could not be held responsible for the words and acts of other men, many of whom had no connection, with it. He was satisfied that, in future history, the Land League would be mentioned, not as it had been mentioned that night, with terms of opprobium and shame, but with honour and credit; and it would not be denied that it had done a great work for the Irish people. It had obtained from the Government a Land Act, which, while falling short of a full measure of Irish right and Irish justice, conferred, and would afterwards confer, incalculable benefits upon the Irish people. They would be prepared to meet all the allegations, and charges, and insinuations made against the Land League, and would produce all its papers, and books, and accounts, if it were only possible to submit the case to an impartial tribunal. But that House was nothing of the sort. Talk of packed juries, there never was a better packed jury against Ireland than the packed jury which was in that House. He, for one, refused to plead before it; but if it were possible to form an European Commission to try the whole case between England and Ireland, he would not be afraid to submit the case of Ireland, either in recent or former years, to the verdict of such a tribunal. But he said to the House of Commons, that, considering the way in which they were asked to submit their case, they refused and declined to plead. He could, himself, collect from the speeches of Land Leaguers volumes of denunciations against crime and outrage; but if he were to produce them there, and to read them fully to the House, he should feel that he was doing a mean and unworthy act. He declined to do anything of the sort; but he would leave the flood and storm of bitterness against Ireland to flow on. He believed that the people of this country were not too well affected towards his country. The mischievous incendiary speeches of hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House had not been appraised at their true value. He had listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who had garnered up in his heart for 12 months the hatred and anger of a beaten and disgraced man.

Mr. SPEAKER said, the expression used by the hon. Member was un-Parliamentary, and he was not entitled to make use of it.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he begged leave to withdraw the word "disgraced." He wished to explain, however, that he had used it only in a political sense, and, if it was un-Parliamentary, he would readily withdraw it. All he would say was that they had a fallen politician, a beaten man, and a man whose name would be for ever associated with something very much worse than failure. He was a man who had done, not only to Ireland, but to England, incalculable injury. They had heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman against the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the Irish Members generally, and they had seen the artifices to which the right hon. Gentleman had condescended in his speech. They had noticed the pantomimic action of the right hon. Gentleman, which ought to recommend him to the consideration of Mr. J. L. Toole. Th espeech of the right hon. Gentleman was regarded as a triumphant performance, and it was stated that it had received no adequate answer. The right answer and the right defence was that the Irish Members stood there conscious of their own integrity, and they refused to demean themselves by pleading as criminals at the Bar of the House, or elsewhere. They had been acquitted in Ireland, where they were known. In England every calumny directed against an Irish politician found a ready acceptance. Notwithstanding all that, they looked with confidence to the safety of their reputation in Ireland; and they believed that even in England justice would yet be done to the way in which they had fought this battle, and were fighting it, against the terrible odds that were arrayed against them.

MR. CALLAN said, that with much of the Amendment he could not agree, and in regard to other portions of it, absence from Ireland prevented him from arriving at the knowledge which would enable him to form an impartial judgment. He could only say that if the recent verdicts had been given by a fair and just, and an impartial jury, no sentence could be framed too severe upon the savage perpetrators of these disgraceful murders. But there was one sentence which commended itself to him, and in regard to which he had a perfect knowledge. It was that a system of jury-packing had been practised in Ireland, and by no one more than by the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland, whom he (Mr. Callan) now saw in his place. He would not quote from a newspaper, but from official documents. On the first day of the first Special Commission instituted under the Crimes Act there was a jury, called the O'Connell jury, empannelled to try the case of the Kerry outrage. It was not a capital case; but, nevertheless, 20 men were set aside, of whom 18 were Roman Catholics. On the next day, *The Freeman's Journal*, commenting upon this fact, stated that the Crown had exercised its right of challenge upon a wholesale scale, and had dismissed 20 men, of whom at least 19 were among the most respectable citizens of Dublin. On the next day the still more celebrated case of Francis Hynes came on for trial, and in that case the jury consisted of 11 persons, one of whom was a Jew, and no Catholic. The case made out by the right hon. and learned Attorney General was that the prisoner did not exercise all his right of challenge. It was evident, however, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman exercised his right. Of 22 Catholics summoned upon the jury panel, the entire 22 were set aside. On the next day *The Freeman's Journal* drew attention to the matter, and said the inference was that certain persons were set aside from the jury simply because they were Roman Catholics. If that were true, it was a revival of an old and often condemned practice, and he was of opinion that the course which had been taken by the Crown was altogether unnecessary. It had been received with much indignation in Catholic circles. On the following day there were four juries empannelled, and the verdict in one case was guilty, the prisoner being sentenced to penal servitude for life. He wished to call attention to the fact that upon that jury the same wholesale system of excluding Catholics was carried on. In the case of Hynes and the case of O'Connell the Crown refused to allow a Roman Catholic to serve, and so on with the remaining cases. Then came the trial of Patrick Walsh; and in that case the Crown Solicitor adopted an unusual course of only calling out a number, instead of a name, which prevented the reporters from ascertaining who the particular person was who was challenged. He now came to a case of which he had some personal knowledge. At the second trial of Patrick Walsh, the learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland opened the case; and he, therefore, presumed that the learned Gentleman was present when the jury was sworn. Now, whenever the Attorney General or Solicitor General for Ireland were in Court they were the persons who were responsible, and not the Crown Solicitor, for the proceedings. The Crown Solicitor acted under the instructions of these Legal Officers; and, in the particular case to which he alluded, no less than 20 jurors were set aside. More than that, the right hon. and learned Attorney General, in the course of the proceedings, stated that one of the instructions given to the Crown Solicitor was to set aside and strike off all the licensed victuallers, including in that term licensed grocers. When the case was being taken on the 21st August, the usual Crown Prosecutor, who manipulated the whole of the panels in Dublin, Mr. Samuel B. Anderson, well-known since the Fenian trials of 1867, and who was an officer in the Castle, and knew every juror in Dublin, happened to be away from Court, and Mr. Bolton was doing duty in his absence. A gentleman of the name of Thomas Phillips, of 4, Adam Street, Dublin, was ordered to stand by; before that he was sitting next Mr. Michael O'Loughlin, of 21, South Bridge Street, butcher, who, although not amongst the class of men usually ordered to stand by, was, nevertheless, ordered to do so. Mr. Phillips said—"You are a fortunate fellow; I shall not be ordered to stand aside; I shall be sworn;" but, to his surprise, he was ordered to stand by also. It was evident that Mr. Bolton had made a great mistake, Mr. Phillips being a reputed Orangeman, but in partnership with a leading Catholic named O'Callan. The next case brought forward was that of Michael West; and Mr. Bolton having, in the meantime, ascertained that Mr. Thomas Phillips was a good sound Orangeman, allowed him to be sworn, although, as had been pointed out, he objected to Mr. O'Loughlin, butcher. These facts could not be denied, and he could prove them by the evidence of persons who were present in Court at the time in question. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that the Crown Solicitor had to order all suspected persons to stand aside; but the action he (Mr. Callan) was complaining of related not to "suspects," but to Catholic gentlemen. In another case he found that the ninth juror called was a grocer and a Protestant, who, with a Mr. William Belt, a wine merchant, was allowed to be sworn, while Mr. Cornelius Denny and another Catholic were ordered to stand aside. The feeling in Ireland among many of the most eminent ecclesiastics was that both the present and late Attorneys General were parties to a direct insult to the most respectable Catholics in the City of Dublin. He had been asked not to be too hostile to the Government because of the improper conduct of officials such as Mr. Bolton and Mr. Anderson; but he was compelled to hold the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland responsible in this matter. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said they were men of high character, and were only exercising their right as Advisers for the Crown to secure a fair trial; to have men sworn on the jury who would be uninfluenced by fear, favour, or affection. But the gentleman who struck off the Catholic jurors was a man who, had it not been for false and fraudulent representations to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, would have been struck off the Roll of Attorneys. Such was Mr. Bolton, Solicitor to the High Court of Chancery, Solicitor for the County of Tipperary, and Solicitor to the Valuation Office, and who, for the last two years, had held the title of Prosecutor to the Crown in two or three Irish counties. This gentleman, in cross-examination, was compelled to admit that, in the pleadings against him in the High Court of Chancery in this country, he was charged not only with unprofessional, but fraudulent conduct; that he directed a letter to Sir Hardinge Giffard, saying that the decree in the case was ruin to him if he imposed it; that his ruin was inevitable; and that if he had a line from him to state that it was a compromise and not a judgment, he would go at once to the Under Secretary of State, who, he had no doubt, would receive it as a sufficient explanation and allow him to hold on. The Judge who heard the case said that, quite apart from the question of fraud, the settlement was one calculated to cause grave suspicion against the character of the man, and he added, that he found it his duty to report the case to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Now, that was the character of Mr. Bolton, who had the right to order Catholics to stand by. This question of the packing of juries had not been brought forward by the Amendment before the House; but he should, at the proper moment, challenge an inquiry into the conduct of the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland. In no period during the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland had anything more scandalous taken place than the ordering to stand aside of Catholics during the recent trials. He could understand such action on the part of the Orange Party in Ireland; but it was difficult to understand it in the case of enlightened Liberals. One of the most eminent ecclesiastics in Ireland, who had probably covered himself with obloquy by the support he had given to the present Government, had said to him (Mr. Callan) that "the ordering of those men to stand aside was an outrage on every Catholic in Dublin." He believed that the officials in Dublin were as prone now to secure verdicts by the manipulation of juries as was ever the case during the worst *régime* of Orange government. They had listened to a Member of the Government, who had risen to bear testimony to the fairness of the Dublin trials—the right hon. and learned Judge Advocate General (Mr. Osborne Morgan) —who, probably, when in the Court, had attracted the attention of the fair sex, which would otherwise have been directed to the dock, and was himself the "admired of all admirers." But was he present at the time when the Catholics he (Mr. Callan) had named, and whom he knew to be qualified, as well as amongst the most independent and respectable gentlemen in Dublin, were ordered to stand by? The right hon. and learned Gentleman, however, was present only on the second day of the trial, when the action on the part of the Crown Solicitors complained of had already taken place. Turning to the reverse of the picture, he (Mr. Callan) found that the men allowed to stand were drawn from amongst coal merchants, builders, and tailors, and, indeed, every class; but against their names there was always to be seen the magic word "Protestant." The right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland had stated that persons were not excluded from serving on the juries because they were Catholics; but, although he (Mr. Callan) could swallow a great deal, he was unable to accept this statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He would ask the attention of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to the facts he had pointed out. The right hon. Gentleman had, he believed, taken the very best steps when in Ireland to detect crime and do justice. He (Mr. Callan) had never joined in any attack upon the Chief Secretary for Ireland, although, if he thought he deserved to be held up to obloquy for his conduct, and a fair case sufficient to convince him were made out against the right hon. Gentleman, he would certainly not hold back from doing so. The present charge of jury-packing was one which could only be denied by the exercise of great effrontery; and he asked the right hon. Gentleman to turn his mind to some of the circumstances which occurred in the month of May last, before he went to Ireland, and to pay attention to the conduct of understrappers at the Castle —to Mr. Bolton, whom he was obliged to defend, and with whom he was sorry the right hon. Gentleman was connected by his official duties, and to Mr. Anderson. He trusted he would prevent these gentlemen from improperly exercising their powers in a manner which seriously interfered with the cause of justice. He had heard one of the most trusted officials state that the greatest difficulty he had in carrying on a Crown prosecution in Ireland was to restrain the Crown Solicitors from ordering Catholics to stand by. He believed that if the Irish Bench were composed of such men as Mr. Justice O'Brien, a Catholic and a fearless and honest Judge, the great mass of the people of Ireland would be satisfied with the administration of the law; but, having said that, he must express his surprise at the manner in which the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland had taken upon himself to defend Mr. Justice Lawson. Why, Lord Bacon was a man of great legal ability, but he was a corrupt and bad Judge; and he (Mr. Callan) believed that prejudice and partizanship had made Mr. Justice Lawson far more corrupt.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to speak in language of that kind of one of the Judges of the land

MR. CALLAN: I did not say corrupt in a pecuniary sense.

MR. SPEAKER: I must call on the hon. Member to withdraw the expression.

MR. CALLAN: I withdraw it, and beg to substitute the words "blinded by partizanship and political feeling."

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 15; Noes 133: Majority 118.

AYES.

Callan, P.
Commins, A.
Corbet, W. J.
Kenny, M. J.
Lalor, R.
Leamy, E.
M'Carthy, J.
Marum, E. M.
Metge, R. H.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donnell, F. H.
O'Gorman Mahon, Col.
The
Parnell, C. S.
Sullivan, T. D.

TELLERS.
O'Connor, A.
Power, R.

NOES.

Alexander, Colonel C.
Allen, H. G.
Archdale, W. H.
Armitstead, G.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Balfour, J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Baring, Viscount
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Brand, H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Bright, rt. hon. J.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Buchanan, T. R.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burt, T.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, J. A.
Campbell-Bannerman, H.
Carington, hon. R.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chaplin, H.
Childers, rt. hn. H.C.E.
Clarke, E.
Coddington, W.
Colthurst, Col. D. La T.
Corry, J. P.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtney, L. H.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Currie, Sir D.
Davey, H.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Ferrieres, Baron
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.
Duff, R. W.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Findlater, W.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fowler, R. N.
Fry, L.
Gibson, rt. hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Gladstone, H. J.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Goldney, Sir G.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Grant, A.
Grantham, W.
Greer, T.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Holms, J.
James, Sir H.
James, W. H.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jones-Parry, L.
Lawson, Sir W.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Lennox, Lord H. G.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Minnies, J. G.
Martin, R. B.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hn. G. O.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Northcote, H. S.
Onslow, D.
O'Shaughnessy, R.
Otway, Sir A.
Paget, T. T.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, A.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Porter, A. M.
Powell, W. R. H.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Richardson, J. N.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rylands, P.
Salt, T.
Schreiber, C.
Scott, M. D.
Shaw, T.
Shield, H.
Stanton, W. J.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, J.
Summers, W.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, T.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Waddy, S. D.
Walter, J.
Warton, C. N.
Whitbread, S.
Whitley, E.
Whitworth, B.
Williams, S. C. E.
Williamson, S.
Woodall, W.
Woolf, S.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, Lord R.
Kensington, Lord

Main Question again proposed.

Debate arising.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I should like to make an appeal to hon. Members opposite, in the interest of the convenience of the House and the progress of Public Business. This is the eighth day of the debate on the Address, and during a very considerable part of the time Irish affairs have been under discussion. I do not ask the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) to abandon the Amendment of which he has given Notice; but I do think it would be a great convenience if we might be permitted to dispose of the first stage of the Address to Her Majesty to-night. If the Address is agreed to, the hon. Member would have his opportunity on the Report; and we should be able to make certain, or nearly certain, of being able to dispose of the Business of the Address to-morrow, which would enable us to proceed with Supply on Thursday. The House will be put to great inconvenience, and Public Business will be seriously delayed, if we are prevented from going on with Supply on Thursday.

MR. PARNELL said, he did not see why, if the debate were adjourned that night, the Report on the Address could not be taken on Wednesday. In all probability, there would not be a long discussion on the next Amendment, and the inconvenience the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) anticipated would not arise, for it would be possible to set up Supply on Thursday and proceed with it in the order the noble Marquess desired. It was true the debate on the Address had gone on for a long time; but the House would recollect that they had only had one night on the Amendment they had been discussing, and the Irish Members thought the question of the relief of distress one of such urgent importance, and one on which they had been treated so badly by the Government, that they would not be justified in postponing its discussion. It would produce a very bad impression in Ireland if anything they did should lead to its being postponed to any later period than they could help. He had no doubt his hon.

Friend the Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) would be very unwilling to do anything to prevent Supply from coming on at its proper time; but he (Mr. Parnell) failed to see exactly how the adoption of the ordinary course—namely, the moving of the Amendment of his hon. Friend on the present stage of the Address—could retard Supply. The Government might take the Report of the Address as soon as his hon. Friend's Amendment was disposed of—as they did in the Session of 1881. The Standing Orders were suspended and the Report was agreed to. He was not sure that it required the suspension of the Standing Orders for the purpose of taking such a stage. At any rate, he could not see what objection there could be to allowing them to go on in the usual order, and take the judgment of the House on the Amendment of his hon. Friend. If the Irish Members were to consent to the postponement of that Amendment to the Report, it would look as though they were giving this very important matter the second place—as though they were treating the whole question as a matter of form, and were only bringing it before the House to keep themselves in favour with their constituents. The Irish Members would be most unwilling to give the House for one moment to suppose that they looked upon this as a matter of small importance. They regarded it as a question of the greatest emergency and urgency, and wished to bring it before the House in the gravest manner possible.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): There is one question on which we all agree, and that is the necessity of bringing on Supply as early as possible. I would point out to the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Parnell) the reasons why it would be more convenient to pass the Address to-night, and go on with the Report to-morrow, than adopt the course he points out. If I understood the hon. Member aright, he suggested one of two things, either that we should take the Address and the Report to-morrow, or the Address to-morrow, and the Report on Wednesday; and so, in either case, arrive at Supply on Thursday. There are two difficulties in the way of taking the Address and the Report to-morrow. One is that such a course is very unusual. It has been done I know; but it is a great exception, which I am sure none of us would like to see made a general rule. Then there is another thing we have to consider. After we have disposed of the Address, we shall have to take all the other Motions in their order. As to taking the Report on Wednesday, it must be remembered that neither the Government nor anyone else can control Wednesday, so that if the discussion on the Report went on to a quarter to 6 the day would be lost. I hope the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) will agree to take his Amendment on the Report, which will insure our getting through the Business in proper time, and being able to take Supply on Thursday.

MR. GIBSON said, that, looking at the observations which had just fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and those which had fallen from the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) before, he thought there ought to be no mistake about the Report. There was no reason to believe that it was intended to bring about a prolonged debate on the Report; but he was confident there were some matters hon. Members who sat near him desired to mention and express their views about upon Report. It was not reasonable to suppose that Irish Members, having occupied several days in the discussion of Irish matters, other hon. Members would not wish to say something on Report on questions in which they were interested. He desired that every progress should be made with Public Business, but did not think it was right to assume that the Report might not take up a substantial part of the day, whenever it was brought on.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, it would be hardly reasonable, after what the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Gibson) had said, to expect him (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) to postpone his Amendment to the Report. He was unable to recede from his position.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I would point out to the hon. Member (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) that by giving Notice at once he will obtain the first place, and his Amendment will be taken before any others. He, in that way, can obtain priority for the Amendment he has to the Address on Report.

Mr. GIBSON: Does the noble Marquess intend to move that the Report take precedence of the Address on Wednesday?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Yes. Until the Address to Her Majesty is concluded, I propose to move that it take precedence of Notices of Motion and Orders of the Day.

Mr. R. POWER said, there was one difficulty which the noble Marquess did not see at the moment. Any Amendment might be put down to an earlier part of the Address, which might take precedence of that of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) and throw him out of his opportunity.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): That can only be done by somebody who is now present, and we have no reason to believe that anyone will take such a course.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he was sorry the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) was not in his place. After the answer the noble Marquess had given to the right hon. Gentleman that afternoon, he (Mr. Onslow) was not at all sure that something might not be proposed on Report; and, therefore, he thought it hardly fair for the noble Marquess now, he would not say to spring this mine upon the House, but to make the remarks they had just listened to. He (Mr. Onslow) was justified in saying that. It was a serious answer the noble Marquess gave the right hon. Gentleman that afternoon, and it was the right hon. Gentleman's duty—and he believed he was speaking the mind of hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House, when he said that the right hon. Gentleman ought to take some notice of that answer on Report. The right hon. Gentleman not being present, the noble Marquess was not quite justified in asking the hon. Member for Longford to defer the discussion on his Amendment until the Report. If his right hon. Friend differed from him (Mr. Onslow), of course his remarks on the present occasion went for nothing. In the absence of the right hon. Gentleman, however, the noble Marquess should afford him time for considering what course he ought to take after what occurred in the afternoon.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, the course he suggested would not in the least prevent the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) moving any Amendment he chose, because he would have an opportunity of doing so upon Report. Upon that stage of the Report the right hon. Gentleman might make general observations, or move an Amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: What course am I to understand the hon. Member for Longford wishes to pursue?

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he proposed to maintain his position and keep to his Motion.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 20; Noes 89: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 11.)

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that when first the appeal was made by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) to the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) he was disposed to advise his hon. Friend to agree to the course suggested; but the action of Her Majesty's Government since, and the considerations which had been adduced by his hon. Friends, prompted him to think that they really could not yield in this matter. Whatever might be said to the contrary, he and his hon. Friends had very good ground for thinking that hon. Members on the Benches above the Gangway did intend to move an Amendment on the Report of the Address, which would interfere with the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Longford. An immense importance was attached to the Amendment of his hon. Friend. It was an Amendment which demanded full and ample discussion; and the Party with whom he acted were not disposed to sacrifice their right to discuss the question. If his hon. Friend dispensed with his Amendment, a Notice by him would not secure that priority of discussion on Report which the noble Marquess seemed to suggest; for, as he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) understood, any hon. Member could, by putting down an earlier Notice, shut out the Amendment of his hon. Friend. As had been pointed out, the Amendment dealt with the distress in Ireland, which was a matter of the most serious and grave importance to them and the Irish people, the latter of whom would have just cause of complaint, if their Representatives forfeited, in any degree, their right to bring the grievances of the country before Parliament, and if they failed to put the demand for relief forward in an earnest manner. The Government ought to remember that the Amendment proposed that night was not pressed at anything like undue length upon the attention of the House, and that the Amendment standing in the name of the hon. Member for Longford was one of the greatest importance. Under the circumstances, he felt compelled to move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. LEAMY, in seconding the Motion, pointed out that the time which had been occupied by the debate on the Address had certainly not been occupied by hon. Members sitting on the Irish Benches. On the contrary, the greater part of the time had been occupied by hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway; and if the Irish Members were to accede to the suggestion of the noble Marquess, the Report stage, or, at least, the lion's share of it, would be also occupied by the hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he did not propose to enter into a contest upon this subject; but he regretted the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had not seen his way to accede to the proposal of the Government. The only consideration he wished now to advance was one which would probably prompt the hon. Gentleman to acquiesce in the course the Government suggested. The hon. Gentleman must know that, as the Motion which he made for the adjournment of the debate had been negatived, he had lost his right to speak in the debate, and it would be impossible for him to bring forward the Amendment of which he had given Notice. He (the Marquess of Hartington) did not intend to enter into any contest with hon. Gentlemen opposite; and if the Motion now before the House were withdrawn, he would consent to the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, the noble Marquess was very right, when he said he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had been cut off from moving his Amendment. He, however, thought the Government had acted in a manner anything but creditable. He would not merely say that the Government had, in order to defeat him, resorted to a strategem; he would go so far as to say that they had had recourse to a sudden trick. The reasons which were given for the adjournment of the debate were perfectly good. Had he consented to bring the matter forward on Report, it did not at all follow that he would have secured priority of discussion. Any hon. Member on the Benches above the Gangway who chose on Report to bring forward any Amendment relative to foreign affairs would, as a matter of course, come before him. As he had been, by the result of the last Division, prevented from moving his Amendment, he admitted there was no other course for him to take than to bring the Amendment forward on Report in the best way he could.

Mr. CALLAN said, he would have no objection to move the Amendment which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy); and in that case his hon. Friend would have the opportunity, in seconding the Amendment, of speaking upon it. Such a manœuvre must commend itself to the feeling of the House just as much as that adopted a few minutes ago by the Treasury Bench. The hon. Member for Longford had been, by a trick, deprived of his opportunity of moving his Amendment. It would be just tit-for-tat to prevent the Government carrying their point; and, therefore, he would ask the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) to persist in his Motion. The Government wished to deprive them of a fair and legitimate advantage of discussing the question of distress in Ireland. If the question were relegated to Report, it would be put out of place by a discussion on foreign policy. The hon. Member for Longford would be perfectly within his right, and would commend himself to the good opinion of the people of Ireland, if he persisted in the course his Friends advised—that was, not to accede to the course suggested by the noble Marquess.

Mr. KENNY trusted his hon. Friend (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) would persevere in his original intention.

MR. WARTON said, the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had expressed his willingness to give way. Hon. Gentlemen should not forget that there was another hon. Member, who was now absent, but who had placed an Amendment dealing with the distress in Ireland on the Paper. He believed he was correct in saying that it was the intention of the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst) to bring forward his Amendment in regard to Irish distress, in the event of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) not bringing forward his Amendment. In the interest, therefore, of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, quite apart from questions of jury packing or aspersions on Judges——

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. and learned Member that the Question before the House is that of adjournment.

MR. WARTON said, he had no wish to incur the Speaker's displeasure. He only interposed for the purpose of stating, as one reason for adjourning the debate, that there was another Amendment besides that of the hon. Member for Longford on the Paper.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that, as he understood the Amendment could be moved by any of his hon. Friends, he would ask leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question again proposed.

Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

CONSOLIDATED FUND, &C. (PERMANENT CHARGES REDEMPTION) ACT (1873) AMENDMENT BILL.

Resolution [February 23] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PLAYFAIR, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 107.]

MOTIONS.

BILLS OF SALE (IRELAND) ACT (1879) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MONK, Bill to amend "The Bills of Sale (Ireland) Act, 1879," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MONK, Mr. PATRICK MARTIN, Mr. CORRY, and Mr. EUGENE COLLINS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 105.]

POLICE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Bill to make provision respecting the pensions, allowances, and gratuities of Police Constables in Great Britain, and their widows and children, and to make other provisions respecting the Police of Great Britain, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, and The LORD ADVOCATE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 106.]

SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to enable Parochial Boards to borrow money for the purpose of procuring Seed Potatoes, Seed Oats, and other Seed for Tenants in Scotland; and for other purposes relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK, Mr. M'LAGAN, and Mr. MACKINTOSH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 108.]

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 27th February, 1883.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure (6).

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS (SCOTLAND) ELECTION PROCEDURE BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY, in rising, according to Notice, to present a Bill to amend the procedure at the elections of Representative Peers for Scotland, said, that the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack had presented a measure on the same subject on Monday evening, and as he (the Earl of Galloway) had been subjected to a certain amount of hardship in consequence of that procedure of the noble and learned Earl, he hoped their Lordships would allow him, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, to advert to what had taken place in connection with the matter in hand. It might be within their Lordships' recollection that about a year ago he (the Earl of Galloway) moved for and obtained the re-appointment of a Committee to consider the whole question of procedure at the election of Representative Peers in Scotland. The Committee sat several times, took evidence, and made a Report. He introduced a Bill, founded upon that Report. That Bill was read a second time early in July, and as he happened to have pressing duties in Scotland the Committee was not put down until August. In the meantime a great many Amendments were put on the Paper, including the number that were put down by the noble and learned Earl. Under the circumstances, he (the Earl of Galloway) did not think it expedient to press the Bill further; and, therefore, he withdrew it, and gave Notice of his intention to re-introduce it this Session. On February 19 this year, he gave Notice of his intention to re-introduce the Bill on that day—namely, the 27th instant. On the 22nd instant, the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, as he (the Earl of Galloway) was informed, gave Notice that he would present a Bill on the following Monday—namely, the 26th instant; but on the 23rd, and every day since, it appeared by the Notice Paper that the noble and learned Earl would present the Bill on that (Tuesday) evening, the 27th instant. In those circumstances, he (the Earl of Galloway) thought he was safe in being absent from town yesterday; he had, however, been greatly surprised to hear, on his return late on Monday night, that the noble and learned Earl had brought the Bill in, while he was absent from the House, although he (the Earl of Galloway) thought he might have postponed it to the day for which it stood on the Notice Paper. He had thought it necessary to make this explanation in order to justify the introduction of his own Bill—after the introduction of the noble and learned Earl's measure—which—that was his own —he considered should be called No. 1, and not No. 2 Bill. There seemed to him to be another reason for persevering with his own Bill. As far as he could gather from his speech, the Bill of the noble and learned Earl seemed to consist of two clauses only. Now, he thought that if their Lordships were going to legislate on this matter at all, it would be better to go more fully into the question, and, if possible, prevent any further difficulties arising. He hoped the noble and learned Earl would excuse him if he said, in further reference to his speech of last night, that he seemed in some respects to have been trusting to a broken reed for his information. First of all, with regard to the request made by their Lordships' House to the Court of Session in 1739, he could not acknowledge that what the noble and learned Earl said was correct. The noble and learned Earl said that when a request that the Roll of Scotch Peers must be settled was made on the part of the House of Lords to the Court of Session, the Court reported, "That they could not perform the task." But what the Court really did, in its reply in 1740, was to assert "its right to entertain and decide all questions relating to Scotch Peerages." It was true, however, that when the House of Lords requested the Court to announce the limitation of every Peerage connected with Scotland, the reply was made that, as the work must assume such gigantic proportions in consequence of the difficulties arising from the peculiar laws and customs of Scotland, in respect of Peerages, the task was of too vast a nature to undertake. It was a fact well known in Scotland that all rights and privileges existing at the time of the Act of Union were preserved by the Articles of Union, and that nothing had been done to annul the jurisdiction of the Court of Session, but, indeed, the very reverse. He might further say that, by the law of the land, the law of Scotland ought to be applied to all cases arising in Scotland, as laid down in the Articles of the Union, and acknowledged by the most learned lawyers. In answer to the contention of the noble and learned Earl, that by bringing in the jurisdiction of the Court of Session they would be referring to another tribunal, other than the House of Lords, the right to determine who should have seats in their Lordships' House, he (the Earl of Galloway) stated that, as a matter of fact, the House of Lords never had had any authority whatsoever to interfere with the voting of the Peers of Scotland at Holyrood. Their Lordships were bound to accept the list of Peers sent up by the Lord Clerk Register as the 16 Representative Peers of Scotland. Therefore, there could be no question now, in his (the Earl of Galloway's) Bill, of taking away any existing right or power from the House of Lords. The only question was whether it was advisable that the House of Lords should have new powers. The noble and learned Earl laid stress on the fact that there had only been one instance in which the Court of Session had been referred to as the proper Court of jurisdiction since the Union, and it was quite evident that he was referring to the case of Lord Lovat in 1733. In that case the noble and learned Earl stated that a compromise was arrived at, resulting in a large sum of money being paid to prevent the order of the Court of Session from being brought before the House of Lords by way of appeal. He should really like to know where the noble and learned Earl made that discovery. He (the Earl of Galloway) could not find any such record. That had been said before, but it had never been stated on authority, and he did not believe there was one iota of proof in support of the statement; and the best proof that his contention was right was, that Lord Lovat was tried for high treason before that House as a right, inasmuch as it was the right of every Peer to be tried by his co-Peers, and he had the satisfaction of being condemned to execution by their Lordships' House. The only ground on which he could claim to be so tried as a Peer was that the Court of Session had found that he was entitled to the Peerage he claimed. Therefore he thought the noble and learned Earl had fallen into an unfortunate error in citing a case that had no weight whatever, and he had also been simply misled by idle gossip when he said that the case in question was settled for a large sum of money. The noble and learned Earl compared the Report of the Committee of 1874 with that of the Committee of 1882, to the disparagement of the latter, the sole object he had in view, apparently, being to extol in the highest degree the merits of the Report made by the former, while throwing cold water upon that made by the latter. But the Committee of 1882 contained the names of the Earl of Milltown, the noble Earl the Chairman of Committees (the Earl of Redesdale), Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Inchiquin, the Marquess of Lothian, the Earl of Belmore, Lord Brabourne, Viscount Monck, the Earl of Stair, the Earl of Kintore, Viscount Sherbrooke, and Lord Watson; and such names, with that of Lord Moncreiff as Chairman, surely entitled the recommendations they made to some weight and consideration. The noble and learned Earl preferred the Report of the Committee of 1874; but there were Reports of Committees in 1822, 1847, 1851, and 1869, as well as 1874, and all those Reports were before the Committee of 1882, which selected from them such recommendations as they thought most suitable, and notably that of 1874 as regards instituting an Election Roll, and only tried to supplement them by provisions to be enacted in a legislative measure. He (the Earl of Galloway) wished now specially to emphasize what was not in his Bill. In the first place, there was not to be found in it any proposition to subvert any Article in the Treaty of Union; secondly, there would be no attempt to infringe upon the Prerogative of the Crown; and, thirdly, there would be no attempt to interfere with the prescriptive authority of their Lordships' House. As regards its provisions, in the first place it proposed to delegate to the Lord Clerk Register to form the Election Roll of Peers himself, to make it up not only of those on the Union Roll, but also of others which happened not to be on it at the time of the Union, in consequence of being dormant or under attaint, but which had been since restored, all in their right and proper precedence. The Roll List should contain not only the titles, but the Christian names and surnames of the holders of Peerages. In the second place, the Lord Clerk Register was enjoined to send up to their Lordships' House a Report on the matter of titles not upon the Election Roll, in consequence of controversy. Then there would be a provision for enabling any individual Peer aggrieved to present a Petition to Her Majesty, as to his right to be on the Election Roll, or as to proper precedency. That might also be in the Bill of the noble and learned Earl.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, of course it was.

The Earl of GALLOWAY said, it was not so reported in the London papers.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that, at all events, it was in his speech.

The Earl of GALLOWAY, continuing, said, there was a further provision that the said Petition, on being referred by Her Majesty to the House of Lords, was to be remitted—and it was here he thought the noble and learned Earl would differ from him—in case of investigation being evidently required, to the Court of Session for their Report—the final adjustment resting with the House of Lords. In the third place, the Election Roll, which was to be made out annually, was to be conclusive evidence of the right to vote. The claims of future claimants to the right to be put on the Election Roll were to be referred to the Lord Clerk Register for Report to the House of Lords; and, if doubtful, were to be referred to the Court of Session for their Report to the House of Lords. That would save time if Parliament were not sitting. There was a special provision that the Order of the House of Lords should be equivalent to entry on the Election Roll, when no opportunity of getting that Order on the Roll had been obtained. With respect to claims to be put on the Roll, the Bill provided that they should not be made *vivâ voce* at the time of the Election, but should be sent in in writing to the Lord Clerk Register, for transmission to the House of Lords. He might say, generally, that the Bill was practically the Bill he introduced last year, with the exception that it was made undeniably clear that it was not intended that the Court of Session should decide cases themselves. There was simply a reference to the Court of Session, and a provision that their Report on each case should always be received by their Lordships before finally determining the rights of the case. He might add, in conclusion, that the Bill had been drawn in a careful manner and moderate spirit, such as were likely to insure, he hoped, the subject no longer remaining what was termed a *vexata quæstio*. He moved the first reading of the Bill.

Bill to regulate procedure at the elections of Representative Peers in Scotland; and for other purposes—*Presented* (The Earl of GALLOWAY.)

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, it seemed to him that both the Bills now before the House treated the matter simply as being one connected with certain differing rules of procedure. What they all desired to arrive at was that the names of the right persons should be inscribed on the Roll. He was aware that some of the noble Lords connected with Scotland had what seemed to him somewhat exaggerated opinions with reference to procedure. As a Member of the Committee of 1882 he had voted for the proposal of Lord Moncreiff in the Committee, and he thought that, consequently, his noble Friend might expect him now to support his Bill; but he must say it seemed to him that the Bill of the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack seemed to be preferred by almost all the Peers from Scotland; and, inasmuch as a Bill by the Government was much more likely to receive the assent of Parliament than one brought in by a private Member of that House, he submitted whether it was worth the noble Earl's while to go on with the Bill? For himself, he (the Earl of Belmore) though he voted in the Committee of last year with his noble Friend (the Earl of Galloway), he should now, under all the circumstances of the case, consider it his duty to support the Government Bill, as providing an expeditious machinery by which the right person would be admitted to vote.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he very much regretted that the noble Earl (the Earl of Galloway) should have been misled by the unauthorized form in which the printed Notices appeared, and that, under these circumstances, the noble Earl was unable to be present yesterday. The Clerk of the Parliaments sent a message to the noble Earl, which, it was hoped, might reach him; and when he (the Lord Chancellor) came down to the House, he found there was a sufficient attendance of noble Lords interested in the subject, and it appeared to him that, on the whole, it was the better course to proceed according to the Notice. Now, he had nothing at all to complain of in the observations of the noble Earl. He proposed an alternative plan, which, if he thought useful, he was entitled to press on the House; but he was surprised he should have thought that all he (the Lord Chancellor) said was reported in the newspapers. Of course, he did his best to explain the details of the Bill; but it was not surprising that the skilful and able gentlemen who reported the proceedings should have thought that those details might be left to be gathered from the Bill; and that it was better they should report what might generally interest newspaper readers than the technical parts of the Bill, which was not confined to two clauses, as the noble Earl supposed. On the contrary, it consisted of 10 clauses, and it aimed at accomplishing all the objects mentioned by the noble Earl. He would not say it did it better, because he had not yet seen his noble Friend's Bill; but in some respects the draftsmanship of his (the Lord Chancellor's) Bill might, perhaps, bear favourable comparison with the Bill of last year, introduced by his noble Friend. The only material difference between the Bill now presented and that which was introduced last night appeared to be as to the mode in which claims for succession were to be presented, and disputed questions of title were to be adjudicated upon. He was surprised that the noble Earl should have persuaded himself that the proposal that every Petition presented to the Queen was to be remitted by that House to the Court of Session for Report, was the same as his (the Lord Chancellor's) own proposal of last year. That proposition was that, on a Petition being presented, it should be lawful for the Committee of Privileges, if they should think fit, to state a case as to the question of the law of Scotland for the opinion of the Court of Session; and also, if they should think fit, to refer it to the Court of Session to receive and report evidence. To that proposition he adhered in the Bill which he yesterday presented. The noble Earl's proposal was that they should be bound to send everything to Scotland.

The Earl of GALLOWAY: No, my Lords; I said, where there is a necessity for investigation.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that if the words "if they think it necessary" were there, then he did not see that there was any very great difference between his Bill and that of the noble Earl.

The Earl of GALLOWAY said, the words "if they think necessary" were in his Bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, it had appeared to him, in dealing with that part of the question which related to succession after death, more consistent to adopt the method which was in use as to the succession to Peerages of Ireland. He would not follow the noble Earl through all the exceptions taken by him to his speech of yesterday; but the noble Earl had himself made one or two rather extraordinary statements which seemed to call for notice. For example, the noble Earl had said that the House had, at present, no power as to the votes taken at Holyrood. Surely, he had forgotten that the Act of 1847 expressly authorized that House, in the case of those old dormant Peerages, which had not been voted upon for many years, to restore them to the Roll for the purpose of voting. It also gave that House certain powers in the case of a contested Election of Representative Peers, and entitled it to order that in case of protests, which were not properly followed up by claims in that House, the titles of Peerages should not be called at elections. And in 1851 there was another provision—that where any Peerage had not been voted upon for 50 years, the Lord Clerk Register was to report the fact to that House, and the House might order that those Peerages should not be called. The truth was, as he (the Lord Chancellor) had said, that since the Union the House had a direct interest in the matter of a kind that could not have existed when there were no Representative Peers. The Representative Peers sat and voted in that House, and, if not duly elected, as might happen, if all persons who chose to tender votes at Holyrood could, without inquiry, elect Representative Peers, the House might have Members thrust upon it who were not entitled to sit and vote in it. They would have got in irregularly and unconstitutionally, and contrary to the intention of the Act of Union. His noble Friend had thought it worth while to refer to what he (the Lord Chancellor) had said about Lord Lovat's case; but the mistake was on the part of the noble Earl. It was true the Court of Session, after the Union, performed this one act of jurisdiction—if such it could be called—as to a Peer. Three years before the Union the Court of Session had declared an heir female entitled to that Peerage in the absence of the heir male; and in 1730 Lord Lovat came forward to ask the Court of Session to "reduce" its former Order, and the Court of Session did so. The want of confidence which the Court of Session had in its own jurisdiction over such a case was apparent from the Report of 1740, in which the Court of Session, after stating the circumstances of that case, said—"But whether that judgment is of sufficient authority they humbly submit to your Lordships;" plainly showing that they were doubtful as to their authority in that case even in the peculiar circumstances. The statement that there had been a compromise and a sum of money paid was made on the authority of witnesses examined before the Committee of 1882. His noble Friend appeared to suppose that the decree of the Court of Session in 1730 had been recognized by that House when Lord Lovat was tried for his part in the Rebellion of 1745. To him it was surprising that his noble Friend seemed not to be aware that Lord Lovat was not tried by that House upon an ordinary criminal indictment, but was tried upon a Parliamentary impeachment by the House of Commons, just as Warren Hastings was, who was no Peer; and no question of any title to, or privilege of, Peerage did, or could, under those circumstances, arise. There was no trace of it in the Report, which the noble Earl would find in the State Trials; it was wholly immaterial for the purposes of the impeachment whether he was a Peer or not. It was the clearest thing in the world that since the Union the real and substantial operative jurisdiction had been exercised by the House of Lords alone. He wished to add that he had not, as his noble Friend seemed to imagine, said anything in disparagement of the Committee of 1882, for whom he had all possible respect; it was no disparagement to them to prefer the unanimous recommendation of the Committee of 1874.

Bill read 1ª; and to be *printed.* (No. 6.)

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 27th February, 1883.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—John Morley, esquire, *for* the City of Newcastle upon Tyne.

SELECT COMMITTEES—Standing Orders, *nominated;* Committee of Selection, *nominated.*

PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Alloa, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy Railway, *debate adjourned;* Barry Dock and Railway, *debate adjourned;* Exeter, Teign Valley, and Chagford Railway, *debate adjourned;* Hull and Lincoln Railway, *debate adjourned;* Oxford, Aylesbury, and Metropolitan Junction Railway, *debate adjourned;* Seafield Dock and Railway, *debate adjourned;* Windsor, Ascot, and Aldershot Railway, *debate adjourned.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Orders Confirmation * [87]; Patents for Inventions (No. 2) [83]; Patents for Inventions (No. 3) * [99].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

ALLOA, DUNFERMLINE, AND KIRKCALDY RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

MR. CHAPLIN said, he rose to oppose the second reading of the Bill, and to move as an Amendment, that it be read a second time on that day six months. By the Bill it was proposed to increase the rates and charges to be made in future in regard to certain commodities which were necessary in the successful conduct of agriculture. The rates and charges in question were to be imposed upon artificial manures. All Railway Bills dealt with this question; but, as a rule, it was provided that all manures should be carried at a certain rate. In this Bill the word "common" was inserted before the word "manures," and the effect was that exceptional charges were imposed in the case of artificial manures compared with what had hitherto been the practice. Unless he could secure an alteration in this respect he should certainly feel bound to oppose the second reading of the Bill. He hoped, however, that the promoters of the Bill would not persevere and insist on making this alteration in these charges. They must be perfectly well aware that the agriculturists felt strongly upon the subject, and that the rates and charges imposed upon agricultural commodities was already a matter of serious complaint, and inflicted great hardship upon those who were engaged in agricultural operations. He begged to move that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that he was one of the backers of the Bill, and he supported it not in the interests of the promoters, but on behalf of the public. He was quite as desirous as any other hon. Member could be that the public should make the best terms they could with the Railway Companies; but, at the same time, he wished to point out that this was not the extension of the powers of an existing railway. It was a Bill to authorize the construction of a new railway; and it seemed to him that the agricultural interest of the county of Fife would benefit very largely by the passing of a Bill of this kind, which brought a new railway into the district in competition with another railway which now enjoyed a monopoly of the carrying trade. Without saying whether the charges proposed to be imposed on chemical manures were right or wrong, he thought that the question raised by the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) was one that could be readily dealt with by a Committee upstairs. The House was aware that a Committee sat last year to consider the question of Railway Rates. One of the recommendations of that Committee was that the authorities in future should draw the attention of the House to any Bill which proposed an increase of rates. That recommendation, however, had not yet been adopted, and until action was taken by the House upon the Report of the Select Committee, he thought they must continue to trust to the Committees upstairs to which these Bills were referred. He understood that the words objected to in regard to the rates and charges were not, as a matter of fact, a part of the Bill; but it was proposed to insert them in Committee. Therefore, he thought the Committee would be the real and proper tribunal for dealing with the matter. He understood that some time ago the Great North of Scotland Railway Company applied for powers similar to those asked for in this instance; and, although it was an existing railway, the question was referred to a Committee upstairs and decided there. He hoped that hon. Members, however reasonably and justly they might object to the proposed rates, would reserve their objections until the Bill was sent to a Committee, and that they would do all they could to facilitate the passing of a Bill which, by authorizing the construction of an entirely new railway, would afford new means of transit to the public, and enable a competition to be undertaken with another Company which now enjoyed a monopoly of the carrying trade. Under all the circumstances of the case, he hoped the House would pass the second reading of the Bill,

MR. GREGORY said, that he had had the honour of serving upon the Select Committee upon Railway Rates last year, and this was one of the questions which came before that Committee. It was a very important question, and one which seriously affected the agricultural interests of the country. As it involved a principle which might become of very general application, he thought the safest course would be to stop the Bill *in limine.* It was contended on behalf of the Railway Companies that there was a distinction between artificial and common manures, and that the rates of carriage in the former case ought to be increased. He certainly failed to see upon what ground such a distinction was drawn. It was said that one class of manures was of a more valuable description than the other, and that it ought, therefore, to pay heavier rates; but he did not understand that the cost of carriage was in any way increased to the Railway Company. At all events, the Select Committee had made no recommendation in that respect. On the contrary, their recommendation only went to this extent —that where a Railway Company came to Parliament for new powers, parties objecting to the tolls proposed to be charged should have a right to be heard before the Committee, and that no such Bill should be entertained without a statement from the Board of Trade or some public authority, in the interests of the public, that the rates proposed to be levied were reasonable. He could not help thinking that the House was somewhat unfairly dealt with on the present occasion in not having received any assistance from the Board of Trade or any of the public authorities. It was quite true that they received a general Report from the Board of Trade in reference to Railway and Canal Bills; but it was little more than a catalogue of the Bills which had been introduced. It was urged that this was a new Railway, and therefore that the promoters had a right to make these propositions in reference to tolls; but it had been settled over and over again, and was a perfectly well established practice, that all such proposals by Railway Companies should be reviewed. He believed that hitherto it had been usual in Railway Bills to insert all manures in one class; but what was sought by this Bill was to take artificial manures out of this classification and place them in another class by themselves. It established, in fact, a new principle, and he hoped the objection which had been taken to it would receive the careful consideration of the House. It was said that the objection ought to be taken when the Bill went before a Committee upstairs. It was all very well to say that it was a matter for the Committee, but see how it would affect the parties interested. They would be called upon to fee counsel at a very heavy expense in order to bring their case before the Committee. It was a case of general principle and general application, and if the principle were now adopted it would eventually find its way into other Railway Bills, and it would be most difficult for the House to deal with it.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE thought there was a great deal of truth in what his hon. Friend the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) had stated; but, so far as he understood the question, the case of this Bill was one upon which the House could not possibly decide, because the House was not the proper tribunal to settle a Schedule of Tolls in a Railway Bill. He did not say that the tolls proposed to be charged were fair or unfair; but with regard to manures it was very well known that there was unquestionably a wonderful difference between mere sweepings of the streets of a town, which the local authorities were only too glad to get out of the way under any terms, and chemical and artificial manures, which were worth £6, £7, £8, or even £15 a-ton. Chemical manures required a considerable amount of care; they had to be conveyed in covered vans, and to be carefully protected from the weather. There was so much difference between the one class of manure and the other that in regard to the carriage it was only fair to the Railway Companies that they should charge a higher rate to the public. If the House once took upon itself to settle the Schedule of Tolls in every Railway Bill it would find itself involved in very great difficulties. It was all very well to say that it was a hard case upon people who desired to see that the tolls in the Schedule of a Railway Bill were right and fair to compel them to appear before a Select Committee; but it was only what the public had had to do from the very commencement of railway legislation. So far as he understood the matter, there was nothing very special or very peculiar about these tolls. The Bill proposed to charge a higher rate for the carriage of artificial manures than for common manures; but that was not a matter with which the House should be called upon to deal. It was a question essentially for the consideration and decision of a Committee upstairs. The great question would arise of what the services rendered by the Railway Company were. In the case of one class of manures it might only be necessary to remove them by direction of the local authorities for a few miles out of town at a low rate of carriage. The Railway Company would render hardly any service whatever beyond the carriage. In the other case, that of artificial manures, they would be required to warehouse them, to convey them under cover, and to warehouse them again at the other end. He hoped the House would allow the Bill to go to a Committee upstairs in the usual course.

MR SCLATER-BOOTH remarked, that the Schedule of Tolls which the Bill proposed to impose involved important considerations of public policy; and, unfortunately, experience showed that Select Committees could not be trusted to safeguard the interests of the public in this respect. This was a public question, and not a local question at all; and, unless it was brought before the Committee in some authoritative shape, there was no security that that Committee would enter upon the subject at all. What was it that they had found out in the Select Committee on Railway Rates and Fares? They found out that clauses in Railway Bills against the interests of the public had crept in from time to time, because the subject had not been brought specially forward by someone interested. As he had said, he did not think it was a local question at all. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) said it was in the interest of the county to have a second railway, and for the people of the district affected to say whether the tolls were properly charged or not. But that was not the question at all. The question was whether the matter was to be allowed to be passed over without a word being said about it. If it was, it might be that a precedent would be established which would be followed by other Railway Companies who would quote the precedent set up in the present case, and the result would be that artificial manures would be placed in a classification higher than other manures, and higher than the tolls already sanctioned by other Acts of Parliament. Eventually the sufferers from the precedent so established would be the public. Public attention having been called to the question, he thought it was necessary that the House should have, either from the promoters of the Bill or from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, an assurance that the matter would not be permitted to pass through the Select Committee without being thoroughly sifted, and without the attention of the Committee being specially drawn to it by the President of the Board of Trade. Whether or not this was in accordance with the usual practice of the Board of Trade he did not know. The general assent required from the Board of Trade to Railway Bills was, he was afraid, merely something of a perfunctory process. What was wanted was something more. Last year the President of the Board of Trade found himself unable to deal with the whole subject of the Report of the Select Committee on Railway Rates and Fares; and it was highly desirable, pending legislation upon that question, that the right hon. Gentleman should give an assurance that he would take on himself the duty of having brought under the notice of the Committees appointed to investigate Railway Bills every provision by which an increase of rates was proposed.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: There are two questions which have been raised in the discussion upon this Bill. One is the local question which concerns the particular Bill under discussion. That is really a simple matter, although it may involve an important principle, and in reference to it I think I shall be able to make a proposal which will be satisfactory to the House. But there is also the general question which has been raised by the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) and the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) as to the action of the Board of Trade, or of some other Government Department, in reference to the provisions of any Railway Bill which proposes a change in the classification or amount of rates. Let me say, in the first place, that it was the custom of the Board of Trade, until the last few years, to make a Report on every Railway Bill brought before the House. These Reports were sent to the Committees upstairs; but they were treated by such Committees merely as a matter of form, and thus the practice came to be of not the slightest value. A great deal of unnecessary trouble and labour was caused to the Department, and last year they were finally abandoned. If it is considered desirable that the Board of Trade should make a Report upon these and similar Bills, I think it is necessary that the House should go further and give some sort of Instruction to the Committee that the Report of the Board of Trade should be taken into consideration. Even if the House is prepared to go as far as that, the subject will be a difficult and complicated one to deal with. In the first place, it must be understood that any Report of the kind applies to all rates, and not simply to the case of rates upon agricultural produce or manures. It will apply wherever a Railway Company proposes to increase its rates. Whenever an old Railway Company makes such a proposal, it is perfectly easy for the Board of Trade to call the attention of the Committee to it; but a difficulty arises in the case of a new railway which proposes new rates. In such a case there are two questions which the Board of Trade would have to determine, first, whether the rates are an increase of the ordinary and existing charge, and I will take by way of illustration this question of manures. It is a fact that the rates now in force on different railways vary, and it would be a very difficult thing to say whether the particular rates and classification adopted in a new Bill could properly be called an increase or not, because there were precedents for exactly similar rates and classification in existing Bills. On the other hand, there are precedents for lower rates and a different classification. And that is not all. The Board of Trade has to take into account the particular circumstances of the new railway. For instance, a new line of railway may be made at a cost double that of an existing line, and it would be perfectly fair for the promoters to demand a higher rate than in the case of a railway which can be more cheaply and economically constructed. I find, therefore, that the question involves a large amount of detail and consideration, and I am not certain that any tribunal can be found to deal with it so good or so competent as a Select Committee of the House of Commons, with power to call evidence and sift the matter thoroughly. The only improvement which I think can be made upon the existing practice is in the nature of a suggestion which has been thrown out already, that there should be on all occasions some sort of Report from the Board of Trade. That we should be willing to undertake if the House would accompany the request with some kind of Instruction to the Board to report with regard to the Bills now before the House. There are a number of precedents for such a course. As regards the question immediately before the House, there are 11 Bills in which this altered classification and these increased rates have been adopted. I do not say whether that precedent ought to be followed in the present case; but it is clearly a matter that ought to be discussed upstairs. In order to meet the objection that the Select Committee may overlook the alteration in the classification, or the increase of the ordinary rates proposed by the classification, I shall be quite willing to undertake, in this particular case at all events, that a special Report shall be made by the Board of Trade, calling attention to the fact that an alteration of the rates has been made.

MR. E. STANHOPE confessed that he was disappointed at the speech which had just been delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. The attention of the Board of Trade had been specially called to this question by the Report of the Select Committee on Railway Rates; and he had hoped that when the right hon. Gentleman rose he was about to lay before the House some distinct policy upon the matter, and to tell them how the question was to be dealt with. But the right hon. Gentleman had, after all, only suggested to them that the way in which the difficulty might be met was by laying before the Select Committee on these Bills Reports from the Board of Trade, to which Reports the right hon. Gentleman told them, with great truth, Select Committees in former years had paid no attention whatever. That might be a satisfactory course in the view of the right hon. Gentleman; but it was not at all satisfactory to the House, and especially to those who represented the agricultural interest. Their reason was this—they felt that Select Committees could not be altogether trusted in the matter. The question of rates upon manures might be one of no particular interest to any of the parties who went before the Committee, and the questions which the agricultural interest desired to raise might not be brought prominently under the notice of the Committee, who would consequently pay no attention to the complaint. But the question was one in which the general public was interested, and in which the agricultural public was specially interested; and, so far as he could test the feelings of Members who represented county constituencies, it was their determination not only to oppose this Bill, but every Bill of a similar character which attempted to increase the rates upon manures. The right hon. Gentleman told them that certain precedents had already been established. He was very sorry that was so, and that such a precedent should have been allowed to have been created. The real truth was that it was extremely difficult for a private Member to observe the clauses of all the Private Bills that came before the House, and some of them invariably escaped notice. He was not disposed to deny that there might be in this Bill some provisions which would benefit the general public, and would not hurt the agricultural interest in any way. It was not their desire to prevent those portions from becoming law; therefore, he would suggest to the House that as this question had now been raised in a manner which would call the attention of the public to the important issues involved, they should now adjourn the debate until a future day, and take it up at a time when it could be thoroughly discussed and understood. He begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. TOMLINSON seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON asked the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade if it was his intention to secure that all the Railway Bills should be referred to the Board of Trade, or only those which involved this particular question of an increase of rates?—because he (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) wished to point out to the House that although there were only a certain number of Bills which raised this particular question, there were before the House this Session Bills which involved the principle, he believed of some 480 miles of new railways. He believed that many of them were on all-fours with the Bill they were now discussing, and would come under this special proposal. Therefore, he wanted to know, if the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman was adopted, whether it would only apply to this Bill, or whether he intended it to apply to all Bills coming under a similar description? He (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) hoped the House would agree with the proposal of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin), unless they got some assurance from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade that he would take charge of these Bills in order that the question of rates should receive proper consideration.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: In answer to the hon. Member for South Shropshire (Sir Baldwyn Leighton), I may say that I intended to make it quite clear that what I propose is this—that the Report of the Board of Trade, which I have suggested, should apply to all Bills falling within this category, which have been introduced in the present Session, and which propose an alteration in the ordinary classification of the rates affecting agricultural manures. I pointed out that the principle of such a Report would apply to all rates whatsoever; but I am not prepared at this moment to propose to the House that the Board of Trade should be called upon to report upon all Railway Bills. My only object was to get over the present difficulty, and to insure that this particular matter was specially inquired into. The Board of Trade will be quite prepared to make a Report upon any changes which have been made in the classification of agricultural manures.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, that his name appeared upon the Paper as opposing the second reading of this Bill, and he wished to apologize to the House for not having been in his place when the Bill was called on. Unfortunately, when he was coming down to the House there was an accident to his carriage, which prevented him from reaching the House in time. With regard to the general question, he did not gather from the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade——

Mr. SPEAKER: The noble Viscount must confine himself to the Question of the adjournment of the debate.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, he only desired to make one observation. He did not gather from what the President of the Board of Trade stated that his answer to the question addressed to him would be satisfactory to those who opposed the second reading of the Bill. He therefore trusted that the House would consent to the proposition of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. E. Stanhope), and agree to the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY expressed a hope that the House would agree to the suggestion of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope). This was an important question, and it was desirable that it should receive some consideration in the country, and by those who were interested.

Viscount FOLKESTONE rose to Order. He wished to know whether the hon. Member was confining himself to the Motion before the House?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must confine himself to the Question of the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, that he was suggesting that the proposal which had been made for the adjournment of the debate was a very proper one, for the purpose of giving the promoters of the Bill an opportunity of stating whether they were prepared to adhere to the proposition contained in the Bill now before the House. He thought that the debate ought to be adjourned, not only in regard to this Bill, but also in regard to the other Bills which raised the same question. It would be most inconvenient to adjourn upon one and not upon the other; and it was quite possible, if they were to refer any of these Bills to a Select Committee, without the Report which the President of the Board of Trade had promised to make, that the whole of the leading features of the objectionable clauses might not be dealt with.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he hoped the promoters of the Bill would agree to a short adjournment, in order that the Board of Trade might consider whether, *pro hâc vice*, they would send a representative from that Department to consult with the Committee.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Perhaps I may be allowed to point out what I understand to be the state of the case. What we are asked to do is really to take care that we do not pass these Bills without attention being called to any changes proposed to be effected in the classification of the rates. What the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) suggests is, that I should do much more in the matter, and express the opinion of the Board of Trade whether the change is desirable or not, and have our opinion represented before the Select Committee either by counsel or otherwise.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: Evidence might be given by someone deputed to represent the Department.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I presumed that to be what the right hon. Gentleman meant—namely, that a representative of the Board of Trade should attend the Committee and give evidence. Of course, that is the only position in which he could appear before the Committee at all. Now, I do not think I should be quite prepared to take that course. My desire is that the Committee should have the matter brought under their notice; but I do not desire that the Board of Trade should express an opinion, and advocate that opinion before the Select Committee.

MR. TOMLINSON desired to say one word before the matter was disposed of. He wished to suggest a reason why it was desirable they should adjourn the debate, and that was in order to give the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade an opportunity of considering further whether, in pursuance of the fourth recommendation of the Railway Rates Committee, some provision might not be made affording Chambers of Commerce and others interested on behalf of the general public a *locus standi* to appear before the Select Committee.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL remarked that, in the interest of the promoters of the Bill and of the public, he saw no objection to the adjournment of the debate, if it were understood that it would be only a short adjournment for not more than one week.

Motion *agreed to.*

SIR JOSEPH PEASE asked to what day it was proposed to adjourn the debate?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: To this day week.

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

BARRY DOCK AND RAILWAYS BILL

(*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, he had placed upon the Paper a Notice for the rejection of the Bill. The opposition to the Bill was precisely the same as that against the previous Bill, and it was convenient that this Bill should be postponed in the same way as the other one. No arguments could be adduced in favour of the second reading of the Bill other than those which had been adduced in the case of the Alloa, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy Railway Bill. He did not know who was in charge of the Bill; but he should like to have an assurance that the Bill, and some of the others which followed, would be postponed.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR said, there were several Bills which came under the same category—the Exeter, Teign Valley, and Chagford Railway Bill, the Hull and Lincoln Railway Bill, the Oxford, Aylesbury, and Metropolitan Junction Railway Bill, the Seafield Dock and Railway Bill, and the Windsor, Ascot, and Aldershot Railway Bill. All of them contained the same differential clauses in regard to manures, and therefore they ought all of them to be postponed.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, that if he was in Order, he would move that the consideration of the Barry Dock and Railways Bill be postponed until the same day as the Alloa, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy Railway Bill. He wished to add that he should oppose these Bills to the utmost extent in his power, unless the objectionable provision were taken from them before they appeared in the House on the next occasion. He had received a letter from somebody that morning, whose signature, however, he could not read, informing him that he was going to consult with the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means upon this Bill before the House met. He gathered from that that there was some hope of effecting a satisfactory compromise upon the question. But even if that satisfactory compromise had not been arrived at, he hoped that in the course of next week the promoters of the Bill would see their way to the elimination of these objectionable clauses which he had taken the liberty to oppose.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Viscount Folkestone.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

EXETER, TEIGN VALLEY, AND CHAGFORD RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, that, for the same reasons as those which had been stated in regard to the two previous Bills, he would move that the debate upon the present Bill be also adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. J. W. Barclay.*)

MR. HICKS asked if this was the Exeter Bill?

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: Yes.

MR. HICKS said, there was a Notice for the rejection of the Bill standing in his name on the Paper, and he should like to occupy the attention of the House for a few moments while he explained the reasons which had induced him to support the Motion for Adjournment.

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that the Question before the House is the adjournment of the debate. That Motion having been made, the hon. Member must confine his observations to that Question.

MR. HICKS said, that he would confine himself to it. He thought it must commend itself to the House that the whole of these Bills ought to be treated in the same way. He ventured, however, to indorse the hope which had been expressed by the noble Viscount the Member for South Wilts (Viscount Folkestone) that when they met again to consider these Bills, after the adjournment, the promoters would be ready to come forward with an assurance that these most objectionable clauses had been struck out.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

HULL AND LINCOLN RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. NORWOOD, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that, so far as he could learn, the only objection which had been raised against this very important Bill—which comprehended the construction of a bridge across the Humber, and a means of communication between Hull and North Lincoln—had reference to two items in the Schedule, by which it was proposed to impose certain differential rates upon the carriage of common and artificial manures, which were said to be of an exceptional nature. Now, he ventured to say that a very proper distinction was drawn in charging a higher rate for the conveyance of artificial manure, such as the best Peruvian Guano, which was worth £16 a ton, and which required to be conveyed in covered carriages and warehoused, instead of being exposed to the atmosphere, than for common manures, which were of very little value indeed, and the conveyance of which required no extra care whatever. Artificial manures were highly charged with ammonia, and unless great care was exercised in their conveyance their value became considerably deteriorated. It was not customary to oppose a Private Bill introduced in the interests of the public at this stage, and such a course was particularly inconvenient now, seeing that the Session was already much advanced, and it was necessary to get these Private Bills before Select Committees at once. The course now taken by an isolated interest of adjourning the second reading of Bills of this nature was a monstrous thing, and not only inconvenient to the promoters, but to the House itself. He should certainly divide the House against the adjournment of the debate, because he had no wish to be dictated to by eminent agriculturists on the other side of the House. He begged to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Norwood.*)

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down objected to be dictated to by an isolated interest, whom he accused of opposing the Bill. Now, the agriculturists of the country——

MR. NORWOOD said, he had alluded to the manure merchants.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, he had understood the hon. Gentleman to refer to the agricultural interest. The hon. Member seemed to think it was a monstrous thing that certain persons should oppose the Bill, because they objected to differential rates being charged upon artificial manures. It might be a monstrous thing, but he wished to explain to the House that it was a matter which had already been determined by the House itself. In the year 1881 the Great North of Scotland Railway Company brought forward a Bill by which they endeavoured to put a higher rate upon artificial manures than common manures. The question was brought under the notice of the House, and the House decided that the Company should not be allowed to charge these rates. If, then, it was a monstrous thing, the House had already decided to do it; and if it was right in 1881, he maintained that it was also right in 1883, and more especially in 1883 than in 1881, because the agricultural interest had suffered since that time two years more of agricultural depression, and was therefore less able to afford to pay these extra rates. If the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) persisted in going on with the Bill, he should oppose the second reading.

MR. J. HOWARD said, the question was rather more important than it appeared to be on the face of it, because if these powers were granted to new Railway Companies to raise the rates upon manures, the existing Railway Companies would have good reason for seeking to raise their rates also. Upon that ground he should most strenuously oppose the Bill. Further, he thought that the Board of Trade ought not to have allowed Bills to slip through Parliament last Session containing these objectionable clauses. The Board of Trade existed for the public interests, and not in the interest of Railway Companies.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought the House would agree that it would be a monstrous thing if this Bill were allowed to be read a second time, when other Bills containing similar provisions had been postponed. He, therefore, hoped that his hon. Friend the Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) would not press the second reading of the Bill, but would consent that it should be deferred, with the others, for future consideration. Without making further remarks, he would move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

OXFORD, AYLESBURY, AND METROPOLITAN JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. J. R. Yorke.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

SEAFIELD DOCK AND RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Viscount Folkestone.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

WINDSOR, ASCOT, AND ALDERSHOT RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Viscount Folkestone.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 6th March.

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—STANDING ORDERS.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY moved that the following Members constitute the Select Committee on Standing Orders:—Sir JOHN MOWBRAY, Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE, Mr. CUBITT, Mr. FLOYER, Mr. MONK, Mr. MULHOLLAND, Mr. DENIS O'CONOR, Mr. PLAYFAIR, Lord ARTHUR RUSSELL, Mr. WHITBREAD, and Mr. YORKE.

Motion *agreed to.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEE OF SELECTION.

Standing Order No. 98 read, as followeth:—

> "There shall be a Committee, to be designated 'The Committee of Selection,' to consist of the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders, who shall be *ex officio* Chairman thereof, and Five other Members, who shall be nominated at the commencement of every Session, of which Committee Three shall be a quorum."

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY said, that, in rising to move the appointment of the Committee of Selection, he wished to explain why he brought forward the Motion in its present form. On the first day of the Session, in conformity with established usage, he had placed a Notice on the Paper for the nomination of the Committee of Selection. The proposal then made was that the Committee, as in former years, should consist of five Members; but, knowing at the time that the attention of the House was about to be called to the question, instead of giving the usual Notice he gave five days' Notice. It was then represented to him by several hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House that it was desirable a little further delay should take place, and he had acquiesced in that desire. He now came forward to move the appointment of the Committee, and in deference to the opinions entertained in many quarters of the House he proposed to increase the number from five to seven. There could be no doubt that new and important duties would be imposed upon the Committee by the Resolution passed by the House upon the 1st of December; and it was considered desirable, having regard to these new duties, that there should be an addition to the strength of the Committee. At the same time he was sure that the Committee, whether it was large or small, would be prepared loyally to discharge whatever duties the House might impose upon them. There could be no question that the duties of the Committee of Selection would not be lightened by the decision arrived at by the House in December last; but, as additional duties had been thrown on them, the Committee would be quite prepared to discharge them. The only question now for the consideration of the House was, what was to be the number of Members to constitute the Committee of Selection. There appeared to him to be, on the part of several Members on both sides of the House, a desire to enlarge the number. Speaking for himself, and from the experience he had had in connection with the Committee of Selection for the last 10 years, a small Committee would work together better than a large one. But he had no objection to a moderate addition. His hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) had proposed the addition of three Members, but he thought that an addition of two would be quite sufficient. He, therefore, proposed to increase the Committee of Selection from five Members to seven. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) proposed 10, but he thought that number would be too large for the discharge of the duties which the Committee would have to perform. It was undesirable to enlarge the number to any considerable extent. In the debate in December last it was urged that the Committee consisted of Gentlemen who were too exclusively devoted to the Front Benches. Personally, he was not conscious of any such devotion, and he had certainly never seen anything in the nature of partizanship exhibited in the proceedings of the Committee. On the contrary, the Committee had invariably devoted themselves to the simple discharge of their duties. He might say that he had come to an understanding in regard to the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), and he had placed the present Motion on the Paper. If his proposal were agreed to, the Committee of Selection would virtually consist of eight Members, because the Chairman of the Standing Order Committee was always a Member also of the Committee of Selection. What he proposed now was to add the names of the junior Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) and the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), who were Gentlemen of independent character, and could not be said to be animated by partizan views. He hoped that the experiment of appointing Standing Committees, which was sanctioned by the House last year, would work satisfactorily; and one important duty which would fall to the lot of the Committee of Selection was the appointment of the Chairmen who would have to preside over the Standing Committees. He begged now to move to amend the Standing Order by leaving out "five" and inserting "seven." If that were adopted, he should then move the names of the seven Gentlemen whom he proposed to nominate upon the Committee.

MR. DILLWYN said, he rose for the purpose of seconding the proposition of his right hon. Friend. This was, to some extent, a continuation Committee. He admitted that the Committee had very important duties to perform, and that they would be much heavier under the New Rules. It was, therefore, more desirable now than ever that the House should adhere to its old practice of appointing, as far as possible, those who had acquired a special knowledge of the work to be performed. Under the New Rules the duties would be very much enlarged, and the powers of the Committee would be very much altered and extended. Under the old state of things it was only necessary to appoint the Committee of Selection with special reference to the Private Business of the House; but they would now be called upon to select a very large Committee, which would have very important functions to perform. He believed there was a general feeling that the Committee should, therefore, be increased in number, and the proposal now made was intended to satisfy the feeling of the House. So far as he was aware, there had never been any dissatisfaction on the part of the House as to the manner in which the old Committee had done its work. For his own part, he thought the results which had been brought about showed that they had done their work very well. He had certainly never heard any complaint of the Committees which had been appointed for investigating Private Bills. The duties imposed upon the Committee of Selection were now very largely increased, but he had no doubt the Committee would still continue to give the utmost satisfaction. The Order as to Grand Committees was temporary only. Perhaps, if it had been other than an experiment, and if the Grand Committees were to be appointed permanently by a Standing Order of the House, it might have been desirable to take a different course. He did not think the House would have been satisfied to grant these very large new powers, if they were intended to be permanent, without some further addition to the number of the existing Committee. As, however, the experiment was only temporary and for one year, he thought his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) had done well to confine the addition to two. If his right hon. Friend had proposed to increase the number largely it would have taken up much of the time of the House to settle and arrange not only the numbers, but the duties. That inconvenience would, he thought, be avoided by the plan of his right hon. Friend. He was satisfied that the names which had been added would be accepted by the majority of the House; and, therefore, the delay would be avoided which would have been involved if a larger addition had been proposed. His hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) proposed to increase the number to 11. As a rule, a large Committee was not a desirable Committee for the performance of such very delicate work as this Committee would have to perform. He certainly preferred the number which had been suggested by his right hon. Friend. It was quite a sufficient number for trying the experiment; and if at the end of the year it was found that the experiment was successful, and it was resolved to continue the Standing Committees, the House would have some experience before it of the manner in which the Committee of Selection had done their work. He thought the number proposed by his right hon. Friend was a better number than that which they now had; and he had, therefore, great pleasure in seconding the proposition.

Amendment proposed thereunto, to leave out the word "Five," in order to insert the word "Seven,"—(*Sir John Mowbray,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Five' stand part of the said Standing Order."

Mr. RAIKES said, he must confess that he had heard with some disappointment the statement which had been made by his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray), because he had rather hoped that the House would have received from him a little information as to his views in regard to the functions to be discharged by the Committee of Selection under the new Order passed last year. It was recognized that some change in their functions was contemplated, because it was proposed to enlarge their number, and that in view of extended duties. What he thought the House would like to know was, whether the Committee of Selection intended to confine themselves strictly and entirely to the mere duty of selecting the names of the Members to serve upon the Standing Committees, and the cognate duty of selecting a Chairman's panel to act as Chairmen of such Committees, or whether they intended to take any steps, such as he gathered from the answer of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) the other day, the Government were rather disposed to throw upon the Committee of Selection. Were they to have from the Committee of Selection or from the Chairman's panel any suggestion as to the regulations which were to prevail in these Standing Committees? He should be told, he supposed, as he had been told already, that the House had decided that the procedure of these Standing Committees was to be the same as that of the Select Committees of the House. Perhaps he might be forgiven if he reminded the House that there were, at least, three different sorts of Select Committees known to the House, and that the procedure in each of those different Committees varied more or less from that adopted in other Committees. They had Select Committees on Private Bills; and those Committees had a practice of their own, which was largely concerned in the examination of witnesses by counsel. Then they had Select Committees to whom Public Bills were sometimes referred; and they had Select Committees to whom particular questions were sometimes referred. In all of these Committees, as far as his experience went—and he had served on more than one of such Committees—the practice was simply adopted to suit the convenience of the Chairman of the day. He remembered serving once on a Select Committee where an important question arose as to a clause in the Bill referred to the Committee. It was a question upon which he and another Member entertained opinions adverse to those of the Chairman. They reached the clause upon which there was a difference of opinion at one Sitting, and then adjourned the Committee; but when the Committee re-assembled he was told that there had been an informal gathering of the other Members of the Committee behind the Chair, and that they had gone through 24 clauses of the Bill. Now, he did not suppose that that would be practicable in a Standing Committee; but it indicated the loose view which a Chairman of a Select Committee, who happened to be a leading Member of the Government of the day, had been known to take as to the mode of procedure. He was anxious to know, and he hoped his right hon. Friend would be able to explain, whether the Committee of Selection could by themselves, or jointly with the Chairman's panel, create or formulate any Rules with regard to Standing Committees and submit them to the House. No doubt, there were some points of no great importance which might occur in regard to Standing Committees which might be settled by the Standing Committees themselves after they had gained experience. He believed, however, that there was more than one important point that had not yet been determined; he might, perhaps, suggest one—whether any Member of the House would be eligible to serve on both of the Standing Committees, or whether the fact that a Member was appointed to serve on one was to exclude him from serving on the other. He did not think it would be fair to call upon the Committee of Selection to determine an important point like that by themselves in their room upstairs; and it was desirable that they, or Her Majesty's Government, should submit some scheme for the regulation of the procedure of these Committees to the judgment of the House. It was quite possible that there were many Members in the House who might be well qualified to serve on Committees relating to matters of commerce, and also relating to the amendment of the law; and such Members might be appointed on both Committees, unless the House was told that one Committee was to be exclusively confined to merchants and the other to lawyers. There were many merchants who were well acquainted with questions of law; and, no doubt, there were some few lawyers who knew something about questions of commerce. He therefore presumed that it ought not to be an insuperable bar that a man's knowledge of one subject should exclude him from acting upon a Committee with the Business of which he had more or less knowledge. He hoped, therefore, to hear, if not from his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray), who had already addressed the House, at least from the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), who was well acquainted with the conduct of Business by the Committee of Selection, whether it was intended by him, or any other Member of the Committee, as was now proposed, to take any steps to obtain the sanction of the House to any Rules for regulating the procedure of Standing Committees?

MR. RYLANDS said, he believed that it would now be a convenient time for him to move an Amendment to the proposal of the right hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) which he had placed upon the Paper—namely, to amend the Standing Order No. 98, by leaving out "five," and inserting "ten." The effect of his Amendment would be that, instead of having a Committee of eight, the Committee of Selection would consist of 11. He dismissed at once any argument of his hon. Friend below him (Mr. Dillwyn) as to the policy or impolicy of appointing a large Committee. They could not, if they so wished it, have a large Committee; but it appeared to him that the Committee of Selection were about to undertake work very different from that which they had performed hitherto, and, therefore, that the House might properly consider whether there ought not to be some material alteration in the constitution of that Committee. He would remind the House that the Committee of Selection appointed in former years was appointed simply in connection with Private Bills. It would be observed that the Standing Order they were about to modify was a Standing Order relating only to the Private Bill Business of the House; and the Committee of Selection was, no doubt, very properly and efficiently constituted for the purpose of dealing with Private Bill legislation. But it was now proposed that this Committee of Selection, instead of being a Private Bill Committee, should be a Committee of Selection that would affect very considerable interests in that House; and it was, therefore, desirable that the opinion of the House should be represented upon it as far as possible. However indefatigable they were in the discharge of their duties, it could hardly be expected that five or six Gentlemen would represent the general view of the House—at any rate, as well as a Committee consisting of a larger number. It appeared to him that the argument of his hon. Friend below him (Mr. Dillwyn), in which he proposed that they should have a small Committee because it was only an experiment, was an argument that scarcely deserved the consideration of the House. What they had to do in making this great experiment of the appointment of Grand Committees was, that they should start with every possibility of their successful working; and one of the first steps they should take was to take care that the Committee of Selection fairly represented every section of feeling in the House. In order to do that it was necessary, in his opinion, that there should be a larger Committee than that proposed by his right hon. Friend. The Committee on Standing Orders, which had just been agreed to at the instance of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir John R. Mowbray), consisted of 11 Members; the Public Accounts Committee also consisted of 11 Members, and he did not see any reason why this Committee should not follow that precedent and consist of 11 Members also. He begged, therefore, to move the Amendment he had placed upon the Paper to amend Standing Order No. 98 by leaving out "five" and inserting "ten."

Mr. SPEAKER: I wish to point out to the hon. Member that the Question before the House is that the word "five" stand part of the Question. When the House negatives that proposition, then the Question will be put that "seven" be inserted, and the hon. Member will then be in Order in moving his Amendment.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was glad to think that an Amendment which he had placed upon the Paper, immediately the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) gave Notice of his intention to move for this Committee, had received such general endorsement from all sides of the House. He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman, in making successive postponements of the Motion, and now presenting it with an alteration of its terms, had never done him (Mr. O'Connor) the honour of communicating to him in any way that it was his intention to alter the original proposal. When this Motion was first put upon the Paper, it occurred to him (Mr. O'Connor) that it was absolutely indispensable that some alteration should be made in the constitution of the Committee of Selection. That Committee was charged, and always had been charged, with very important duties. Every Private Bill was referred to them, and they had to nominate the Members of the Committees, both upon opposed and unopposed Bills. They had also to nominate the General Committee upon Railway and Canal Bills. To them was referred every Provisional Order Bill which was not sent to the General Committee on Railway and Canal Bills. Those Bills, affecting very varied and very important interests, were properly committed to a number of Gentlemen of very great experience and of high character, whose names would at once secure the acceptance and respectful recognition of every quarter of the House. They were the names of Gentlemen who had been up to this time Members of the Committee of Selection, and he should be very sorry to say one single word in disparagement of any one of them; but the duties of the Committee of Selection from this time forward, in consequence of the Standing Order of December, 1882, would be very much more important, and very much more delicate than they had ever been before. As the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. Rylands) remarked, their duties had been taken from mere Private Bill legislation, and made to apply to matters of a public character. What were those duties? From a House consisting of 650 Members it would be the duty of the Committee of Selection, hitherto numbering only five with the Chairman, of whom three form a quorum—it would be their duty to select some 160 Members, or something like one in every four of the Members of the House; and, having made that selection, they would have to proceed with the distribution of this selected body into two smaller bodies; and, in making that distribution, they would have to consider not only the constitution of the House, but the personal and professional qualifications of every single one of the Members constituting the Committee. But that was not all. They would have to consider the nature of the Bills to be submitted to the two new Standing Committees; and, seeing that those Bills were of more than usual importance, it would be at once perceived that they would be entrusted with a very delicate and difficult duty. Even that was not the entire extent of their duty; but they might be called upon to select 15 special Members to be placed upon each Standing Committee, in order to supplement the normal strength of the Committee in exceptional cases. And that was not all; the Standing Committees were not to be allowed the right of selecting their own Chairman; but the Committee of Selection was to appoint a small panel of four, five, or six Members from among whom the Chairmen of the Standing Committees must perforce be taken. Well, the selection of the Chairmen and Members of the Standing Committees, in the manner he had described, appeared to him to be a duty so important and so delicate, not to say invidious and undesirable, that he could very well understand many Members naturally shrinking from undertaking so serious a responsibility. Indeed, he thought that the Members who consented to serve on the Committees now appointed were well entitled to the thanks and grateful recognition of their fellow Members; but in future it would not be sufficient that the Members of the Committee of Selection should be men of weight, high character, and experience. If their Standing Committees were to work successfully, if their Committee of Selection was hereafter to escape criticism and observations, it was indispensable that the Committee should be enlarged so as to secure a varied and representative character, which, with all respect to the present Members of the Committee, it did not possess. Since he had placed his Amendment on the Paper, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray), who had moved the appointment of the Committee, had adopted his suggestion and had altered the original Motion so as to include a Resolution for the enlargement of the Committee. The right hon. gentleman had also adopted, at the suggestion of the noble Lord the Leader of the Party below him (Lord Randolph Churchill), the name of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff). He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman had overlooked one considerably larger Party which sat higher up on those Benches, and which was desirous of placing on the list of Members the name of Mr. Justin M'Carthy. When he (Mr. O'Connor) placed his Amendment on the Paper, it was neither his desire nor his duty to propose more than one name, and the Members who sat on those Benches were not desirous of asking the House to give them more than one place on this Committee; but they did respectfully and hopefully ask that they should be at least allowed one Representative upon a Committee of such signal and unusual importance. In order that they might be able to move the insertion of that name he had proposed his Amendment, which would have enlarged the Committee by a single Member. Of course, it might not be desirable that the enlargement should be so limited. All he could say was that the Irish Members would be satisfied with one Representative upon the Committee, but they would not object to an increase to the extent of 10, 11, 13, or even a larger number. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) now proposed two new names, those of Mr. Illingworth and Sir. H. Drummond Wolff, one representing one side of the House and the other the other; and the Irish Members were told that they were represented by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry). Now, personally, he had no hesitation in saying that he had the most implicit reliance upon the candour and intelligence, the information and the impartiality of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry); but he had no hesitation also in saying that the Irish Members did not consider that by reason of that hon. Member's presence on the Committee of Selection they who sat upon those Benches and had generally acted together would be adequately represented. They felt that they would be adequately represented by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), and he trusted that the House would be prepared to accept the addition of his hon. Friend's name, which, at the proper time, he should venture to move.

Mr. W. HOLMS wished to call attention to the fact that the Chairman of the Committee of Standing Orders had proposed that in future the Committee of Selection should consist of eight Members. The right hon. Gentleman's proposal was that the number of the Committee should be increased from five to seven; but the Chairman of the Committee of Standing Orders (Sir John R. Mowbray) himself would, as before, by virtue of his Office, be a Member of the Committee, thus making eight. The Committee would therefore be composed of four Conservatives and four Liberals. It had hitherto been the practice to appoint Select Committees with a majority on the side of the Government of the day. Now, this Committee of Selection was a very important one, and would have much more important functions to discharge than it had ever discharged before, and he thought that it ought to have at least a majority of one on the Government side. He should, therefore, at the proper time, propose that the name of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) be added.

Mr. WHITBREAD said, he did not intend to detain the House at any length, but some of the questions raised in the course of the debate were of considerable importance; and, as his right hon. Friend, who knew the alteration of this Standing Order, and who was himself the Chairman of the Standing Order Committee (Sir John R. Mowbray) was unable to reply, he would ask the House to give him its attention for one or two minutes while he endeavoured to do so. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) asked if it was the intention of the Committee of Selection, should they be appointed that evening, to suggest, or to frame any Rules for the procedure before the Grand Committees. Now, he confessed that it appeared to him, as the labours already imposed upon the Committee of Selection were of a sufficiently onerous and grave character, it was undesirable to underrate the difficulty and delicacy of the additional task the House was imposing upon the Committee. It was a task of great difficulty and of the utmost delicacy, and would require the bearing in mind of numerous and complex considerations, which of themselves would be almost enough to dazzle any Committee. Then he would ask his right hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge University not to begin by attempting to tie the hands of the Members of the Committee. He should imagine that the ordinary and uniform course would be this that when the Chairmen were appointed, being—as no doubt they would be—men of great experience and weight in that House, they would naturally meet together and consult among themselves whether they would suggest any course of procedure or any Rules for the government of these Grand Committees. The House was not about to commit to a body of total strangers the duties which the Grand Committees would have to perform. The Members of the Grand Committees would all be Members of the House, all of them accustomed to the course of procedure in Committee of the Whole House, and of the procedure before Select Committees; and surely it was not necessary to suppose at the outset that bodies of men so constituted would not be able, if the necessity should arise, to come to the House and suggest some Rules for their own guidance. His right hon. Friend said there were several very difficult questions which the Committee of Selection could not decide for themselves, and he had instanced two; one was whether it was competent for the Committee of Selection to appoint the same Member upon both Committees. In reply to that he had to say simply that there was nothing in the Resolutions passed by the House, so far as he could see, to prevent the same Member being nominated upon both Committees. But he should like to go further, and he thought that unless strong cause arose for it, such a practice would be highly inconvenient, and for this reason—the two Committees would probably be both sitting at the same time; and it would be obviously inconvenient, and a waste of power, to appoint one hon. Member to attend the two Committees. He could conceive it possible, under special circumstances, to appoint a Member upon both bodies; but it would be a very rare and exceptional occurrence. His right hon. Friend asked if one Committee was to be composed entirely of merchants, and the other entirely of lawyers. Now, the composition of these Grand Committees was largely gone into when the Resolutions of the Government were introduced; and it was pointed out then that it never was the intention, either of the Resolution or of the House, that these Committees should consist entirely of experts. The very terms of the Resolution showed that that was not the intention of the House, because hon. Members would observe that after the General Committee had been appointed, bearing in mind the composition of the Committee and the Bills to be brought before it, there was even after that a power given to the Committee of Selection to add 15 Members to any one Committee. What he understood to be the wish and intention of the House was that the great body of the Committee should be representative of all the Parties and sections of the House; but that in regard to particular Bills which might properly be brought under the notice of a Committee the Committee of Selection should have the power of adding 15 Members who were specially acquainted with the subject to be discussed. Now, one word about the odd and even number which had been referred to by his hon. Friend the Member for Paisley (Mr. W. Holms). With regard to the question of number, it was an invidious task for any Member, when a name was proposed of any Member of the Committee, to raise an objection to the name of any particular Gentleman being on the Committee, and he hoped the House would clearly understand that in any remarks he was about to make he had no such intention. He could have no personal feeling in the matter, and what he would say to hon. Members who advocated an extension of the Committee was this—it was very desirable that the Committee of Selection should not be a Committee of divided opinion. Up to the present time, in all the years that he had been a Member of that Committee, he never remembered that there had been a division among them; and he thought it was of great importance, if it were possible, that they should continue to keep out of the Committee anything in the nature of a division. It would be remembered that in olden times a very important Committee was appointed in that House—namely, the General Committee upon Elections, which selected the Members to serve, and try Election Petitions. Well, that Committee consisted only of six; and what to his mind was a wise rule in the working of that Committee was this—that no decision should be come to unless four were agreed. That absolutely prevented the possibility of any partizan decision being arrived at either on one side or the other. On the Committee of Selection the same number of six had been previously the rule. His own opinion was that if they could get a common agreement among a small number of men, it was useless, in matters of this kind, to nominate a large number. Every one added to a Committee would make it, of course, more and more difficult to arrive at an agreement. With regard to the number which the hon. Member for Paisley (Mr. W. Holms) proposed to add to the Committee, he would suggest to his hon. Friend that it would materially facilitate the presence of a division, and that it would be far better to leave the matter as it stood. They would go into Committee and consider each other's opinions and arguments, and not with any preconceived views, and there was always this safeguard that the Chairman himself would never vote except when the numbers were equal. He hoped that the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) would not press the Amendment of which he had given Notice. He certainly failed to see how 10 men would be better able to judge of the selection of Members of that House than eight. His right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) had fairly met the wish of the House by increasing the Committee from five to eight; and he hoped the House would be content with that, unless it could be shown that the feelings and wishes of every section of the House had not been fairly considered in the appointments which were made to the Grand Committees. If such a case were to happen it would most certainly be taken notice of by the House. He had taken great interest in the question of these Grand Committees, and he was anxious to see them work successfully. He was not without the hope that if the House remitted the duty of nominating the Members of the Grand Committees to the Committee of Selection they would be able to persuade even the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) that, in common with all Parties in the House, those who acted near him would receive full consideration, and that the appointments would be made without fear or favour.

Mr. SCLATER - BOOTH said, he hoped the House would be persuaded, by the speech they had just listened to with so much interest, to acquiesce with the Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee in adding only two Members to the old number of the Committee of Selection with which they were familiar. He agreed with all that had been said as to the great importance of leaving the Committee of Selection small and select; but beyond this he had taken this objection at the time when the matter was discussed, and he had put it to the Prime Minister, who was then in charge of this question of the Grand Committees, whether they were to understand that it was to be the old familiar Committee of Selection with which they were acquainted, or whether a new Committee of Selection was to be appointed or arranged—he would not say packed—for the purpose of nominating the Grand Committees. The Prime Minister replied that it was the intention of the Government, so far as they were concerned, to submit the matter to the Committee of Selection. It would certainly complicate the understanding then arrived at if a large enlargement of the Committee of Selection was now to be made, in order that all quarters of the House should find representation upon it. He believed that all quarters of the House would have due consideration given to them, and he earnestly hoped the House would be content with the alteration proposed by the Chairman of the Committee of Standing Orders, who was certainly better informed upon the whole matter than the House could be. He trusted that the House would not insist upon going further, but would be content with the two names which his right hon. Friend proposed to add.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he quite agreed with the observations which had fallen from his right hon. Friend the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth). His right hon. Friend on his right, the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray), had filled the Office of Chairman of the Committee of Selection for nearly 10 years, and not one single complaint had ever been made in regard to the formation of that Committee. There had never been a dispute brought before the House with regard to an appointment which had been made by the Committee, and that was the best and surest guarantee that the Committee had endeavoured honestly and faithfully to discharge the duties entrusted to them. He would go one step further, and would appeal to hon. Members in all parts of the House whether a small Committee on delicate subjects of this kind would not do their duty far better, far more efficiently, and far more satisfactorily to the House than a large Committee. The very remark made by his hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), that they had done their work without any division, clearly showed that they had taken into account all the different phases of which the House was composed, and that they would continue to do so. [An hon. Member: No, no!] An hon. Gentleman said "No!" Now, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) ventured to say they would. The House had never been able to impugn any of their decisions before, and he was satisfied that no hon. Member would come there and impugn them in future. But, be that as it might, they had a guarantee, at any rate, now that the duty would be well and properly performed. His right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) had agreed to the addition of two names. That would raise the number to eight, and if the names proposed by his right hon. Friend were accepted by the House he was quite sure that they would satisfy every requirement of the House. He was satisfied that a small number would be best; and they would have a guarantee for the future, as in the past, that the new duties imposed upon the Committee would be efficiently performed.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he was quite sure that the House and the country would scout even the possibility of the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) being inspired by any offensive or hostile intent towards the Irish Party or towards the Tory interests. He was quite certain that they would not take the possibility into consideration. But there was a possibility that the House ought to take into consideration—namely, the possibility of persons outside the House, and interests outside the House, and constituencies and millions of men outside the House, taking strongly into their consideration the possibility of this Committee of Selection having been proposed without any regard to the interests of the Irish people. The hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just spoken said they possessed a guarantee for the future in the fact that in the past there had been no complaint made against the action of the Committee of Selection. Now, the fact in this case supplied no analogy whatever to guide the House in regard to the future. There was all the difference in the world between the Private Bill Business which had hitherto alone been the subject of the supervision of the hon. Members composing the Committee of Selection, and the Public Bill Business which was, to a large extent, to be committed to their care in the future. For instance, the Bills that were to be brought before Standing Committees would include questions relating both to commerce and the amendment of the law. He wanted to know what interest, public or private, was not touched by so vast a measure as the codification of the Criminal Law? Above all, it was of importance to the Irish nation, threatened as they were threatened, with all kinds of pains and penalties in future, even after the expiration of the present Coercion Act, that they should know that some safeguards were in existence for the selection of the Members who would deal with the all-important Committee stage of the consideration of the Bill for the codification of the Criminal Law. Last night they heard appeals made by the Government to the Irish Members to assist in forwarding the despatch of Public Business. Surely that appeal from the Government Benches must sound very strangely when it was compared with this entire ignoral of the claims of the Irish Members to supervise the despatch of one of the most important branches of the Public Business. If they were to be excluded and outcast from such important branches of the Public Business there could be but one conclusion. He altogether left out of consideration the intention of the right hon. Member who had introduced this Motion, because it was for the House to consider, after they had heard all that could be said on the subject, in what light their action would be regarded outside the House, and it was that aspect of the question that he ventured to impress on hon. and right hon. Members. If he were to lay stress upon the subject-matter of the Bills to be put before the Grand Committees, he might remind the House that in most important branches of penal legislation, and legislation connected with the penal law in such matters as the Prisons Act and the form which the military law should assume, most important Amendments had come from the Benches of the Irish Party. Nevertheless, they were omitted on the present occasion, and all assistance from them discarded. Literally speaking, there was no Representative for Ireland upon the proposed Committee. He was perfectly aware that the hon. Member for the County of Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) was included in the list of Members proposed to be nominated by the right hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray). Now, the hon. Member for the County of Galway had not even addressed a meeting of his constituents for some years, and he believed that the hon. Member had not addressed a meeting of his constituents for very sound political reasons. And yet the hon. Member was the only Gentleman even nominally connected with Ireland who figured in this most extraordinary proposal. As he had said before, the procedure of the Committee of Selection in relation to Private Bill Business offered no guarantee whatever in connection with the Business now before the House. Members of the Committee of Selection would have to choose out of the 650 Members of the House some 160 Members to sit upon the Grand Committees. It was to be presumed that some Irish Members would be chosen by the Committee of Selection among the 160. He wanted to know how the Members of the Committee of Selection, when the Irish Members were excluded from it, were to know or to decide? By what test of capacity or convenience were the Members of the Irish Party to be selected to serve on the Grand Committees, if the Committee of Selection were to act without regard to the convenience of the Irish Members? And if they acted without regard to the wishes of the Irish Party as to what Members were to represent the Irish Party on the Grand Committees, it would undoubtedly be in their power to commit a serious injury to the interests represented by the Irish Party. There was only one possible guarantee, or approach to a guarantee, and that was the introduction of some Member in the interests of the Irish Party who would act in conformity with the policy of the Irish Party, and give that assistance as the real position of such a Member in Irish politics would enable him to give. He regarded the question now under consideration as one of the most important parts of the Business of the whole House—as one vitally affecting the rights of Ireland—as one which, if it were decided in a wrong manner, would most seriously affect the interests of Ireland, and most seriously injure those interests. He could only regard this proposal, if it were passed in its present unamended position, as the beginning of that threatened disfranchisement of Ireland which had been so often held out as a terror to the Irish National Party. At a later stage they might make objections to individual names; but at present it was evident that, except in a purely technical sense, there was no Representative of Ireland, North, South, East, or West, proposed to be nominated on the Committee of Selection. He said that with the greatest possible respect for the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry); but as a politician the hon. Member in no way represented the opinions of the Irish people, and he might add that it was quite impossible to leave out of consideration the fact that a Committee of Selection of this kind ought, above all things, to consist of Members who had not taken a distinctly hostile part towards that section of the Irish Party sitting on that (the Opposition) side of the House. If they had any power of choosing, they would certainly not select the most aggressive and unpopular Irish Member to act for the Irish people on a Committee of this kind. It was a matter within the public knowledge that on every possible occasion the hon. Member went out of his way to attack, in the most prejudiced and hostile spirit, the Members of the Irish Party in that House. Of course, if the Committee of Selection was to be based upon its present constitution, the Irish Party could only regard it as an insult to their requirements, and a deliberate challenge to them to be guided by principles and motives which they desired to avoid. The proposed composition of the Committee of Selection showed an apparent confederacy on the part of the two Front Benches, and he could assure the Government that the proposal was not calculated to further or promote the despatch of Public Business in that House. He observed that, apparently in compliance with the suggestion of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), one of the intimate supporters of the noble Lord was to appear upon this Committee. Well, he did not grudge the hon. Members who sat below the Gangway on the Front Bench their share of recognition. It was only due, if not to their number, at least to the manner in which they had led the Conservative Party. In his conscience he certainly thought that that regard to the Members of the Fourth Party contrasted very strangely with the total disregard shown towards all the Members for Ireland. If he were not mistaken, even the tried services of the Ulster Liberals had been totally neglected on the present occasion, and all their faithful devotion to the Government had only been rewarded, as usual, with calm indifference and total oblivion. He was sure the Irish Members of that House would not be doing their duty to their constituents, but would be neglecting and sacrificing the interests of Ireland, if they lost a single legitimate opportunity of opposing this deliberate exclusion and partial disfranchisement of the Irish vote on one of the most important stages of the Public Business—namely, the Committee stage in the discussion of Public Bills of supreme importance.

Mr. NORWOOD said, that, while he agreed in the main with the remarks of the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), he regretted that the queries which had been put by his hon. Friend the Member for Paisley (Mr. W. Holms) had not been answered. What he now understood to be thrown out was the suggestion that the General Committee of Selection, or some other authority in the House, should frame Regulations, and submit them to the House for its approval. Last year the House, with every formality, decided that in regard to certain Bills, the stage known as the Committee stage should be relegated to a Committee sitting upstairs, which should be very much larger than an ordinary Select Committee. He certainly thought that a great deal of confusion would be created, unless some understanding were come to with respect to the Rules which were to regulate the proceedings of the Committee, when a Bill went before them upstairs. He had himself served on large Committees appointed to consider important questions of public interest, and there was no order and no regularity of procedure whatever. Very frequently half-a-dozen persons were speaking at the same time. If similar disorder prevailed in the Grand Committees, when they came to the consideration of important public measures, he thought the result might be most lamentable. Then, who was to settle the hours at, and during which, the Committees were to sit? Was the hour of meeting to be settled by the small rump of a Committee, after a protracted sitting of three or four hours? Was it to be possible for the customary hour to be changed in order to suit the convenience of the Chairman, or some other prominent Member of the Committee? If that were done, the Members of the Committee, and the persons most interested, might not attend, and certainly the public would have no opportunity of attending. If Her Majesty's Government, for very good reasons no doubt, thought it right that the old course of procedure upon the Committee stage of a Public Bill should undergo so great a change, he did think that either they or some other body should take the trouble to draw up some simple Rules, and submit them for the approval of the House. He wished distinctly to know whether these Grand Committees were to be conducted in the same form as ordinary Select Committees? If they were to be conducted in the conversational tone, and informal manner, in which Select Committees usually discharged their business, he thought the result would be highly unsatisfactory. The legislation would not be the legislation of the House at all, but the legislation of a mob upstairs. He quite approved of the Questions which had been put to the Government by the hon. Member for Paisley (Mr. W. Holms), and hoped that an answer would be given to them.

MR. CUBITT said, he did not wish to prolong the debate. He had simply risen to explain one matter connected with the Committee of Selection, as one who had served on that Committee, which he thought was misapprehended by hon. Members in various parts of the House. They had heard a good deal in the course of the debate about the duties of the Committee of Selection being limited to the nomination of Members to serve upon Private Bill Committees. No doubt, that was the original purpose for which the Committee of Selection was appointed; but hon. Members who had studied the Votes of the House and had attended to its proceedings, would be well aware that the Committee of Selection had another and even more important duty to perform, and that was to nominate the special Members of any important Committee appointed by the House. That practice had been adopted for some years and had worked satisfactorily even in regard to questions which had occasioned considerable excitement in the House and the country. This he conceived, if possible, to be a much more difficult duty to throw upon the Committee of Selection than that now proposed to be imposed upon them in the appointment of the Grand Committees. He, for one, felt that the new duty would be a difficult and delicate one; but he agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), that if he (Mr. Cubitt) had the honour to be upon the Committee he would have no right to shirk the duty thrown upon him. With reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), he thought they had already been mainly answered by the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread). As far as the Committee of Selection were concerned, he (Mr. Cubitt) thought they would be going beyond their powers if they attempted to lay down any Rules for the guidance of the Grand Committees. As his hon. Friend had stated, it would be for the Chairman's Panel to make regulations if they thought it necessary to do so, or for the Chairman of the Grand Committees to make a proposal to the House. For his own part, he did not think that any new Rules were wanted, because the Rules for the ordinary guidance of Public Business would be in the main and on the whole adequate for the procedure of the Grand Committees.

Mr. LEAMY said, he did not agree with the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Surrey (Mr. Cubitt), that the duties of the Committee of Selection were formerly as important as they would be now. It was proposed that the new Committee should consist of four Conservatives and four Liberals, and the complaint of the Irish Party was that there was no Irish Member nominated upon the Committee who would really represent the interests of the people of Ireland. He knew very well that Englishmen and Scotchmen always thought they were better judges of the legislation suited for the grievances of Ireland than Irishmen were. He feared there was a considerable chance of the Irish Members being ignored altogether upon the Committee. He did not know whether the counsel and advice of hon. Members sitting upon those (the Irish) Benches had proved altogether fruitless even to Her Majesty's Government in the Committee stage of the Land Bill, and he doubted if the Government would find that they would expedite the progress of Public Business by excluding them from Committees of this kind. Various attempts had been made in the course of the last two or three years to expedite Public Business, but all of them had assumed the form of a proposal to limit the influence of the Irish Members. Yet every attempt had failed. It might be said that the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) was an Irish Representative, but the hon. Member no more represented the Irish people than any English Liberal did. The hon. Member had always been opposed to the Irish Party, and had always been one of their bitterest enemies. Would anyone pretend to say that the hon. Member would be one whit more anxious to support the views of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) or the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. J. M'Carthy) than any other Member of the Committee? There ought to be some guarantee that the views of the Irish National Party should be fairly represented on the Grand Committees; but even at this very early stage the Government were showing their teeth. The course they were taking proved conclusively, that since the Irish constituencies of Mallow and other places had not been found willing to endorse the policy of Her Majesty's Government, the Government were determined to exclude the Irish Members of the House from all share in the work of legislating for their country. Well, they might exclude the Irish Members if they pleased; but he should like to know what would be the character of the legislation for Ireland which would come from these Grand Committees without any Irish Members upon them? He hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) would persist in dividing upon the Question, although at the same time he must confess that he should view the result with perfect indifference.

Mr. PARNELL said, he was very anxious to hear what the opinion of the Government was with regard to the views which had been put before the House by his hon. Friends sitting near him. He believed that this was the first time the position of the Irish Members sitting on that side of the House below the Gangway had been ignored in the selection of one of these Committees. He had certainly expected that the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), the temporary Leader of the Government, would have had something to say as to what ought to be done in regard to the omission pointed out by several of his (Mr. Parnell's) hon. Friends, who had spoken previously. The Committee of Selection appeared to be nominated by the Chairman of the Committee of Standing Orders, and, therefore, it did not fall properly within the list of nominations for which the Government were directly responsible; but, looking at the state of the Notice Paper, he could not help feeling almost sure that the Government Whips on both sides of the House were consulted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray) with regard to the nomination of the Committee. [Sir John R. Mowbray: No.] Then that was not so. He was glad to be told by the right hon. Gentleman that he had not consulted the Government Whips, or the Whips of the Opposition, and that fact strengthened his argument, because it rendered it still more desirable that they should have some declaration from the Government as to what their opinion was in regard to the proposed change which the right hon. Member for the University of Oxford suggested by his Amendment. The change as it stood, if it were adopted by the House—namely, the extension of the number of the Committee from six to eight, would practically exclude the Irish Members sitting in that quarter of the House from any representation upon this most important Committee; and it ought not to be urged that, because the nomination on this Committee of Selection had not up to the present proved a subject of contention, that, therefore, it should still be nominated free from criticism and free from remark. By the Standing Order which was passed last Session, the duties of this Committee, which had been previously almost nominal, were enormously extended, and rendered of the utmost importance. They found that now the Committee would have intrusted to it the duty of nominating the Members of the Grand Committees, and also the Panel from which would be selected the Chairmen of these Standing Committees. Now, that alteration in the functions and duties of this Select Committee entirely altered the old position; and the strength of his argument was increased by the fact that, although, nominally, the House would have the supervision or the right of alteration or veto over the powers of nomination exercised by the Committee in respect of these Grand Committees, yet that power would only nominally exist, and would not be effective either for the purposes of criticism or debate. By an Amendment of the 18th February, 1879, to the Order commonly known as the Half-past Twelve Rule, it was provided that Motions for the appointment or nomination of Standing Committees should be exempted from the operation of that Rule; consequently, when they parted with the nomination of this Select Committee, they, practically speaking, parted with their last control over the proceedings of the Government and this Committee as regarded the nomination of Members composing these most important Grand Committees, because everyone knew that when the Government had the power of bringing on a Motion after half-past 12 at night, that, practically speaking, they were in a position to disregard everything except their own wishes and ideas, and to treat the House as though it were non-existent. He had said that the duties which these Standing Committees would have to perform would be of vast importance, and it was most desirable that they should approach their task with the confidence of all sections of the House. They had been told that there would be committed to these Standing Committees the Committee stages of Bills regarding Bankruptcy, and the Codification of the Criminal Law, and other measures of considerable importance, and they were also told by the Prime Minister during the passing of the Rule under which these Standing Committees would have their power, that he (the right hon. Gentleman) looked upon this arrangement in the nature or light of an experiment from which he hoped to obtain great results. He looked upon it in the nature of an experiment in the hope that something greater and more important—some additional power or increase of power—under the Rule might, in a future Session, be added, by which the House would be enabled to cope with a considerable portion of the work which now oppressed it. Nothing that fell from the right hon. Gentleman, when he was asking the House to give this experiment a trial, would have induced them to believe that it was his intention to deliberately pass over the Irish Members sitting in that quarter of the House when the time for the nomination of this most important Committee of Selection came. He (Mr. Parnell) believed that if the right hon. Gentleman had been in his place during the days of this Session, he would have so directed matters as to have given them that which they claimed—namely, the addition of one Member of the Irish National Party as a Member of the Committee. That, he believed, was not an unreasonable request. They had always been accustomed to receive a proportion of one-seventh of the total number nominated upon the Committee as the proportion which should belong to them for nomination, and he did not see why the custom should have been disregarded on the present occasion. The explanation might, perhaps, be found in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray), that he had not consulted with the Whips on either side of the House. It was very much to be regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not done so, and he (Mr. Parnell) thought that if he had taken the usual step—he did not mean to say the usual step as regarded the nomination of this particular Committee, but the usual step as regarded the nomination of other Committees of equal importance—the result would have been the saving of a considerable amount of the time of the House. He could not suppose that any section of the House desired to deprive the Irish Members of a right which had already been conceded. He would conclude his observations with the expression of a hope that the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) would be able to dispel their apprehensions at once—this being the proper time to do so.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I had hoped that this discussion would have concluded without my being called on to take part it. It has not been the general practice for the Government, or, I think, the Front Opposition Bench, to take part in the nomination of this Committee. It has been thought desirable—and the practice has worked well—that the nomination of the Committee exercising such important functions should be left as much as possible to the judgment of the House, uninfluenced by those accustomed to lead it on political and Party questions; therefore I considered it unnecessary for me or any right hon. Gentlemen opposite to take any part in the discussion. But as the hon. Member who has just sat down has appealed to me to know what view the Government take on the question that has been raised, I have only to say that the Government are of opinion that it is desirable they should—as they have done on past occasions—abstain from interfering in any manner whatever, direct or indirect, with the operation of this body. The Committee of Selection was appointed for the discharge of these new duties, because it was a body already in existence, and because it has always exercised its functions with great impartiality and great satisfaction to the House. It is not at all the practice, nor, indeed, has such been alleged, that the duty of this Committee has hitherto been solely in connection with Private Business. Frequently, on very important questions, when the House has felt itself incompetent to discharge the delicate duty of the selection of Gentlemen to serve on certain Committees, the House has delegated that delicate duty to this very body; therefore we have some experience of the Committee's discharging duties analogous to those that will devolve upon it under the New Rules. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his Friends have complained that there is no representation on the Committee of the Party to which they belong. Well, I have to point out that if the Committee only consists of eight Members, no Party in this House of less than 80 are by right entitled to a Representative on the Committee; but what I would rather point out to the hon. Member is that the appointment of this body has not proceeded hitherto upon strictly representative principles. What, I think, the House has desired in the appointment of this Committee has been the selection of Gentlemen of great Parliamentary experience, of great knowledge and acquaintance with Members of the House—possessing knowledge of the particular class of Business which individual Members desire to apply themselves to, and the qualification of Members for considering a particular kind of Business. These, I think, are the qualities the House looks for in the appointment of this Committee; and we have not in past times, nor do I think it desirable we should proceed now, to give to every section or body of the House that exact amount of representation which, numerically, it might be entitled to. We have thought that the appointment of the Committee and its composition might, with great advantage, be left to the judgment of those Gentlemen who have already served with so much satisfaction to the House upon it. If they had desired that the number and composition should remain precisely that which it has hitherto been, I should have been disposed to support their proposition. They have come forward, after due consideration, and have said that they believe they can discharge their duties with greater satisfaction to the House and themselves if a slight addition is made to their number; and I have no doubt that in that they are making a judicious recommendation that the House will do well to accept. I cannot imagine for a moment that there would be the slightest possible risk if the Committee is appointed as proposed, that the Irish National Party, or any Party in this House, will be ignored by them. I have no doubt that they will discharge their duties with the strictest mpartiality, and that they will consult he wishes of every section of the House n the selections they make. I do not know how far the Irish Party will desire to take a leading part in the deliberations of the Standing Committees; but I am quite certain that the body now proposed will give fair and adequate considerations, not only to their claims, but to the claims of every section in the House.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, they were about to confer on this Committee a more onerous task than had ever been conferred upon any Committee of Selection before, and he should consider it a grave omission if no Member from Ireland had been selected by the House to serve on it, increased and important as its functions had become. But the hon. Member for the City of Cork would forgive him for reminding him that, when he claimed representation for the particular section which he led, in a matter so deeply affecting the Order of the House, he should have recollected certain recent utterances of his own which, as his near neighbour, had, by accident, reached his (Mr. Newdegate's) ear. The hon. Member had declared, three or four nights ago, that he was not guided in his conduct by any reference to the opinions of the House, but only by the opinions of the particular section which he himself led. That was what the hon. Member had said. The passage had been erased from the reports; but he (Mr. Newdegate) had risen to say that he did think it absolutely necessary, considering the constitution of the House, which was representative, that some Irish Member who could command the general confidence of the House, and who was thought to deserve it, should be placed upon the Committee. He should, therefore, certainly vote for the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray.)

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he should have thought the noble Marquess, with his great experience of the House, would have been able, even on this novel occasion, to suggest some way out of the difficulty which he confessed, as a Member returned by an Irish constituency, he felt. He did not in the slightest degree question the fairness and impartiality of any Member nominated for the Committee; but on this occasion it unfortunately happened that the only Irish Member nominated was abroad, and would not, probably, return to this country before the most critical stage of the action of the Committee of Selection had passed. The Irish Party would, therefore, be, so to speak, left out in the cold. Irish Members, personally, no doubt, would not object to that, as they would be saved a great deal of trouble, and, perhaps, disagreeable work; but it was necessary that the Irish people should see that they had a Representative on the Committee — someone who would watch over their interests. If his hon. Friend the Member for County Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) were at home, he should be glad to acquiesce in his nomination as one Member of the Committee, and perhaps it might follow from that that the Irish Party were not entitled to claim another Representative. But his hon. Friend was away; therefore, in appointing him to the Committee, they were—to use a well-known though, perhaps, not a very Parliamentary phrase—appointing a dummy to represent Ireland. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman who had made the Motion would consent to nominate, in the place of the hon. Member for Galway, some other hon. Member who was at present in the House.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question proposed, "That the word 'Seven' be there inserted.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he would propose to substitute "Ten."

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out the word "Seven," in order to insert the word "Ten,"—(*Mr. Rylands,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Seven' be there inserted."

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY said, he did not wish to prolong this discussion; but there had been one or two things said in the course of it to which he felt bound to advert. First of all, the hon. Member for Paisley (Mr. W. Holms) had suggested the addition of the name of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn). He had known that hon. Member for 30 years in this House, and had often served on Committees with him. He knew him to have always acted for the public good, and no doubt his assistance would have been valuable on the Committee of Selection; but the hon. Member had declined to serve. As to the Committee being guided by Party considerations, if the hon. Member for Paisley could attend a meeting of the Committee of Selection he would find the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), who had always been a consistent Liberal, working most harmoniously with him (Sir John R. Mowbray); and he should doubt his own identity if he ever ceased to be a thorough going Tory. Since he had been Chairman of the Committee, and, so far as he could recollect, during the time of his Predecessor, there had been no acrimony or contention amongst the Committee. Everything was as fairly and as calmly considered as it could be; and that, he believed, was pretty generally known in the House. There was another point made as to the representation of Ireland on the Committee. The hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy) had said that the hon. Member for County Galway did not represent the Irish people.

Mr. LEAMY: What I said was, that the hon. Member for County Galway does not represent these (the Irish Opposition) Benches.

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY said, that all he could say on the matter was this—that some three years ago, when he moved the appointment of the Committee of Selection, it was suggested that another Irishman should be put on it, objection being taken to the Member proposed on the ground that his Liberalism was of too weak a type. It was on the suggestion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the other Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan)—who at that time acted as one of the Whips to the Irish Party—that the name of his Colleague was added to the Committee. He (Sir John R. Mowbray) could not understand how the Irish Members could come forward now in 1883 and declare the hon. Member for Galway unfit to represent them when his fitness was so abundantly recognized by them in 1880. With regard to the hon. Member's (Mr. Mitchell Henry's) absence from the House on the first day of the Session, he had received a letter from him saying that he should be glad to continue to serve on the Committee if it was the wish of the House. The hon. Member begged him (Sir John R. Mowbray) to communicate with him if he were re-appointed, and stated that a telegram would at once bring him home. If he were wanted he was to be telegraphed for, and he would instantly return to England. He (Sir John R. Mowbray) had written to the hon. Member twice; and, no doubt, if the House did him the honour to re-appoint him—and it could not do better, as he was a most efficient Member—a telegram would be at once despatched to him, and he would return. This it was only fair to say of the hon. Member in his absence. As to the action of the Committee, when appointed, in regard to the selection of Members to serve on the Grand Committees, of course he could not say anything with authority. He was not himself even a Member of the Committee until the adoption of the Resolution before the House; still, he could speak for himself, and, he thought, for the other hon. Members who might be appointed, that they would endeavour fairly and properly to carry out their duty in relation to the Resolution of last Session. They would have the advantage of all the light thrown upon the subject by the discussions which had occurred in the House; and it would, in the end, be for the House to say whether they had performed their duty satisfactorily or not.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that for himself, and he thought likewise for his hon. Friends who sat around him, he could disclaim any desire to cast a doubt upon the good faith and candour of the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken in regard to the nomination of the Committee of Selection. And the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) had clearly shown on the part of the Government that they had taken up a neutral attitude in this matter; therefore, he trusted the question would be discussed without anything of personal or political acrimony on the one side or the other. The noble Marquess had pointed out that the Front Opposition Bench, no more than the Government, had ever taken an active or prominent part in the nomination of the Committee of Selection; but he (Mr. O'Connor) wished to draw the attention of the House, and especially of the

Front Opposition Bench, to this, that when, during the Autumn Sitting, these Standing Committees were under discussion, the Conservative Leaders laid stress on the fact that Committees on Public Bills as they were before, and as they would be under the Grand Committee Rule, were totally different. They laid stress upon the fact, that hitherto the work of the Committee of Selection had been mainly the selection of Members to serve on Select Committees, and that, of course, in that matter, there was not much likelihood of anyone being charged with being actuated by Party considerations. But the Front Opposition Bench were careful to explain that in the selection of Members to serve on the Grand Committees, the Committee of Selection would have a far more onerous and important duty to perform. He would respectfully point out to the House how the Irish Party would be affected. He had asked the Prime Minister during the Autumn Sitting whether an Irish Fisheries Bill would come before the Grand Committee, and the right hon. Gentleman, without hesitation, replied in the affirmative. He (Mr. O'Connor) had refered to another Bill which he believed he was correct in saying the Government intended to refer to the Grand Committees—namely, the measure dealing with a Codification of the Criminal Law. Now, any Bill having for its object the Codification of the Criminal Law would embrace the consideration of a large number of existing Statutes in Ireland upon which the Irish people entertained very strong opinions. For instance, the Committee on the Criminal Code had recommended that the Whiteboy Acts should be removed from the Statute Book, and that prisoners who would otherwise come under those Acts should be tried by Common Law under some other Statute. It was clear, then, that Bills might come before the Grand Committees in which Members sitting on those Benches took the very greatest interest. What was the composition of the Committee of Selection at present? The right hon. Gentleman (Sir John R. Mowbray) had referred to the hon. Member for the County of Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), and had pointed out that his hon. and gallant Colleague in the representation of that county (Colonel Nolan) had recommended him for nomination to the Committee. Well, he (Mr. O'Connor) would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it was not a fact that the hon. and gallant Member's recommendation was so far back as 1880? [Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY: Yes.] He thought that was so. Surely the right hon. Gentleman had been a sufficiently careful observer of affairs in that House to know that very great changes had taken place in the relations between the hon. Member for the County of Galway and Gentlemen belonging to the Irish Party. He (Mr. O'Connor) returned thanks to the noble Marquess for his remarks that evening relative to the position which the Irish Party held in the House. The noble Marquess had referred to it as "The Irish National Party." It was gratifying to see that the noble Marquess recognized the fact that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) represented, not a section of Ireland, but the national feeling and aspirations of that country. What did the hon. Member for Galway represent? It had been said that Members of the Committee of Selection were appointed because of their large Parliamentary experience, of their weight, and Parliamentary influence. Well, although the hon. Member for County Galway was unfortunately absent, he (Mr. O'Connor) could not refrain from saying this with regard to him, that if he were asked to select a Member of the House whose Parliamentary weight was in an inverse proportion to his pretensions, he should select that hon. Member. As a matter of fact, he (Mr. O'Connor) did not know who in the world the hon. Member—at present airing himself in Algiers, and destined, as far as they knew, to air himself there as long as it might suit his taste—represented. He did not represent the Liberal Party in that House; he did not represent Ireland; he did not represent the House generally, if they might judge by the fact that no hon. Member was so successful as he in despatching the House into a buzz of general conversation whenever he attempted to address it. Who or what did the hon. Member represent? He represented no one but himself, and only on the ground that one individual could claim to be represented on a Committee of seven, taken from the Whole House, had he a right to the present nomination. What connection had the hon. Member with the

Irish Party? There was not one Member of the Party who was on even speaking terms with him. All the conversation he (Mr. O'Connor) had ever had with him had been across the floor of the House. That conversation had been of a character that could hardly be called amicable; and he hoped that before long, when the Government submitted its position to the verdict of the constituencies, he would have another conversation with the hon. Member in County Galway, which was very likely to be more agreeable to him (Mr. O'Connor) than to the hon. Member. The Irish Members asked that they should be represented on the Committee. Said the noble Marquess—"The Committee is not representative of the numerical proportions of the House, for, if it were, 80 only would have a right to be represented." But who did the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) represent? Did he represent a Party of 80? He (Mr. O'Connor) had heard it said, over and over again, especially from the Treasury Bench, that the Party to which the hon. Member belonged at the most could only rally four of its Members—and sometimes the four were so divided that it was hard to know which was the head and which was the tail. So that, if they went on the principle of the representation of Parties, or of proportion, the Party of 40 which followed the lead of the hon. Member for the City of Cork had a much greater right to be represented than the Party to which the hon. Member belonged, which sometimes followed and sometimes disobeyed the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). He (Mr. O'Connor) was sorry to say that this matter would be understood in Ireland in a very different manner to that represented by the noble Marquess. It would be regarded there as very much like an insult to that country to keep as far as possible from the deliberations of this House the views of those whom the noble Marquess himself had called the Irish National Party.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 213; Noes 54: Majority 159.—(Div. List, No. 12.)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR rose——

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Cubitt be one other Member of the Committee."—(*Sir John Mowbray.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Before you put the names, Mr. Speaker, I wish to move a further Amendment to Standing Order——

Mr. SPEAKER: The House is now engaged in considering the names of the Members to be on the Committee. Does the hon. Member object to the name of Mr. Cubitt?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: No, Sir; but though you did not observe me—though I was not fortunate enough to catch your eye—I rose to move an Amendment before you had actually put the Question. Having risen to address the House before you put the Question, I submit that I am entitled to move a further Amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: The House has affirmed by the vote just now taken that the Committee of Selection shall consist of seven Members. No further Amendment can be moved except to the names as put to the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Sir Charles Forster be one other Member of the Committee."—(*Sir John Mowbray.*)

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Mitchell Henry be one other Member of the Committee."—(*Sir John Mowbray.*)

Mr. PARNELL said, he wished to move, as an Amendment, to leave out the name of Mr. Mitchell Henry and substitute that of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justice M'Carthy). He regretted that the House, in its wisdom, had not seen fit to agree to the Amendment moved by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), which would, probably, have had the effect of saving them from the necessity of objecting to the name of an hon. Gentleman representing an Irish constituency. Such a duty was, of course, an odious one, and one which he, personally, should be very glad to be excused from; but, as the matter now stood, the only way in which the Irish National Party could possibly secure a Representative on the Committee of Selection was by objecting to the name of the Member whom they considered—having regard to all the circumstances of the case—the least entitled to serve on the Committee, and who would make the least serviceable Member of the Committee. There were many reasons, in the view of the Irish Party, why the name of Mr. Mitchell Henry should not be included on the Committee. In the first place, not a single Irish Conservative or National Member had been selected to serve, and it was a fact that by far the larger number of Irish Members sat upon that (the Conservative) side of the House. Why should the minority of Irish Members who sat upon the other side of the House have the hon. Member for County Galway to represent them, while the majority of Irish Members who sat on the Opposition side were deprived of any representation whatsoever? It would, in his judgment, have been much better if the number of this Committee had been extended. The functions of the Committee were of the most important character, and he should have thought everybody would have been struck—on the most elementary rules of common sense—with the fact that for the sake of ordinary convenience an Irish Member should have been nominated who was at least on speaking terms with the rest of his Colleagues in the House. But that was not the case with the hon. Member for County Galway, who was not even on speaking terms with any of his (Mr. Parnell's) hon. Friends. He himself was certainly not on speaking terms with the hon. Member. It would, therefore, happen, if the hon. Member for County Galway were appointed, that he would be entirely deprived of the advantage of consulting with the Irish Members—42 in number—who sat on the Opposition side of the House in regard to the nomination of Members to serve on these very important Grand Committees which were to be tried for the first time this Session. He could not imagine anything of more importance than the due consideration of the feelings and wishes of every section of the House in the selection of hon. Members to compose these Grand Committees, and yet the last chance for the Irish Members making their wishes known would be gone if the name of the hon. Member for County Galway were included. Coming on after half-past 12 o'clock at night, as the nomination of these Grand Committees would come on, it would be practically impossible for the Irish Members to put their views before the House or to have any effective voice in the matter. He regretted, therefore, that the Government could not see their way to announcing an opinion in this matter, and following the rule which had hitherto been always observed of giving the Irish National Party proportional representation on Committees. He begged to move that the name of Mr. Mitchell Henry be omitted and that of Mr. Justin M'Carthy substituted.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member, that though he can move to leave out the name of Mr. Mitchell Henry—or can oppose the Motion before the House—he cannot move to substitute the name of Mr. Justin M'Carthy without Notice.

Mr. CALLAN: The Motion is on the Paper.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the name of "Mr. Mitchell Henry," in order to insert the name of "Mr. Justin M'Carthy," — (*Mr. Parnell,*) — instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That 'Mr. Mitchell Henry' be one other Member of the Committee."

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that if the hon. Member for County Galway were in this country now, and if he were satisfied the hon. Member would attend the Committee, he should be very sorry to vote for the hon. Member being left out. He had every faith in the hon. Member's impartiality; but he understood from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford that he had communicated twice with the hon. Member, but not to say that he had had any reply to the effect that the hon. Member would attend at once to the duties of the Committee. Therefore, as it was the earliest stage of the Committee that was the most important, he should, with great reluctance, be obliged to vote for the omission of the name of the hon. Member. These were circumstances which ought to weigh on other hon. Members as much as they did on himself. It was right that the Irish Members should be represented in some shape or other; but as to the hon. Member, they had only evidence that two communications had been sent to him, and had received no intimation that he was likely to be back in time to be of service.

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY regretted that he had failed to make himself clear. To remove the misapprehension in the mind of the hon. Member, he would repeat that the first communication which had passed between himself and the hon. Member for County Galway had come from that Gentleman. He had forgotten on what day he received it, but, he thought, on the day Parliament met. The hon. Member had informed him, that if he were put on the Committee, he should be quite ready to serve, and he had requested that after the appointments were made a letter or a telegram should be sent to him. He (Sir John Mowbray) had, accordingly, written, telling the hon. Member that the appointment of the Committee had been put down for a week ago to-day, and then, when it was postponel till to-day, he had written again. As he had said just now, if the hon. Member for County Galway were appointed to the Committee to-night, he (Sir John Mowbray) should feel it his duty to at once telegraph to the hon. Member to acquaint him with what had taken place, and there could be no doubt he would soon be in his place—at any rate, on the 9th of March. In the last Parliament, he (Sir John Mowbray) had had the honour to serve with The O'Conor Don; but when that Gentleman lost his seat and was lost to the House, it became his duty to find another Member to serve in his place on the Committee. He had had a certain hon. Member in his mind, but on receiving an intimation from the hon. and gallant Member for County Galway (Colonel Nolan) that his Colleague (Mr. Mitchell Henry) would be a more fitting person, he had nominated that hon. Gentleman. All he could say about the hon. Member was that he had always performed his duty with zeal and fidelity, that he had been a constant attendant at the meetings of the Committee, and that there had never been anything like partiality in his action. He (Sir John Mowbray) thought he should not be acting loyally towards his Colleague if he did not put his name down again.

Mr. O'BRIEN believed that the selection of the hon. Member for Galway would be accepted in Ireland as a clear proof of the intention which the noble Marquess a few minutes ago disavowed. He (Mr. O'Brien) was not sufficiently acquainted with the machinery of Business in the House, to understand the full importance of the functions of the Committee of Selection; but, after this discussion—however it might have been intended—nothing was more certain than that the selection for the Committee of Selection of the hon. Member for Galway would be interpreted in Ireland as part of the attempt — the gross and unscrupulous attempt—that was being made to take advantage of the prejudice of the moment, to ignore and discredit and disfranchise the Irish people and their Representatives. For himself, he did not greatly value privileges in that House; but if the attempt were made to deprive the Irish Party of a position on which so much depended, and, above all, if that position were handed over to a Gentleman — and he could wish that Gentleman were present, for it was a disagreeable thing to have to say this in his absence—whose selection, of all Irish Members, would be most offensive to the Irish people, and if this selection were enforced contrary to the obvious wish of the Irish Representatives, all he (Mr. O'Brien) could say was that he believed Her Majesty's Ministers would gain less in this House than they would lose in Ireland by their discreditable stratagem.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, they had heard from the right hon. Baronet (Sir John R. Mowbray) a very fair explanation of the manner in which it had been proposed to put the name of Mr. Mitchell Henry on the Committee of Selection. The right hon. Gentleman, though responsible for the nomination, though not responsible for the decision of the House, had explained that he had put on the name of Mr. Mitchell Henry three Sessions ago, because he understood that the name of Mr. Mitchell Henry was the one most pleasing to the Irish Party at that time. Since then, the only ground on which, on the showing of the right hon. Gentleman himself, the name of Mr. Mitchell Henry at all appeared on the Committee had been cut away by the hon. Member for County Galway himself. Since that time the hon. Member had distinguished himself on every possible occasion by attacks on the Irish National Party, and he had contrived to make those attacks of such a nature that it was not only a severance of political relations, but of social relations between him and that Party, which had resulted. The selection by the House of such an hon. Member, in the face of the knowledge of these facts, would, he had no doubt, be universally received in Ireland as the expression of a deliberate wish on the part of the House to make itself as offensive as possible to the Irish National Party. That was the issue which would go by the deliberate decision of the House before the Irish people. He might very much regret that such a decision should go before the Irish people; but the House would know, and did know, and the cheers that greeted the declaration that the hon. Member for County Galway had severed even personal relations with the Irish National Party, would entirely confirm the opinion of the Irish people—that it would be the conviction of Ireland that a true interpretation had been put on the vote of the House. As he had said, they had had a fair explanation of the manner in which the name of the hon. Member for County Galway had originally got upon the Committee of Selection. He had been placed on the Committee as being really the Representative of the Irish National Party; and they had also received with candour and fairness an explanation of the manner in which his name had now been put upon the list. The hon. Member had sent what was, under the circumstances of the case, a fishing telegram from Algiers to the right hon. Gentleman (Sir John R. Mowbray), declaring his readiness to go on the Committee of Selection again, although the hon. Member was fully aware, when he despatched the communication, that he no longer, in any sense, represented the Irish National Party. He (Mr. O'Donnell) could fully enter into the feelings of the right hon. Gentleman, who felt that, under the circumstances, it would be most ungenerous on his part to throw overboard an old Colleague who evidently was so anxious to be on the Committee, and, accordingly, they had the candid statement that as soon as the hon. Member knew that he was elected, he would hasten home to take part in the work of the Committee; and, no doubt, his enjoyment of the position to which the House would have elected him would be much increased by his knowledge of the fact that he had been elected in direct opposition to the wishes of the Irish National Party. The House would decide this matter presently; and he (Mr. O'Donnell) could only hope that its decision would be known throughout Ireland to-morrow, above all other places, in the borough of Portarlington, where the voting was to take place. The selection made to-night would be taken as a crucial test of the feeling of the House towards the Irish National Party.

MR. CALLAN (who arose amidst cries of "Divide!") wished to know whether hon. Members desired to delay the dinner-hour, because, if they did not, they would hear him without interruption? He was one of those who would not be put down by even before-dinner noises by Saxon Members on the other side of the House. He had a distinct recollection of the manner in which the hon. Member (Mr. Mitchell Henry) became a Member of the Committee of Selection. He was nominated at a meeting of the Irish Party, and at his own special request. He canvassed individually the majority of the Members of the Irish Party, and asked that he should be nominated by them, and that his name should be sent in to the senior Government Whip as the nominee of the Irish Party. The hon. Member eventually went on to the Committee as the nominee of the Irish Party. There was a record on the Minutes of the Irish Party of the nomination of the hon. Member. There was a note made of the fact, that he was moved by one Gentleman and seconded by another, and named as the Representative of the Party. He (Mr. Callan) must say, in justice to the hon. Member, and in justice to the Irish Party, that the nomination was not made unanimously. He (Mr. Callan) had voted against the nomination. At any rate, the hon. Member was selected substantially as the Representative of the Irish Party; but he had now not only left that Party, but had made himself obnoxious personally, and politically, to every Member of it, by never losing an opportunity of attacking and traducing them. Whenever the hon. Member rose to address the House, the Irish Party were almost as ever present to his mind, as Charles I. was to one of the characters in one of Dickens' celebrated novels. They found that hon. Member, far away in Algiers, still wishing to retain his seat on the Committee of Selection, just, no doubt, in the same way as he would wish to retain his seat in the House if there were to be a General Election. The hon. Member would have just as little chance of being elected by the Irish Party as their Representative on the Committee of Selection, as he would have of being elected again for County Galway. There was on the Committee a Scotchman—a genial Scotchman—one of the few genial Scotchmen—and a Conservative, whose political faith probably accounted for his geniality. The Committee had been enlarged. Why was that? Was it to keep the hon. Member (Mr. Mitchell Henry) on this *refugium peccatorum?* Did they wish the Irish Party not to be represented at all, while they allowed a representation to the Scotch Members? The hon. Member (Mr. Mitchell Henry) was a Representative of the English manufacturing classes, and he sat on the Ministerial side below the Gangway. He was an Irish proprietor—an Englishman—a chance visitant to Galway, having no other connection with the county than a summer residence in the wilds of Connemara. Was he an Irish Representative? The Irish Members emphatically answered "No." It was proposed to enlarge the Committee. Well, the Irish Party, however they numerically reduced it, were 40 men standing shoulder to shoulder. The House could not give them a Member to the Committee, and yet they added to it one of the Party of four (Sir H. Drummond Wolff). Talk of English fair play! Was that fair play? The hon. Member's (Mr. Mitchell Henry's) sole recommendation to the Committee was that he was nominated by the Irish Party; but would any hon. Member get up in his place and say they considered the hon. Gentleman a Representative of the Irish Party? His Sponsor might now come and do penance in sackcloth and ashes for having proposed him. Then, they put on the Committee a Member (Mr. Illingworth), whose only qualification was that he was a Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). It was said that he was a very different kind of man to the right hon. Gentleman; but he (Mr. Callan) believed that there was six of one and half-a-dozen of the other.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 157; Noes 22: Majority 135.—(Div. List, No. 13.)

Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Illingworth, Sir Henry Wolff, and the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders, nominated other Members of the said Committee.

CONTROVERTED ELECTIONS.

Mr. Speaker informed the House, that he had received from Mr. Baron Pollock and Mr. Justice Manisty, two of the Judges selected, in pursuance of The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868, for the Trial of Election Petitions, a Certificate and Report relating to the Election for the City of Salisbury.

SALISBURY ELECTION.

The Parliamentary Elections Act, 1868.

The Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Act, 1879.

The Parliamentary Elections and Corrupt Practices Act, 1880.

To the Right Honourable The Speaker of the House of Commons.

We, the Honourable Sir Charles Edward Pollock, knight (Baron of the Exchequer), and the Honourable Sir Henry Manisty, knight, Justices of the High Court of Justice, and two of the Judges for the time being for the trial of Election Petitions in England, do hereby, in pursuance of the said Acts, certify that, upon the 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, and 26th days of February 1883, we duly held a Court at the Council House, in the Borough of Salisbury, in the County of Wilts, for the trial of, and did try, the Election Petition for the said Borough, between William Robert Moore, Henry Hale, George Medway, Charles Jewell, and Charles Massey, Petitioners, and Coleridge John Kennard, Respondent, which prayed that it might be determined that the said Coleridge John Kennard was not duly Elected or duly Returned, and that the Election and Return of the said Coleridge John Kennard were and are wholly null and void.

And, in further pursuance of the said Acts, we report that, at the conclusion of the said trial, we determined that the said Coleridge John Kennard, being the Member whose Election and Return were complained of in the said Petition, was duly Elected and Returned, and we do hereby certify in writing such our determination to you.

And whereas charges were made in the said Petition of corrupt practices having been committed at the said Election, we, in further pursuance of the said Acts, report as follows:—

(a.) That no corrupt practice was proved to have been committed by or with the knowledge or consent of any Candidate at such Election;

(b.) That the following persons were proved at the trial to have been guilty of the corrupt practice of bribery:—

Briber.	Persons bribed.
John Alfred Folliott.	Harry Skutt. Frank Moxham.

(c.) We further report that there is no reason to believe that corrupt practices have extensively prevailed at the Election for the Borough of Salisbury, to which the said Petition relates.

Dated this 26th day of February, 1883.

C. E. POLLOCK.
H. MANISTY.

And the said Certificate and Report were ordered to be entered in the Journals of this House.

NOTICE.

KILMAINHAM PRISON (RELEASE OF MR. PARNELL, &c.) (SIR S. NORTHCOTE'S MOTION).

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker, I beg to give Notice, with reference to the Question which I put to the noble Marquess yesterday, as to giving a day for the discussion of my Motion for the appointment of a Committee with regard to the release of certain Members, that I intend to renew the Question on Monday next, if the Prime Minister is in the House, and to address it to the Prime Minister.

QUESTIONS.

EXTRAORDINARY TITHE—LEGISLATION.

MR. INDERWICK (for Mr. DANIEL GRANT) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill this Session dealing with the question of Extraordinary Tithe; if not, will they afford facilities for discussion if a Bill be introduced by a private Member?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had intended, in answering the Question of the hon. Member for Marylebone, to refer to the Bill on the subject which he understood had been introduced by the hon. and learned Member for Rye (Mr. Inderwick), and he was therefore surprised at that hon. and learned Member putting the Question.

MR. INDERWICK said, it was true he had introduced a Bill on the subject. He asked whether the Government would give facilities for the discussion of the Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Facilities are a commodity in which Her Majesty's Government do not deal.

OPIUM SMUGGLING (HONG KONG).

SIR JOSEPH PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been drawn to the statement in the "Overland China Mail," which states that, at a meeting of the Legislative Council, Hong Kong, on the 13th of December last, His Excellency the Administrator, the Hon. W. H. March, admitted—

> "That there was much smuggling (in opium) going on, though not in heavily armed vessels,"

and that His Excellency read a report from the police station which stated that—

> "The police detained the boats and opium, pending the instructions of the Administrator, but there being no police case against them, they were allowed to go, by order of the Administrator;"

that the police report stated that this system of smuggling goes on regularly three, four, and even six times a month, the smugglers being always about one hundred strong, and armed; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have considered whether the present regulations at Hong Kong are sufficient, if properly carried out, to prevent opium smuggling from British into Chinese territory?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, the attention of the Government had been called to the statements; but some of them were controverted at the next meeting of the Council. The Administrator at Hong Kong had apponted a Commission to inquire into all the

> "Circumstances of the smuggling of opium and other goods from Hong Kong to the mainland of China,"

and when its Report had been received the Colonial Office would carefully consider it.

STATE OF IRELAND—ALLEGED INTIMIDATION.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that Mr. Robert Percival, bailiff on the estate of Captain Douglas, near Drumlish, in the county of Longford, was lately charged by two tenants on that estate with having used intimidating language towards them, and having produced fire-arms and threatened to shoot them if they attempted to prevent him from taking forcible possession of the land of Mrs. Campbell, a widow, who was then actually in possession of the land, having been restored to it; whether the two tenants tendered informations against Percival to the resident magistrate, Mr. Hill; whether Mr. Hill refused to receive the informations; and, whether he will take any steps in consequence of this refusal?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have received a Report which shows that the facts are not quite correctly set forth in the Question. Mrs. Campbell had been evicted from her house and farm, and had been allowed back into the house under an agreement; but she was not restored to the farm, as, by the agreement, Percival, who paid the rent—£40—was to hold the land till next June. Mrs. Campbell appears to have afterwards repented of her bargain, and tried to get the land back, and two men went to plough it. Percival prevented them from doing so, when they threatened to come again next day and plough the land by force. Percival said he would not allow them, and stated that he was quite well able to take care of himself, at the same time drawing a revolver from his pocket, which he showed them. The two men then went to Mr. Hill, the Resident Magistrate, and tendered information. Mr. Hill, knowing that Percival was a respectable man, and that an ill-feeling existed towards him on the part of one of the applicants, refused to take informations, and directed them to take out summonses. I have no intention of taking any step in consequence of Mr. Hill's refusal; both because he exercised a discretion which is expressly vested in him as a magistrate by the Petty Sessions Act, and because his action did not deprive the applicants of their legal remedy, if they really felt themselves aggrieved.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—REGENT'S PARK.

Mr. DANIEL GRANT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Law Officers of the Crown have yet given their opinion respecting the inclosure in Regent's Park; and, if so, whether he will communicate the same to the House?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Yes, Sir; but it is not usual to communicate to Parliament the Opinions of the Law Officers of the Crown. The question of the inclosure in the Regent's Park has only recently come before me, and I have not yet completed the inquiries which appear to me necessary before arriving at a decision.

POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS.

Mr. KENNARD asked the Postmaster General, Whether any steps have been taken to inquire into the alleged maladministration of the Post Office Savings Banks, and whether he can now assure the House that that important branch of the public service is being reorganised with a view to the more efficient performance of work by the staff without recourse to the system of "over time," and with a due regard to the vested interests of the male staff?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The administration of the Savings Banks has engaged much of the attention, not only of the Postmaster General, but of myself, and I can assure the House that it is now in a satisfactory condition. Several beneficial changes have recently been effected by the officers now in charge of the Department; and now that additional and long-needed premises have been acquired, further changes will be made, and the amount of overtime will be considerably reduced. For many reasons it would be unadvisable to abolish overtime work, and with it overtime pay, altogether.

Mr. KENNARD said, that he would call further attention to the subject on the Estimates.

PARLIAMENT—ELECTION OF MR. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON FOR WESTMEATH.

Mr. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Mr. Timothy Harrington, who was on Saturday elected, without opposition, to represent the county of Westmeath in Parliament (and whose friends handed in for him four nomination papers, three of which were signed by farmers exclusively, amongst whom were some of the largest farmers in the county), is now undergoing a term of two months' imprisonment in the chief town of Westmeath, on a charge of having attempted to intimidate the farmers of that county; and, whether, if that be the case, he will direct the speedy release of Mr. Harrington?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Harrington is undergoing imprisonment under the charge to which the hon. Member refers. The newspapers report, doubtless truly, that he has been returned under the circumstances to which the hon. Member refers. The papers likewise state that on the occasion of Mr. Harrington's return, his nominator made a speech, in which, among other very strong observations, he stated his belief that the Government had supplied Carey with the daggers for the Phœnix Park murders. If hon. Gentlemen will read the speech, I think they will be satisfied that the circumstances attending the election of Mr. Harrington were not such as to call on the Government to take the very unusual step of remitting a sentence passed on account of a charge by the Crown.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: In reference to that answer, I beg leave to ask the right hon. Gentleman, if Mr. Harrington, a prisoner in Mullingar Gaol, is to be held responsible, not only for language alleged to have been delivered by himself on a former occasion, but for speeches delivered by his nominee at an election?

MR. TREVELYAN: The burden of the proof rests with others, not with us, to show that there was in the circumstances of the election of Mr. Harrington anything to cause the Government to take the step of letting him out of prison, where he is confined on a charge of intimidation, and where he now lies in common with a certain number of other people who are not Members of Parliament. I do not think that any such cause has arisen.

MR. O'DONNELL: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in the opinion of the Government, there may not be ground for repudiating the charge of intimidation, in the fact that the person charged with intimidation had been unanimously elected a Member of this House by a constituency of the very class he was alleged to have intimidated?

[No reply was given.]

MR. PARNELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary, whether Mr. Harrington, the Member of Parliament for the County of Westmeath, and convicted of a political offence, is compelled to associate with ordinary felons and criminals, and to do the same work, and subjected to the same treatment?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will answer that question on Notice. I cannot admit that Mr. Harrington has been convicted of a political offence.

LIGHTHOUSES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—COMMUNICATION WITH THE EDDYSTONE LIGHTHOUSE.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to the unfortunate experiences of the men employed at the Eddystone Lighthouse, who were without food and fuel, and unable to communicate with anyone; and, whether he will take steps to avoid such a state of things in future, by providing a steamer to make visits at fixed dates, or by establishing a telegraph service to the lighthouse?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, the responsibility of looking after lighthouses round the coast rested with the Trinity House, and he was informed that they were investigating this case. Meanwhile, he had learnt that, although some of the reports published were exaggerated, yet it was true that relief was delayed by the boisterous state of the weather. No signals for provisions were made, so far as were known, until February 19th, and on the following day the men were landed. With reference to the suggestion of the hon. Member, there was little use in providing a steamer to make visits at fixed dates if the weather was such as to make relief impracticable. Telegraphic communication would not have prevented the delay, because that delay had not arisen from any want of knowledge on shore as to the condition of the men in the lighthouse.

SCOTLAND—THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state the extent and scope of the Royal Commission which is to be issued to inquire into the condition of the Crofters of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, if it will include the tenure upon which crofts are held, the rights to foreshores, the area of deer forests, and the amount of depopulation which they have caused; whether the Commission will visit the various localities and take evidence on the spot; and, if it will include in its inquiry the Shetland and Orkney Islands? The hon. Member added, that he hoped that the Home Secretary would be able to give him some explicit statement as to the scope of the Inquiry before the Report stage of the Address was arrived at.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I stated yesterday that I could give no details in this matter. The hon. Member must be aware, that in the case of a Royal Commission, no statement can be made until the sanction of the Crown has been obtained.

MR. MACFARLANE: In consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the answer, I beg to give Notice that I shall move an Amendment with reference to the subject on the Report of the Address.

SUPPLY—THE ARMY AND NAVY ESTIMATES.

MR. PULESTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether early arrangements could be made for taking the Army and Navy Estimates?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that no arrangements could be made until the debate on the Address to Her Majesty was concluded. It was hoped to go into Committee of Supply on Thursday, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer would move some Supplementary Estimates. If that were so, it was hoped that the Army and Navy Estimates would be taken on Monday and Thursday next week.

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE—NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, prior to the approval of the Indian Government in England being given to the proposed change of Law relating to the trial of Europeans in India, any steps were taken to ascertain the opinion of the non-official European public on the subject; and, whether it is the case, as reported in the telegrams from India, that public meetings have been, or are about to be, held in the chief towns, and in the centres of European business, to protest in the strongest terms against the proposed changes?

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT also asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the widespread indignation which the alteration in the Criminal Law of India is arousing among the European population, and of the danger of arousing race antagonism, Her Majesty's Government will give opportunity to this House for discussing that measure before it becomes Law?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Before the Government of India proposed any change in the law on this subject, the opinion of every local Government was asked for and obtained. It is impossible to believe that those Governments are ignorant of the opinions or feelings of the non-official European public, although the advice which they would give to the Government of India would be given on their own responsibility, and on their own sense of justice and expediency in the case. I have no information with respect to the latter part of the Question beyond what I have seen in the newspapers. I may take this opportunity of answering the Question of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) on the same subject. The Secretary of State for India in Council is responsible to Parliament for the instructions which he gives to the Government of India, in legislative as well as executive matters; and he cannot divest himself of that responsibility by inviting the House of Commons to discuss questions of legislation which are pending in India. It is open to any Member to call in question at any time the advice which the Secretary of State for India has given, or may give, to Her Majesty; but I cannot undertake that he will refrain from exercising the power with which he is charged, pending any discussion which may take place in Parliament. I may add that the Correspondence on the subject will be presented, and is now being printed; and also that it is not the intention of the Government of India to pass the Bill finally till they return to Calcutta in November, so that the public may have full time for consideration.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he wished to explain that he put the Question down that day, because he had understood, from a reply given to a similar Question the other day, that it was not the intention of the Government to give an opportunity for discussing the matter in the House. He wished, also, to repeat the Question in order to ask the noble Marquess whether, in view of the fact that discussion on Indian questions generally could only take place at the close of the Session, and in view of the great importance of the question, he would give some assurance that the House should have a suitable opportunity of discussing those changes before they were passed into law, and before the mischief which some apprehended was done?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON intimated that he was unable to give the assurance asked for.

THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—THE NEW RULES OF LEGAL PROCEDURE.

MR. J. STEWART asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Committee of Judges, now engaged in framing new rules of legal procedure, are to hold their final meeting to-morrow; and, if he can state that they have agreed to make such alterations in the rule relative to the jurisdiction of English Courts over persons resident in Scotland as, in his judgment, are sufficient to remove the grievance complained of?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR), in reply, said, that there had been draft amendments to the Rules proposed, which it was hoped would remove the grievances complained of; but he was not aware whether they had been overtaken by the Committee of Judges. He hoped to be able to answer that question shortly.

MOTION.

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IRELAND—THE KILMAINHAM "NEGOTIATIONS."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON moved—

> "That the Notices of Motions and the first six Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Motion for an Address to Her Majesty."

MR. J. R. YORKE said, that he wished to avail himself of that opportunity to make a few observations on a subject which had already been before the House, and which would probably in a short time, if not before the end of the debate on the Address, again occupy its attention. He desired to say a few words on the remarks of the noble Marquess on the part which he (Mr. Yorke) had taken in endeavouring to obtain an investigation into the Kilmainham Treaty last Session, and to obtain from the noble Marquess some definition of his position as Leader of the House in the treatment which he proposed to extend to the Leader of the Opposition. The noble Marquess said the other day that his (Mr. Yorke's) connection with the matter was altogether a casual one, and that it had been very much against his will that he was induced to bring forward the subject, and move for the appointment of a Committee. The noble Marquess also complained that the Government were continually importunating the Opposition, almost, as he said, going down on their knees to them, entreating them to formulate a specific charge, and take some course by which that charge could be investigated and either established or disproved. As regarded his personal connection with the subject, it was true, no doubt, that it was entirely a casual circumstance, and he did not think he was open to any charge of neglecting his duty in not bringing the matter earlier before the House. In the first place, as a private Member, he was under no special duty to bring the matter forward; and, in the second place, if he had done so, the Government being in full possession of all the time of the House, it would have been perfectly preposterous in him, with no claim upon the Government, to suppose that he could obtain the opportunity he might have sought of bringing the matter before the House. Therefore, if it had not been for the manner in which the noble Marquess had alluded to the question again, he should not have troubled the House with his share of the matter. But having regard to the refusal the noble Marquess had now made to permit the Leader of the Opposition to bring the matter before the House, it was necessary to recall to the House what was the specific attitude of the Prime Minister, even to a humble individual like himself. On the 13th of November the Prime Minister having denied that there was any Kilmainham Treaty, stated that he challenged the hon. Member for East Gloucestershire, who scoffed at him for that assertion, which he seriously made, to move for an inquiry. He (Mr. Yorke) said—"Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that he will grant a day?" The right hon. Gentleman replied—"I will agree to an inquiry without a debate." The Prime Minister then went on to say that there was no such Treaty, and that those who made such allegations without proof, instead of fastening disgraceful transactions on their opponents, brought disgrace upon themselves. Having thus been brought, without any deliberate intention of his own, to the position of making disgraceful allegations, which he did not prove, he (Mr. Yorke) then thought that the only course open to him was to urge and importune the Prime Minister for the opportunity he had promised. He did so from day to day, and had nothing to reproach himself with on that account. The Motion he first formulated alluded to the Treaty by name; but, that being objected to by the right hon. Gentleman, he was challenged by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) to state on what terms he would assent to an inquiry. Being taunted with apparently wishing to back out altogether, the Prime Minister replied in great wrath, and said that if the noble Lord did not withdraw the imputation he should decline altogether to answer the Question. The indignation of the Prime Minister then appeared very natural; but, judging by the light of his subsequent conduct, it did not seem so very absurd to impute to him an intention to withdraw from his offer. With the other steps that he (Mr. Yorke) then took he would not trouble the House in detail. He endeavoured to suit the Motion to the taste of the right hon. Gentleman, and made it as colourless and innocent as possible. He did not allude in the Motion to any "Treaty;" he only put it "the circumstances relating to the release" of the three Members from Kilmainham. To that even the right hon. Gentleman demurred, stating that, while he would offer no opposition to the Notice, he had his own opinion about its terms. On the 23rd of November he asked the Prime Minister to adjourn the debate at a quarter past 11 in order that the Notice which the right hon. Gentleman said he was anxious should be brought on should be discussed. The right hon. Gentleman then said that he would not move the adjournment of the debate. Another night, after the debate on Procedure had been adjourned, the right hon. Gentleman's faithful Friends and supporters talked until, by the Half-past Twelve Rule, the Motion could not be brought on. Then came the discussion which he felt bound to initiate, and in which he appealed to the House to judge between him and the right hon. Gentleman, as to the way in which he had been drawn into the matter, and the way in which the right hon. Gentleman had treated him. That was the position in which the matter stood at the end of last Session. Then began the second act. He had not yet taken any steps to renew the question, being undecided as to whether it would not be better to wait for the return of the Prime Minister. Then came the revelations in the Dublin trials, which had thrown so much light upon these transactions, and the debate initiated by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). In the course of that discussion a good many allusions were made to what were known on the authority of the Home Secretary as the "Kilmainham negotiations," and, strong opinions being expressed, the noble Marquess renewed the challenge. If possible, he did so in more specific language than the Prime Minister used to him last year, and it was immediately taken up by the Leader of the Opposition. On the Motion being put down, the noble Marquess, having presumably consulted his Colleagues, came down to the House and detailed various reasons why, he said, it would be inconvenient and highly mischievous to the Public Service that such an inquiry as was originally suggested, and as was now proposed, should take place. The first reason the noble Marquess gave was that the matter had been already discussed. But the discussion that had taken place had been entirely from the outside. They possessed no facts beyond what they possessed last summer, except that a certain light had been thrown on the matter, incidentally, by the revelations at Kilmainham. The only discussion which would be of any service was one in which the parties called upon to depose to the transactions would be placed upon their oath, and there would be liberty to cross-examine them to see how far their statements tallied. That was the discussion they wished for. They might go on discussing the matter in the House of Commons for ever if no new light was to be thrown upon the subject. Another objection the noble Marquess made to the appointment of a Committee was that it would prolong and revive the controversy. If there was nothing to find out, as he presumed was the contention of the noble Marquess, then he did not see why the controversy would be prolonged or revived by the appointment of a Committee. But if, on the other hand, fresh revelations were made, then, no doubt, the matter might be prolonged; if, however, the noble Marquess was right, that there was nothing to come out, then that argument did not apply. The third point of the noble Marquess was that it would have a tendency to weaken the authority of the Irish Executive. He could understand that it might weaken the Irish Executive if they lay under imputations; but he could not imagine anything more weakening to a Government than to lay under imputations which it was in their power to remove. By assenting to the Committee, if he were right as to there being nothing to disclose, the noble Marquess would strengthen instead of weakening the Irish Executive. The fourth argument the noble Marquess brought forward was the most idle and futile of all; he urged that the inquiry would be a waste of time. If the Committee were assented to without debate, what time would be wasted? The inquiry would proceed in the Select Committee upstairs, and on its conclusion, supposing the contention of the noble Marquess was accurate, the mouths of the Opposition would be shut. He did not believe there had been any example, at any rate for 30 years, of a Leader of the Opposition asking the Leader or Vice Leader of the House for a day to discuss a matter which the Government conceived to reflect upon them, and involving, perhaps, their very existence as a Government, and the Leader of the House refusing to give the opportunity asked. If Parliamentary government was to be carried on at all, the opinions of the Opposition should certainly be accepted from its Leader. The other day they heard with some amusement of a summary plan for disposing of any claims they might have to attention. The Leaders of the Opposition were to have half an hour to state their views in, and then—the *clôture.* But the noble Marquess went a step further. According to him the Leader of the Opposition was not to be allowed to make a speech on the subject at all; the Opposition were simply to register the decrees of the Government, while the Government had nothing to do except to dictate. He did not see what end the Government were to come to except the natural decay which he presumed might come upon them like other bodies corporate, because they had secured themselves against violent death. If the Leader of the Opposition was not even to be allowed to hint disapprobation at their conduct, he did not see from what quarter the shaft was to come which was to terminate their existence. He regretted the absence of the Prime Minister, because in matters relating to the ancient procedure of the House he always felt a certain amount of confidence that the right hon. Gentleman would give them due weight, and he could not believe the action of the noble Marquess would be endorsed by the Prime Minister. He could only add that they, as the challenged party, ought, at any rate according to the rules of honour, to be allowed time, place, and the choice of weapons. The Government were in a position to be able to command those three advantages. As they were great, let them be merciful, if not in their own interest, at any rate in the interests of decency and fair play, and to show that they had not yet emancipated themselves from all the honourable traditions of Party warfare.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, if the hon. Member is convinced that the decision the Government came to the other day, and which I announced yesterday, will not be confirmed by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, on his return, it is scarcely worth while for him to have taken up the time of the House by the criticisms he has made upon that decision; inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition has just given Notice of his intention to put a Question to my right hon. Friend on Monday next, and if the hon. Gentleman entertains the opinion he has just expressed, my mistake will be very soon rectified. The hon. Member, in the first place, wished to make some corrections in the statement I made the other day as to his personal connection with the matter. I do not understand that I have anything whatever to correct; because the hon. Member himself has just stated that his connection with it was purely of an accidental character, and that if it had not been for the accident of a certain exclamation he made, he never would have felt called upon to take any prominent part in regard to the matter. This is all I said the other day.

Mr. J. R. YORKE: What I objected to was, the noble Marquess's statement that, on the part of the Opposition, no definite movement had been made.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I was then speaking of the proceedings in the earlier part of the Session. It is scarcely necessary, I think, that I should follow the hon. Member in his proceedings during the Autumn Sitting. These proceedings were wound up by a formal discussion on the subject. ["No!"] Perhaps hon. Members will allow me to explain what I mean. The hon. Member (Mr. Yorke) availed himself of the opportunity which one of the New Rules gave him. He asked a Question, and received an answer which did not satisfy him. He asked leave to move the adjournment of the House, and was supported in that attempt by 40 Members. He stated his case; the Prime Minister made a reply, and the matter was discussed — formally discussed and debated—on that occasion. That was the concluding scene in that Session. That being the case, I do not think I ought to follow the hon. Member in the various steps that were not taken, or that he was not allowed to take, in reference to his Motion for a Committee of Inquiry. All, I think, that I am called on to notice in his observations is the statement affecting myself — that I renewed the challenge. That is an entire misapprehension, and I shall be very glad if he will mention the words which he considered to bear that interpretation. [Mr. J. R. Yorke: I have the noble Lord's words here.] If there were any such words, they were not words which I used intentionally. What I said was that I rejoiced—although the issue placed before the House by the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was not a very definite one, that at last an issue was to be submitted to the House upon which the judgment of the House could be taken; and, speaking for myself, I said I thought, from the course of the discussion which had taken place, wide as its scope had been, I was able more fully to understand the exact charges which were made against the Government in regard to this transaction than I had ever been before, and to make what may have been a very unsatisfactory, but still to a certain extent a reply for the Government to those accusations. I was very far, indeed, from renewing a challenge to the Opposition to enter upon a discussion of this transaction; because I was convinced at the time, and I am convinced still, that we have been discussing from Tuesday last the subject of these allegations which have been made against us ever since last May. Although I might not have thought the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham raised an issue in the most convenient and clear manner, still I expressed my satisfaction that at last an issue had been raised which could be met and be decided by the House. Nothing in the world could have been further from my thoughts than to address to hon. Gentlemen opposite another challenge to renew another discussion upon this question. The hon. Member (Mr. Yorke) says we have been discussing these transactions only from the outside, and that we did not know all the particulars it was necessary we should know. But I must point out to the House that that is a matter for the consideration of the Opposition, and which, no doubt, they gave due consideration to, and they knew enough last week to censure us without waiting for a Committee of Inquiry. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham formulated a Vote of Censure on the Government. His Amendment was acknowledged by the right hon. Gentleman opposite as being a Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government, which, if carried, would have the effect of turning them out of Office. They knew enough to formulate that Vote of Want of Confidence; and, in my opinion, it is perfectly idle to say that the Amendment pointed to any other definite subject except these transactions which are called the Kilmainham Treaty. ["Oh, oh!"] If it did not point to that, I should be very glad to know what it did point to. It appears to me that the Opposition are in this dilemma. Either the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham was distinctly and directly aimed at what they are pleased to call the Kilmainham Treaty, or Kilmainham negotiations, or else they have been guilty of wasting the time of the House during four nights by discussing subjects of a perfectly vague and a perfectly indefinite character. I always understood, and I believe we have all understood, that the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham did have reference to those proceedings; and we have undoubtedly, in all our speeches, treated it as having such a reference. If that is the case, as I certainly think it is the case, it does not appear to me that the Opposition can, in justice or fairness, come forward, now that their Motion has been rejected by the House. They have been discussing our conduct for four days, and they had information enough for that, and now they want a Select Committee to inquire into it. The hon. Member said there was no precedent for refusing a day to a Leader of the Opposition. I do not know whether there is a precedent or not; but I should like to ask whether there is a precedent for a Leader of the Opposition to raise questions repeatedly on the same subject, and having first challenged the judgment of the House on a certain definite issue, and failed in the attempt, to ask for an inquiry into the very same subject upon which he had already, without such an inquiry, challenged that judgment? The position which the Government have taken up is perfectly intelligible and perfectly legitimate.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he did not think the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was one which clearly raised before the House of Commons the question of the Kilmainham negotiations. That certainly was not the opinion of the noble Marquess upon Thursday last; because, if his memory served him correctly, the noble Marquess said the Amendment only indistinctly shadowed forth the nature of the charge to be made against the Government. [The Marquess of HARTINGTON assented.] The noble Marquess had just now said they were asking the House of Commons to discuss a question already fully dealt with; but the noble Marquess himself had confessed that the Amendment only indistinctly shadowed forth the charge. [The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Hear, hear!] Her Majesty's Government had expressed the opinion that the charges formulated, rightly or wrongly, against them were most serious. The Home Secretary the other day went so far as to say that charges had been made against the Government which, as gentlemen and men of honour, it was almost insupportable on their part to sit down under.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman must remember to what that applied. It was the distinct statement of the right hon. Gentleman that we had made communications without the knowledge of the right hon. Member for Bradford. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lowther) stated that he knew that I said there was no colour of foundation for that, and, if true, it was dishonourable conduct.

MR. J. LOWTHER remarked that that was one of the very points that they wished to have cleared up. He never said all the negotiations were conducted behind the back of the right hon. Member for Bradford. What he stated was that a portion of the negotiations did go on behind his back. Was the noble Marquess content that the Government should rest under that as well as under other imputations? What were the charges against the Government in connection with this matter? They were, as he understood them, that they undertook, on the one hand, to afford the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his associates their personal liberty, and the means of awarding a very heavy bribe to those who had been co-operating with them in illegal agitation—part of that bribe being derived from the pockets of the owners of land in Ireland, and part——

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the right hon. Gentleman that it is irregular to re-open a debate upon an Amendment that has already been disposed of by the House.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he would avoid recurring to the subject-matter of that debate; he would merely say that the bribe was offered in return for support of the Liberal Party, and it was further hoped that the efforts of the gentlemen in question would be used to promote the restoration of law and order. But the reminder, just now very properly addressed to him, was another instance of the extreme inconvenience of the course that had been forced upon Members by the conduct of Her Majesty's Government. The noble Marquess intimated the other night, and had done so now again, that this subject had come before them again and again without being brought to any satisfactory termination. Whose fault was that? [The Marquess of Hartington: It has now.] He begged the noble Marquess's pardon. The Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) gave occasion, no doubt, for some remarks on the subject; but there was no threshing out of the question of the negotiations for the best of all reasons, that the House was not in possession of all the circumstances upon which a distinct judgment could be formed. Many Members had formed their opinions, and he had formed his own, upon the slender evidence that was before them; and for himself he did not hesitate to accept the whole responsibility of expressing the opinion he had so formed. The matter now stood thus—challenges had been addressed to the Opposition by right hon. Gentlemen opposite. The Prime Minister distinctly pledged himself to the House to grant an inquiry. He did not think that his hon. Friend (Mr. Yorke) was serious when he urged that any material difference of opinion prevailed on this subject amongst the Members of the Government; but he believed that if the Prime Minister were there he would have thought it incumbent upon him to offer an explanation why he distinctly pledged himself, in the face of Parliament and the country, to grant a Committee without debate, and that his Colleagues in his absence had run back from that promise. That was a matter which concerned the consistency—he might use a stronger expression—of Her Majesty's Government. He trusted that the Government would not allow the matter to rest in the position in which it stood at present. Charges had been made against them, and the Home Secretary considered these charges of a very serious character. It was difficult, indeed, to conceive any charge more serious than that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to sanction the taking away of money from one section of Her Majesty's subjects and giving a grant out of the Consolidated Fund for the purpose of purchasing support for their Party. That was the main charge; and until there had been a full judicial inquiry into these matters, the Government could hardly be surprised if the impression prevailed that their reason for refusing inquiry after having challenged it was the fear of unpleasant disclosures.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, that, having a Motion on the Paper, he should feel, in ordinary circumstances, satisfaction in giving way at the request of Her Majesty's Government; but he could have no such satisfaction now, because he felt that an insult had been offered in the person of the Leader of the Opposition, not only to the right hon. Gentleman himself, but to every Member on the same side of the House. He very much doubted whether the Government would find that the course they had taken would promote the transaction of Public Business. When the Government had deliberately insulted 240 Members of the House, they could not complain if these 240 Members did not do everything in their power to aid them in forwarding their measures. He always believed the noble Marquess to be a man not only of very great ability, but of very great courtesy; and, therefore, he preferred to attribute the conduct of which they complained, not to the noble Marquess himself, but to the Government. It might be very inconvenient to Her Majesty's Government, notwithstanding all the challenges they had thrown out, to discuss this subject. But the Opposition were driven out of the House to discuss it, though they would prefer to do so in the presence of the noble Marquess. They had only one course left to them, and that was to proclaim to every meeting of their fellow-countrymen which they had the honour to address that Her Majesty's Government dared not face an inquiry into the circumstances of the Treaty of Kilmainham.

Mr. HOPWOOD said, he had a personal matter to refer to. A Motion of great interest to a large number of people would be displaced by the Motion of the noble Marquess to take the discussion on the Address that evening. He was not prepared to oppose the course which had been taken. He could only express his great and bitter disappointment. He did not complain of the Government. They had been forced to take the present course by the action taken by the Opposition. He hoped the country would mark the grievous waste of time which had proceeded under the name of legitimate discussion, but which had really become a system of wrangling and recrimination, which could benefit no human being, but which was delaying legislation, and delaying the discussion of questions of social legislation required by the House and the country. Those interested in such legislation ought to take an early opportunity of expressing their condemnation of the waste of time in the House. It was, he believed, almost unprecedented for the Opposition to move two Amendments to the Address, and to be preparing a third. He would also take that opportunity of asking the Government to be prepared to meet this question of the Contagious Diseases Acts at an early day. He assured them that they would have to declare their opinion for or against the present Acts, and he had no doubt that they must ultimately accept those views of which he had been one of the indicators. It was certainly their intention to proceed with it, and he asked with all firmness that the Government would come to an early determination to assist in the repeal of these Acts.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, reverting to the Kilmainham Treaty discussion, said, that the main fact which appeared before the country in connection with it was that Her Majesty's Government, having thrown out two distinct and formal challenges to the Opposition to demand and institute an inquiry into transactions which the great bulk of the people regarded as unprecedented, mischievous, and disgraceful, were now seeking to withdraw from them. There was an old method of war adopted by the Chinese Tartars of painting themselves hideously, and making wild and hideous cries before the enemy; but if the enemy showed fight, the makers of them turned and fled. First, with a display of bravado, the Government challenged the Opposition, and then they prolonged a debate until half-past 12 o'clock, so that the Motion could not come on. From May or June to the end of the Autumn Session, the Government had all the time of the House at their disposal. They knew very well, if this Committee were granted, there would be details discovered of interviews between the agents of the Government and the Leaders of a Party accused in that House within the past few days of terrible and unnatural crimes, and also negotiations between the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) and Her Majesty's Government. It was because the Cabinet was afraid of these revelations that they had refused this reasonable demand for an inquiry. It was because they knew it would be shown that they were willing to use gentlemen whom they had described as "marching through rapine to the disintegration of the Empire," and were also willing to employ the worst instruments of these men, who were planning and conniving at murder. Never was there a more direct challenge than that of the noble Marquess; and he should have adopted one of two courses with respect to it—either have formally withdrawn it or carried it out. The discussion on the subject last year was nothing but a scratch debate. No doubt, the facts already in their possession were sufficient to justify a Vote of Censure on the Government; but it was better, before moving one, to be in full possession of all the facts.

Motion *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Notices of Motions and the first six Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Motion for an Address to Her Majesty.—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [NINTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [15th February]—[See page 98.]

Main Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that the Amendment he had placed on the

Notice Paper was almost identical with that which the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) intended to propose, but for the strategy of the noble Lord the Leader of the Government, which obtained for him an easy victory, but one of which he ought not to be over proud. The Amendment was as follows:—

> "Humbly to assure Her Majesty, that the state of distress among the population of many parts of Ireland; the inadequate machinery of the Land Act, and its partial and imperfect character, especially with regard to leaseholders, the right of tenants to their improvements, the purchase system, and the condition of the agricultural labourers; the unsatisfactory operation of the Arrears Act; the state of the Law of Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises in Ireland; and the condition of Local Government in that Country, are all questions demanding the urgent attention of the Legislature and the Government; and that the absence of any undertaking to legislate on any of these questions, or on any question affecting the welfare of the Irish People, must tend to promote discontent and intensify disaffection in Ireland."

To anyone reading Her Majesty's Speech it would be obvious that the most striking point connected with it was the total absence of any reference to the state of Ireland, or any promise of remedy for the crying evils and grievances in that country which pressed for immediate legislation. In the first place, it was a matter of notoriety that dire distress existed in certain districts; and so extreme was that distress that, in spite of the unwillingness of the ordinary channels of information which disseminated the prejudiced views with regard to Ireland that were generally prevalent in this country, it had forced itself on the notice of the people of England. For instance, there appeared in *The Times* of to-day a remarkable report of Dr. James Ferguson, medical officer for the district of Gweedore, county Donegal, relating to the condition of the poor in that district. Dr. Ferguson said of the children—

> "I am sorry to have to report that poverty and destitution are too clearly evident in their appearance, and that the diarrhœa and influenza which largely prevail among them are the outcome of insufficient, low, and unvaried diet, and the general use of seaweed, which I noticed in course of preparation for the principal meal of the family in every house I entered. In almost every house there is a sick patient, especially among the old folks, for whom medicine is utterly useless, the only thing needed being nourishment. Entering the schools, I was sadly disappointed, seeing nothing but weary and dull eyes and languid faces, betraying weakness of strength and deep depression of spirits. More than once I heard the distressing sound, repeated here and here among the children, of sickly coughing. I noticed, too, the insufficient clothing of the children in the schools and in the houses, and the dreadfully shocking sleeping accommodation which their houses supply."

Mr. Arthur O' Connor

The Chief Secretary, who had been in the district, would be able to judge of the worth of such a report; and he would learn on inquiry that a similar report might be made from any of the 20 or 30 Unions in the seaboard counties on the West Coast of Ireland. Now, with regard to the inadequacy of the Land Act, he thought the majority of the House would admit, and that the Government would admit, that it was of a most marked character, especially with regard to leaseholders. The Government he thought recognized—the majority of the House at any rate admitted, judging by private conversations he had had—that the Land Act in this respect required amendment. The right of tenants to their improvements was admitted by hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House who had the harshest views with regard to the Land Act. That the Arrears Act required amendment, he thought, was also admitted; and as to the agricultural labourers, the landlords themselves had been interested in them in a manner which was very satisfactory, but which, he thought, was never exhibited to a very marked extent until recently. He was not at all surprised at the way the Arrears Act had turned out in its working. When it was introduced to that House, he never anticipated that very great advantages were likely to accrue to the poorest portion of the people of Ireland. Some advantages, no doubt, were to be anticipated—for instance, it was to be expected that, to a certain extent, some of them would be relieved from the crushing debt which prevented them from peacefully working their farms, or discharging either their obligations to their landlords or to their neighbours, and which, if they had the means, they would only be too willing to have discharged. He looked upon the Act, however, as of great value, for the sake of the two principles which it embodied. In the first place, it laid down the principle that when a system had been found to work only to the advantage of a class, and to the disadvantage of the community, the latter had a right to interfere, and say—"We will take from you that which you have improperly used. We will protect those who, under the system which at present obtains, are unable to make, either for themselves or the community, homes or comfort, or to obtain that well-being which, under other circumstances, they might secure." The second principle was that the community so interfering should make a limited compensation to those whose interests were disturbed. This principle, once undertaken and acted upon and properly developed would, he was confident, be fruitful of great advantages to the people. With regard to the Parliamentary and municipal franchise mentioned in the Amendment, he would remind the House that when the Government were in Opposition the Home Secretary declared that this question was of the foremost political importance. In the first year of the existence of the present Ministry a Franchise Bill was introduced for Ireland, but it was abandoned; and although they had the assurance of the Home Secretary and the noble Lord that it would be re-introduced, it had not again been brought forward, notwithstanding repeated promises. This gave some idea of the value of Ministerial assurances. It could scarcely be expected that Members from Ireland would fail to seize that and every other opportunity of urging on the Government and Parliament that Ireland should have equal rights with the other parts of the Empire. The want of local government was the next head of their complaint. In the Speech from the Throne in 1881 they were assured that such a measure would be introduced for Ireland, and that it should be such a measure as would secure to the people of that country the local authority, power, and control over the expenditure of the public money. They were further promised that it would be of such a nature that it would develop habits of local self-government amongst the people. That Bill had never been introduced, and that promise seemed to have been entirely forgotten in the present Session. The worst and final complaint in the Amendment was with regard to the absence of any undertaking of legislation on any of these questions, or, indeed, upon any question affecting the welfare of the Irish people, and the probable effect upon the feelings of the people of such an omission; but he did not know that there was any very great reason to complain of the absence of any assurance in the Speech from the Throne on the part of the Government, or that indicated that there was no intention to take up one or other of the questions. Such a deduction by no means followed, nor was it a safe indication of the intentions of the Government, for it was not to be concluded that they would not find it necessary, or at any rate advisable, to introduce after a little while a measure which at present they had no intention of bringing forward. He would remind the House that in 1880 his hon. Friend the Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) moved an Amendment to the Address with reference to the Land Question. His reasonable proposal was rejected by an overwhelming majority, and yet, before the Session was half-way through, the Government realized the necessity of introducing a measure, which, before 12 months were over, became law, with reference to the Land Question. Under these circumstances, he was inclined to think that before the Session was over they might have some further measures upon Irish affairs, of which no inkling or suggestion had reached them from the Treasury Bench. They had had an indication that the affairs of England and Scotland were to command the undivided attention of Parliament. Strange as it might seem, they had now been sitting nearly a fortnight, and yet, with the exception of Egypt, there had been only mention of Ireland; but, although this had been so, the Irish Members had certainly not done anything which might fairly be described as any attempt or indication of a wish to force unduly upon the House the affairs of Ireland. The attention which Parliament had already given to Ireland had arisen from the necessities of the situation, and announcements from one side or the other, and not from any preconcerted arrangement or any proposals emanating from those Benches. If this was to be taken as an omen of what would take place, they must anticipate that a very considerable portion of the next five months would be devoted likewise to the affairs of Ireland, whatever were the present intentions of the Government. In spite, then, of the absence of any assurance upon the matter, in spite of past experience as to the want of significance of such absence of assurance, the Irish Members could not be expected to trust to chance for bringing under the notice of Parliament Irish grievances. It must and should be their endeavour this Session to bring before the House and the United Kingdom those grievances which he had referred to in his Amendment, and every one of which they would try and induce Parliament immediately to take in hand. He would remind the House that if they insisted upon that Assembly being the only Assembly for legislating upon Irish affairs, if they insisted that English and Scotch Members should have an overwhelming vote in regard to affairs pertaining to Ireland, and if they refused to give them any facilities which they felt to be absolutely necessary properly to deal with the rights of that country, then, in common justice, they were bound to make arrangements so that those interests should be safeguarded, and that measures for the amelioration of the condition of the people, for the development of the resources of the country, for the equalization of the rights of the Irish people with those of the other subjects of the country, should be passed. If, however, they were not disposed to initiate measures having those objects in view, then it would be for the Irish Party to take the matter into their own hands, and do what they could on every occasion, and by all the means at their disposal, to bring before the House and the country those things which they knew to be of vital importance, and with regard to which they should be wanting in their duty if they did not urge upon the Government.

Amendment proposed,

To insert, at the end of the 10th paragraph, after the word "Executive," the words:—"Humbly to assure Her Majesty, that the state of distress among the population of many parts of Ireland; the inadequate machinery of the Land Act, and its partial and imperfect character, especially with regard to leaseholders, the right of tenants to their improvements, the purchase system, and the condition of the agricultural labourers; the unsatisfactory operation of the Arrears Act; the state of the Law of Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises in Ireland; and the condition of Local Government in that Country, are all questions demanding the urgent attention of the Legislature and the Government; and that the absence of any undertaking to legislate on any of these questions, or on any question affecting the welfare of the Irish People must tend to promote discontent and intensify disaffection in Ireland."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Colonel COLTHURST said, he did not wish to go over the same topics as those touched on by his hon. Friend, and would confine his remarks entirely to the question of the distress in Ireland. That was the question which pressed most on his mind. He would not enter into any details as to the extent of the distress, for he was perfectly contented to accept the statements made by the Chief Secretary during the Autumn Session, and more recently by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). There were some Unions in each of the counties of Donegal, Sligo, Clare, and Mayo where the distress was very alarming. There was distress elsewhere, but it was not of an exceptional character; but when he came to the estimate of the power of the Poor Law, as at present contained in the Statute Book, to cope with this distress, then he regretted to say that he was entirely at issue with the Government. The Local Government Board had obtained Reports from their Inspectors. Those Inspectors were gentlemen of the greatest experience, humanity, and intelligence, and he did not wish to say one word against them. Their Reports were truthful, so far as the extent of the distress; but they measured the capability of the Poor Law to deal with it by the workhouse test. They said—"Is such a workhouse full?" But it could not be forgotten that in the autumn and winter of 1879, when the distress was much severer than it was likely to be at present, similar Reports were made and acted upon. It was said that the workhouses were not half full, and no other methods were adopted from November, 1879, to February, 1880. It was found, however, that the workhouse system did not work. The distress was most acute, and immense charitable efforts had to be made to keep the people from starving. There were several reasons why the workhouse system was inadequate. The most important reason was the invincible repugnance of the Irish people to enter the poorhouse. The Local Government Board pointed out that recipients of relief could not dictate the mode they should receive it. This was a thing which was open to argument; but it seemed to him that the Board should deal with facts as they found them, and with this repugnance as it existed in Ireland. They all knew the strength of family ties. Two and three generations sometimes lived together, and once the workhouse was entered those ties would be rudely broken, and the different members of the family separated one from the other. The people who received assistance in Donegal, Mayo, and a large portion of Sligo were small occupiers, holding their little bits of land from five acres to half or quarter of an acre. The Local Government Board had assured them that by entering the workhouse they would not forfeit their interest in the land; but everyone who knew what sort of cabins these poor people lived in, the kind of roof they had, and their general condition, would know that to shut up these poor cabins for three months, and to allow a neighbour's cattle to run over the small holdings, would be as effectually to destroy the tenant's interest as if the surrender had been made a condition of obtaining relief. It might be a very desirable thing that these people should not cherish such a dislike of the workhouse as that which distinguished them, but they did. They would suffer privations, and the worst sort of privations, and would allow those near and dear to them to suffer privations, only stopping short of starvation, rather than go into the workhouse; and he could not blame them, because he knew that if they went into the workhouse they became hopeless and helpless paupers for the rest of their lives. He wished in this matter that the present Government had done what their Predecessors had done. It would have saved untold misery and other bad effects. When they found that, in spite of their Circular to the Local Government Board, the distress was mounting up to an extraordinary pitch, they instituted Baronial Sessions, and authorized the Guardians to borrow money on very moderate terms; but so rooted was the prejudice in the minds of the administrators of the law, and in the minds of certain theorists in England, that they did not, until the distress had been existing for three months, relax the workhouse test. What were the shortcomings of the Administration of 1879-80? Why, these were amongst the number—outdoor relief was three months late, and in the meantime the country was covered with a network of charity organization. Unfortunately, however, charity was substituted for the Poor Law, instead of, as in the case of the Lancashire Cotton Famine, as an adjunct to it; so that during all that trying period the average rates never exceeded 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, though a large number of people were living upon charity. Then the terms upon which money was lent to the Guardians should have been the same as in the case of the owners of land; and, further, the Guardians should have been employed to superintend the relief works, so that the works might have been used as a real test of the honesty of those applying for relief. He would have suggested in October, and he did suggest now, that the Government should, in the distressed districts, forego the workhouse test. That was the first thing to be done, and without they did that whatever else they did was worth nothing. He would then propose that money should be lent to the Boards of Guardians, on perhaps more favourable terms than they could get it now, for the purpose of providing outdoor relief for sanitary work. There was hardly a village—certainly not a small town—in Ireland where money could not be spent advantageously in giving work to distressed people—that kind of work which could be brought near to their homes. In addition to that, the Secretary to the Treasury might advance loans to small occupiers, and persons might be sent down from the Board of Works to inspect the various holdings, in order to see what amount of money had been spent upon them; and the same persons might be empowered to give the first instalments of the money. That would be a useful mode of surmounting the present distress, though he did not make light of the other schemes that had been proposed, such as emigration, migration, arterial drainage, and the like. But, at the present moment, the best mode of relieving the prevailing distress was by outdoor relief. But there were not wanting prophets of evil who said that foregoing workhouse relief would lead to waste of money. Day after day they told the Government—"Do not relax the workhouse test — once open the doors to outdoor relief and you will flood the solvent Unions." His contention was that they were entitled to judge the present and look at the future in the light of the past. In the past the Guardians had been possessed of those powers, but they had made use of them in a niggardly spirit. On the whole, in 1881, which represented the expenditure of 1880, there was only £182,000 spent on outdoor relief on a valuation of £13,000,000, and really that could not be said to be an excessive sum, or show any waste of money. The total number of able-bodied people relieved out-of-doors did not amount to 225,000; the rate over the whole of Ireland was on the average only 1*s*. 5*d*. in the pound. The preliminary and indispensable condition of any reform of the Poor Law system involved Union rating. Without union rating it would be impossible to carry out a system of outdoor relief, and as to the system of outdoor relief leading to waste, reference to the statistics in *Thom's Almanac* would show that such was not the case. With the exception of four or five Unions in the county of Mayo, where the circumstances were exceptional, the highest rate in Ireland was 3*s*. 6*d*. in the pound. But it might be objected that in the last year extravagant sums were given away without due inquiry as outdoor relief to the families of "suspects" and evicted tenants. That might be perfectly true. But what did the number of those instances amount to? There were, perhaps, five, 10, or 20 people in a whole Union who, in the case of evicted tenants, had received relief for one month; and in the case of "suspects" for, perhaps, six or eight months. After all, it should be remembered that the Guardians of the Poor were ratepayers and occupiers of land, who had to pay half the poor rate, and who, in the next very few years, would probably be paying the whole of that impost. It was not to be supposed that they would be ready to shovel out and waste their own money and that of their fellow-ratepayers; and even if they did waste it for one year, why should they be kept in leading strings by the Government? The ratepayers would have the remedy in their own hands, and could turn the Guardians out at the next election. Again, the effect of the claim to outdoor relief in Ireland would be to stimulate employment, and, accompanied by Union rating, to stimulate economy, also making it the interest of every person, whether landlord, tenant, or shopkeeper to give as much employment as he could himself to keep people off the rates. It would stimulate the energies of the Guardians in their corporate capacity to find work for the people. The Guardians in Ireland now possessed powers of borrowing money on very favourable terms for sanitary purposes, but they scarcely ever used them. Dr. Handcock, a statistician of the greatest authority, who had argued, in season and out of season, in favour of assimilating the Poor Law system in Ireland to that of England, had pointed out the impolicy of the Imperial Government standing, as it were, as a buffer between the Guardians and the poor in Ireland, and preventing them from relieving the necessitous with their own money. Such a proceeding was also especially inconsistent on the part of a Liberal Government, which proposed at the proper time to extend the municipal and Parliamentary franchises in Ireland. He certainly could not understand it. He had searched in vain for a reason, and he could only attribute it to this—that there was a certain number of persons in England, political economists, who had found, or thought they had found, that the rigid inelastic Irish system was more consonant to the dictates of political economy than the more liberal, the more elastic English system would be, and that the influence of this class of persons found an echo and a voice in some of those charged with the administration of the Poor Law in Ireland. But he would ask his right hon. Friend if he himself was one of those who considered that the Poor Law in England was too elastic, too liberal, in the administration of outdoor relief? He would ask him, was there any public man in England, any Member of Parliament, who dared stand upon the hustings and propose his wish to have the Poor Law in England amended in the sense of the Irish Poor Law? No one dare say so. If that was the case—and it was the case—was there any good reason, then, for refusing an assimilation of the Irish Poor Law to that of England in this respect? Was there anything to be said for keeping up that inequality to the detriment of the poorest and most helpless class in the community? He could not think there was. He therefore hoped that in that discussion his right hon. Friend, without prejudging the question of a general assimilation of that law, would, at least, announce his intention to relax that cruel and fallacious workhouse test.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he had much pleasure in supporting the Amendment. He expressed his personal thanks to the hon. Member for the Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) for the very prompt manner in which he flung himself into the breach, and took up that Amendment, which, owing to a peculiar action on the part of the Government, was taken out of his (Mr. Justin M'Carthy's) hands. He had listened with great interest to the speech of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst). It showed great practical knowledge of the subject, and very manly feeling. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) only hoped that the appeal made to the Government by one who supported them consistently throughout would have all the weight and influence to which it was most certainly well entitled. The Government could not in this case say they had not had ample warning of the emergency they were very likely soon to be called upon to meet. Most hon. Members in that House would remember a remarkable discussion which took place on this very subject during the Autumn Sitting. He thought it was the first occasion on which, under the New Rules, a Member had to get the support of 40 Members to raise an important question at an extraordinary time. A Motion for the adjournment was made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and the whole prospect of distress in Ireland was then carefully and fully gone into. The Government were warned that they must expect an emergency of a very grave and serious kind, and they were warned that the worst pressure and pinch of the emergency would come about the end of February or early in March. At that time, he confessed, he was under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was well acquainted with the gravity of the situation, and was well disposed to meet it as it ought to be met. Almost every Member who took part in the debate impressed on him the necessity of not allowing himself to be too rigidly bound and compressed by official rules and by routine. If he remembered rightly, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) impressed on the Government the necessity for being liberal and generous and untrammelled in their mode of meeting the emergency. It seemed to him at that time that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was prepared to meet the appeal in a liberal spirit, and was equal to the occasion. He left him (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) certainly, and many others, under the impression that this appeal to him had not wholly failed in its effect, and that some good would come of the efforts they had made. There were two points that were specially urged for his particular attention. One was the point raised by the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County, the necessity of meeting this case by relaxing that stringent hidebound rule which in Ireland forbade the giving of outdoor relief, or relief of any kind, until the workhouse was filled. It was pointed out again and again to the right hon. Gentleman that that system always must be a failure in an emergency. It was only waiting until sickness set in before they took the measures which might have prevented the sickness—it was only waiting until the utmost poverty was reached before they gave relief which, coming in time, might have prevented poverty. The proceedings of the House had hardly been over when the Government issued the Circular to which the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County had referred. In that Circular the Lord Lieutenant announced that he intended to rely on the operation of the Irish Poor Law in its most restricted sense. He announced that outdoor relief could not be given in any Union to able-bodied men unless the workhouse was full, or, by fever or other infectious disease, was unfit for the reception of poor persons; and then followed a sentence which he should like to read to the House—

> "Her Majesty's Government are fully aware of the great objection entertained by many persons to go into the workhouse; but it cannot be contended that persons who are unable to procure for themselves the necessaries of life should be allowed to determine the manner in which public relief is to be afforded."

He did not know whose hand drew up that sentence. He was perfectly certain that the graceful pen whose productions they all so much admired, that of the Chief Secretary, never was guilty of writing anything like that clumsy sarcasm. They asked for bread and the Lord Lieutenant gave them a sneer. What was needed was some sort of system of reproductive works, by which the poor people might have earned bread for themselves. Kindly help was needed; the help that decent men could receive honestly, and not the alms of the pauper flung with a contemptuous remark. Time went by and the outdoor relief was not given, and the distress began more and more to deepen and to widen over the country. It was at its worst in part of the North and North-West, and even going down to Kerry and some part of the county of Cork; it had, to some extent, swept over the whole of the country. He did not mean to say that famine spread over the whole of the country, or that famine in its worst sense prevailed as yet in any part of Ireland; but an amount of distress prevailed in some districts which was only by a very thin line divided from famine. Under these circumstances, a movement was got up in London for the purpose of making an appeal to public beneficence in favour of those suffering from starvation and poverty in Ireland. It occurred to some of his friends that the appeal should be made from the Mansion House, and that the Lord Mayor should be invited to assist. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) presided over a meeting which was called for that purpose. He might say, perhaps, that he did not now feel particularly proud of the part he was then induced to take. He was not fond of carrying round the hat in any way for the relief of Irish distress. He began to grow, he confessed, weary of the incessant appeals to the charity of the world to assist a country which, under fair and just conditions, would be able to maintain herself. He did not expect that very much would come of this particular appeal. Still, he thought at the time that if there was the slightest chance of doing any good, everyone ought to be quite content to put aside any personal sentiments that he might have. They held their meeting, and nothing came of it. His hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) made a speech, in which he made some historical allusions. Because his hon. Friend talked history—he supposed he talked it at the wrong place—the Lord Mayor of London held that there could be no sympathy in this country with Irish distress. Ireland was punished for the historical allusions introduced by the hon. Member for Dungarvan. But the attempt to get up a meeting and to get up this appeal produced a certain amount of good. They got a great many statements from authoritative persons describing the condition of things in Ireland. They were able, by means of these letters, to make it clear to everyone what the nature and extent of the distress was for which they were anxious to make their appeal. With the permission of the House he would read a few extracts from the communications that had been received, giving an account of the state of the country and the distress that prevailed. The Most Rev. Dr. Duggan, Bishop of Clonfert, writes from Loughrea that—

> "In certain districts of the country distress of harrowing intensity prevails. The pressure of hunger is mostly felt in the small towns of the West of Ireland, whither thousands of the poor evicted from the neighbouring properties to lay down the land into pasturage have been driven to huddle in outskirt hovels without employment. In simple truth my life here is a misery, listening to tales of distress which I know to be true; but that distress I am utterly unable to alleviate."

He contends that there are ample opportunities for reproductive works within easy range, and he condemns the Government for their rigid adherence to the workhouse test, and for their policy of the emigrant ship. The Rev. P. S. M'Hugh, of Kilglass, Eniscrone, Sligo, writes on February 15—

> "I had no conception of famine until now. I am bewildered at the appalling state of the people. . . . . Fuel is absolutely more required than even food, and as yet I have only got a few pounds to relieve the distress of over 200 families."

Later still he writes to say that the distress is intensified. The Rev. Mr. Hughes, of Kilgain, County Sligo, writes—

> "The people have positively nothing to live on, and fever of a very virulent kind has broken out."

The Rev. James Duncan, P.P., of Bangor-Erris, County Mayo, writes on the 20th of January—

> "The potato crop last season in this district was a complete failure, scarcely worth the digging out. The storm of last October totally destroyed the cereal crops; in a word, the people

this year have neither means nor money. I assure you they are at present without food or raiment, and how they are to weather over the spring and pinching summer Providence alone knows."

The Rev. Mr. Flynn, of Kiltyclogher, County Leitrim, writes on February 1st—

> "The famine here is daily growing wider and deeper. The people are without fuel, without cattle, food, or credit. I am on all sides besieged by starving people, asking even for a few pounds of Indian meal."

The Rev. Canon Lyons, Spiddal, County Galway, at a very recent date, says—

> "I am fearful of the next few months, because at present the people are in a dreadful condition. They are living on seaweed, which will rapidly cause widespread sickness. We want employment, not charity, and in this district money might be advantageously laid out on reproductive public works."

The Rev. Mr. O'Fadden, of Gweedore, Donegal, writes—

> "The distress is spreading with fearful rapidity, and increasing day by day. Within the last fortnight it has reached every village and hamlet in this district."

He also speaks of seaweed being used as food—

> "No meal, no potatoes, nothing really to support life. The misery of the people is unmistakably pictured in their countenances and eyes, in their dress and their wretched bed clothing. I longed for night to shut out from my eyes the terrible sights; but they haunted me as I walked through the lonely glen to my home, and they haunt me still, and will do so for many a month to come."

Mr. Johnson, of Kanturk, County Cork, writes—

> "The poor people have neither fuel nor clothing—a Siberian winter; Indian meal 12*s.* a cwt., no potatoes, and the oat crop practically worthless."

Mr. Redmond, High Sheriff of the City of Waterford, says—

> "The poor are in a desperate condition, and I very much fear they will be even worse, as the distress is intensifying, and the winter extremely severe."

Mr. O'Rorke, of Tralee, County Kerry, writes—

> "The poor are starving, and it is greatly to be deplored that the Government have shut their eyes to their sufferings, as I find from a letter sent through the Secretary of the Local Government Board to the Tralee Union yesterday, in which the Guardians are asked to place all unoccupied wards in good and habitable order for the reception of those looking for relief;" and he adds, "God help the poor!"

He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had not read those extracts from the numerous letters he had received for the purpose of finding fault with the Government for what they had failed to do. His purpose was to direct their attention to the future. He wanted the Government to do something before it was quite too late. The burden of all the letters he had received was that the distress was great; that it was growing, and that the worst had yet to come. During the next few weeks the worst phase of the crisis would have arrived; and if within that time some generous effort should not be made, then the Government would have to encounter an amount of distress which might very well be described as famine itself. The daily papers—even those least inclined to be sympathetic with the Irish poor—contained most strong and earnest testimony from their correspondents as to the extent, the intensity, and the growing nature of the distress in the West of Ireland. He would not weary the House with those reports. He could only enforce the appeal just made to the Government by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Cork County. He would urge upon the Government not to lose the time which yet remained, and to relax that rule which would not be endured in England, under which a man suffering from temporary distress could not obtain relief, but must go into the workhouse. Experience showed that people who once went into the workhouse seldom emerged any more from a pauper's position. It would be far better, far cheaper—putting it on the very lowest ground—to afford outdoor relief, and to enable those people to tide over their distress, than to offer them the odious test that they must take the risk upon their consciences of allowing themselves to starve, or else come down from their previous position as industrious people, and become paupers for a time. Becoming a pauper for a time meant becoming a pauper for life. He strongly urged the Government to give to-night some assurance that they were not rigidly bound to their so-called economy. Let the Chief Secretary give an assurance that his influence would be brought to bear upon others, so that a generous effort might be made to grapple with the distress. There was no occasion now for his going into the various other points mentioned in the Amendment. He endorsed every word the Amendment contained. It was a simple axiom to say that while the defects mentioned there continued to exist there must be discontent and disaffection in Ireland. The Irish Party would in the most practical way give the Government opportunities for remedying those defects. Bills embodying all the reforms they claimed would be brought before the House. It would then be for Her Majesty's Government to say whether they were prepared to deny or to grant those reforms. He might say with regard to the defects of the Land Act that the Government had admitted them. The Prime Minister had again and again stated with regard to the Healy Clause that the meaning in his mind was similar to the meaning in the mind of the hon. Member who moved the clause. There, then, was a clear instance in which, by mere mistake or mischance, a measure failed to give effect to the intention of Parliament. He should not go over all the matters spoken of in the Amendment. He preferred to lay the greater stress upon the poverty and hunger that existed in Ireland. That was a grievance over which one moment could not be lost. It had been suggested that no more time could be given to listening to Irish complaints, or to endeavouring to redress Irish grievances. He thought that was not a position which the English Government or the English Parliament could maintain. They had taken upon themselves the responsibility of governing Ireland, and, having taken that responsibility, they could not avoid considering the grievances of the people. There might be English questions which, in the ordinary course of things, would have good right to be carefully examined. Most willing would he be to hear that all English reforms had speedy chance of success. But not one of them was so urgent as the grievances of Ireland, and while Irish grievances existed the English Parliament could no more escape from them than could a man escape from his own shadow. When the roof leaked, that must be mended before any decoration of the walls was attempted; when a limb was wounded, it claimed the first thought; and in the same way the grievances of Ireland should receive the first attention of that House. The responsibility of removing them was a burden which they must bear, who had assumed and insisted on retaining the task of governing Ireland.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL said, he thought this a convenient opportunity for reminding the Ministry and the House that the sole function of government in Ireland was not repression and the detection and punishment of crime. Hon. Members had made the debates on Irish affairs in this Session the opportunity for delivering attacks upon various parts of the past remedial policy of the present Government. The debate had had given to it a personal character, which he thought could not serve any useful purpose, and which certainly would not tend to allay the feeling of irritation existing in Ireland. He confessed that he listened with anxious expectation to the speech of the Chief Secretary; but he must also confess that that speech was to him (Mr. C. Russell) of a somewhat disappointing character, and he would tell the House why. He fully recognized the courtesy of the right hon. Gentleman's utterances, but he should have liked to hear a healthier ring about them. While his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary was laying down with great vigour that the primary duty of a Government was the protection of life and property and the maintenance of order, he should have liked to have gathered from that speech that he considered it a function of Government at least equally important to look after and redress, with equal urgency and equal care, admitted grievances. Though he (Mr. C. Russell) did not perceive it in the speech of the Chief Secretary, he found that healthy ring in the speech of another right hon. Member of the Government, the President of the Board of Trade; and he remarked that, whereas the speech of the Chief Secretary was received with unstinted applause by the Opposition, the speech of the President of the Board of Trade received but small approbation from those Benches. He would like to remind the House of some extra-Parliamentary utterances of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). In his recent speech in the Rotunda, the junior Member for the University of Dublin—not, indeed, by any indirect or roundabout insinuation, but by direct charge—had practically laid at the door of the Prime Minister the charge that to his (the Prime Minister's) recent remedial policy towards Ireland was largely to be attributed the state of things existing in Ireland; and, at the same time, he lavished praise upon the Chief Secretary. In his speech, also, on the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was this expression—

> "I regard the Amendment as a correct historical narrative of the past policy of the Government, and as an exhortation to them to desist from pursuing in the future the path now universally condemned."

But he (Mr. Gibson) also told the House on that occasion that they must not expect that a man whose house was on fire would regard as his guardian angel the man who came to put it out, when he believed it was the same man who had set it on fire. What did that all mean, except this—that he (Mr. Gibson) was lauding the Chief Secretary at the expense of his Colleagues in the Government? That was praise to be looked at with some qualification and suspicion, for the only part of the policy of the Government which the right hon. and learned Gentlemen showed that he wholly approved of was that part which related to the rigorous execution of the law. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, in labouring to show that a great part of the existing evils in Ireland was due to the past remedial policy of the Government in that country, urged that the Government should desist from bringing in any further remedial measures. He humbly but earnestly protested against that doctrine, and he protested that it was at least as much the duty of the Government zealously and carefully to search out and make itself acquainted with what were the grievances, and apply the remedy, as it was vigorously but justly to insist upon the maintenance of law and order. There were matters which had been pointed out which called for the urgent attention of Parliament; and how was the demand for attention met? It was said—"We will have no more legislative redress for Ireland until Ireland is quiet." That was one way in which it was put. Another mode was—"There are English claims which press upon popular attention, and Ireland has already received a large share of the time of Parliament." As regarded the last of these arguments, he admitted its perfect justice as coming from Englishmen. He admitted that Ireland had received—and Members from Ireland ought to acknowledge that Ireland had used—a large share of the time of Parliament; but he would point out, at the same time, that that was an argument which must be very carefully used, because every time it was put forward in answer to a legitimate demand for redress it would strengthen enormously the claims of those who said that England could not legislate for Ireland. As to the other ground of objection, he confessed he was a little surprised to hear it pressed in that House. Was nothing more to be done for Ireland because Ireland was in a state of disquiet? Why, it was as if they were to say in the case of a fever patient that they should place him in a strait-waistcoat until he was reduced to a state of subjection before proceeding to give him remedies. That was an illustration in homely language, it was true; but he thought it fitted the occasion. Was it not notorious that, although they might not always be able to trace the connection between crime and the absence of legislative redress, yet that between the existence of crime in a country and its political and social condition the connection was certain? In the first place, the absence of remedial legislation created a sympathy with offences against the law, which meant protection for those who offended against the law by immunity from punishment. To those who said that there should be no legislation for Ireland until she was quiet, he said there would be no quietness until remedies for grievances which undoubtedly existed were found. Hon. Members opposite said that it was a concession to lawless agitation and violence. He knew that was said; but they must not forget that the House of Commons had taught the Irish people the bitter lesson that their best chance of legislation was by showing a spirit of disorder and disquiet. They had that upon the authority of the right hon. and learned Member for Dublin University, for he told a different audience in the Dublin Rotunda that there would have been no such Land Act as that of 1881 but for what he described as "a lawless agitation." What were the matters that were now pressing? One of the matters most urgently in need of the attention of the Government was the distress. He warned the Government not to delay in taking measures to relieve the distress which existed; and he warned them also not to try and break down that feeling of horror and abhorrence—call it prejudice if they would—which the Irish people always felt against entering the workhouse. He did not intend to enlarge upon that question, for he would find it exceedingly difficult to supplement the account they had had from the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), and particularly from the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst); but he joined with them in warning the Government not to be too late in taking steps, although only of a temporary character, in that matter. Primary among the other questions which demanded attention was the amendment of the Land Act. If the House should be disposed to resist the pertinacity with which this matter was brought under their notice, let him remind the House and the Government that there was not one point now brought under their notice that was not again and again insisted upon and pressed upon the House by him (Mr. C. Russell) and others at the time when the Bill was being passed into law. The points on which the Land Bill required amendment were summarized in the resolutions passed at a most influential meeting of farmers recently held in Belfast, delegates from all parts of the country, a body of men entitled to be heard and to have their demands weighed with attentive consideration by any Government. They had insisted on the amendment of the clause called "Healy's Clause"—that no rent should be chargeable on the tenant's own improvements. That point ought to be made clear. It had been confessed by the Prime Minister that the interpretation supposed to be put upon that clause by the Appeal Court in Dublin was contrary to the intention of the Legislature when the Bill passed, and was certainly contrary to the intention of the Government. Another point of importance bearing on the matter was that the decisions in regard to fair rent should be retrospective to the date of the application, and not operate merely from the date of the decision. The expectation of the Prime Minister that rents would be largely settled by agreement had not been realized. It would still be years before the adjustments were completed; and it was absurd that the man who got his case tried early should be in a better position than the man who applied as soon, but whose case was heard later. The exclusion of leaseholders from the Act was also a burning and a pressing question. He (Mr. C. Russell) would ask, were the Ulster farmers, loyal and peaceable as they were—were they to be told that their just and legitimate demands were not to be dealt with in a fair manner and promptly? That was a serious question for the Government. Another of equal, if not of greater, importance was the state of the magistracy in Ireland. That was a question which, without legislation, might be largely dealt with; it was a question, indeed, which came home to the daily lives of the people; and it had assumed greater importance of late years, owing to the large increase of stipendiary magistrates, who were part of the Executive rather than judicial officers. Therefore, it became important to draw attention to the fact that in many parts of the country there was a want of magistrates in whom the people had confidence. It was necessary not only that tribunals should be fair, but that the people should feel that they were fair. He had no hesitation in saying that the state of the magistracy in a great part of Ireland at present was such as did not command the full confidence of the people. Beyond the questions of the existence of distress, the amendment of the Land Act, and the state of the magistracy, there were others which were urgent and pressing—for instance, the question of County Government Boards and Provincial Councils, in regard to which Ulster was in complete and full accord with the other three Provinces. Notwithstanding the censure which had been passed on the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) for a speech which he recently delivered at that place on the necessity for remedial legislation in this direction, all he (Mr. C. Russell) could say was, that if those utterances were, in the opinion of hon. Members in that House, premature, they were, nevertheless, wise and statesmanlike. ["Oh, oh!"]

He (Mr. C. Russell) thought so sincerely. He did not mean to say that he expected the Government to take up this question in the present or even next Session; but he did say that it was one which they must take up, and soon too. They would have to do so, because they wanted in Ireland a moral force behind the Government. At present, the people were practically divested of any voice in the management of their affairs; and what the Government would have to do, if they desired to be successful in restoring peace and contentment, and in ruling the country, was to place on the people themselves a sense of responsibility. No condition of things would ever evoke the sympathy of the people on the side of law unless they gave them that sense of responsibility which came from the knowledge that they had an active part in governing and controlling their own affairs. His (Mr. C. Russell's) principal objects in rising were—first, to warn the Chief Secretary to beware of the insidious laudations of hon. Members opposite—and next, to insist upon the principle, which appeared to him to have been lost sight of in the course of the debate, that it was not the only function, nor the greatest function, although it was the primary function, of a Government to repress, to detect, and to punish crime. It was the nobler, it was the wiser, it was the more important function to get at the sources of disaffection, which was the parentof crime. A Government might for years, without the sympathy of a people, and against the wishes of the people, repress and keep down a people and call it government; but it was not government in any true sense of the word; and they could not permanently govern the country at all, in any true sense, unless they enlisted the sympathies of the people, founded on the confidence which they could repose in the just administration of the law, on the contentment which sprang from that just administration, and on the fact that they felt that their just legislative demands for redress were attended to.

SIR JOHN HAY said, that the condition of affairs in Ireland was such, that North of the Solway they were beginning to get sick of the Irish Question. They found that all that had been done by the House and by the country had failed in any sense to give any satisfaction to Ireland. [MR. CHARLES RUSSELL: No, no!] He was delighted to hear any expression of dissent from that remark from any Irish Member; but, so far as he could see, the efforts of Parliament had not been received as they ought to have been. The dissatisfaction existing on this matter North of the Solway was, in his opinion, justified. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) spoke just now of decent and independent men, of whom he considered Irishmen principally consisted. At the present moment, if they looked at the Returns, they would find that the contribution of Scotland to the Imperial Revenue was nearly three times as large as that of Ireland, notwithstanding that the population of Ireland was 2,000,000 greater than that of Scotland; and he might say that the Scotch people were not at all inclined to contribute to the maintenance of this population of decent and independent men, who could not pay their way with regard to the Empire. At the present moment they had in Ireland over 5,000,000 of people—2,000,000 of whom could not exist there. It was utterly impossible, on physical conditions, that they could live in the wretched tenements on which they were placed, even though they had them rent free and farmed the land well. It was absurd that this country should endeavour to introduce, by legislation or by any other means, contentment among such a population. He would venture to say that the cheapest thing the Government could do was to hire 250 transports and send away once a month 1,000 persons in each of the ships, and if this was done for one year they would send away 3,000,000 of persons, and the condition of Ireland would thereby be greatly benefited. He said, truly and sincerely, that he believed that was a process by which Ireland could be reduced to a population and a condition with which they could have contentment and happiness. There was this fact to ponder —that in Scotland, with a population of 3,734,000, and Ireland, with a population of 5,159,000, there was, if they excepted the potato crop, a produce in the former of £33,000,000, and in the latter of only £32,000,000. If the potato crop came to maturity in Ireland, it was valued at £15,400,000, but it never did; and in Scotland not more than £1,500,000 worth of potatoes were ever grown; but when it failed in Ireland there would inevitably be starvation, and the people of Scotland were to be called upon to help support this poorer population, so many of whom the hon. Member for Longford called decent and independent men. So long as that state of affairs lasted, he believed the House had no chance whatever of bringing contentment to Ireland. There were two great statesmen in this country—Sir Thomas Wentworth and Oliver Cromwell—one on one side of the House, and the other on the opposite side, and both recognized, only with a harsher and sterner view, the right mode of governing Ireland; and he said what he believed to be true when he declared that the best thing for Ireland would be that at the next Dissolution the Writs should be suspended for that country, except for the learned constituency of Dublin University, which returned excellent Members. If that were done, and our best General—who, he believed, was an Irishman—was sent to govern the country, they should have in 10 years a contented and happy Ireland. Let them reduce the population by 2,000,000, and govern it satisfactorily, and they would have no more eloquent speeches from the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell), and the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), endeavouring to persuade the House that, by some means or other, Ireland might be governed by legislation. No system of legislation would govern a country of paupers, who were determined to be disloyal and discontented.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he did not propose to enter upon the topics introduced by his right hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir John Hay). They did not lie within the circle of practical politics. He had listened to the speech of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) with the discomfort and apprehension with which one listens to criticism of one's conduct from a friendly source. But he was glad to hear it said that crime was to be punished in Ireland until the criminal population had learned that crime was criminal. But he thought that to say that repressive measures would fail unless accompanied by remedial legislation argued a confusion of mind. The Government meant to keep the question of crime and that of reform absolutely distinct. He would not insult Irish Members by mixing up the two. Englishmen or Scotchmen would feel outraged at the suggestion that crime could not be put down unless the central authority ceased to interfere with the finances of counties, and any Member who made such a suggestion would be rejected by his constituents. His hon. and learned Friend seemed to think that it was the duty of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and for the Government, to indulge in vague generalities and pledges. But he thought a handful of meal better than a bushel of chaff; and that one Bill, whose title and details could be named and recommended, was better than a million of fine phrases about remedial measures. He would name the measures which were already drafted, or as good as drafted, which the Government intended to introduce in connection with Ireland. One dealt with electoral divisions and unions; another was intended to introduce an improvement with respect to the law of lunatics at large, and with the law of the poorer lunatics in Ireland. Another would enact that Boards of Guardians should be elected by ballot. The Government had also a Bill for the Sunday closing of public-houses. He was not speaking with the pride of an inventor, for many of those measures were well known; but they would be none the less useful. They intended also to deal with fisheries, and to extend the advantages now possessed by a few districts in the way of borrowing for the improvement of fisheries to certain maritime counties. They had, too, a Bill for the better registration of Parliamentary voters; and another more of an administrative than of a legislative character by which Ireland would enjoy the same advantage with respect to the training of elementary teachers which were already possessed by England and Scotland. With the assistance of the Irish Members they might be enabled to carry these Bills, and some good would be done; but without their assistance, or with their hindrance, he feared little could be done. He listened with some perturbation to the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst), because, important as the debates of the last few days had been, there was no subject that had exercised the Government of Ireland as the question of distress and the way to meet it. He advisedly used the word "distress," though it might appear to convey an admission that distress existed. The very essence of the situation, in the opinion of the Irish Government, was that distress always existed in certain parts of Ireland, and always would exist, unless the Irish Government ventured to face the situation with a courage which, he believed, was greater than that required to deal with assassination and outrage. What was the present situation in Ireland? The current year had not been, by any means, a bad year for Irish farmers with tolerably sized holdings. Grain had been a very valuable crop, though somewhat short. The price of cattle had been exceedingly high. One gentleman told him of a certain farm he had on his hands of which the rent was £800 a-year, which brought him a net profit of £1,400; and, taking into consideration the condition under which gentleman farming was conducted, that was a very fair balance. The potatoes, undoubtedly, had been bad on good sized farms where the farmers had not charged the soil for that exhausting crop. They had been worse than bad on those miserable patches which the peasants were obliged to continue working for generations and centuries. A certain portion of the population of Ireland lived under conditions not realized in this country, and more deplorable, perhaps, than under which any people lived in any part of civilized Europe. There were 67,000 holdings of between one and five acres in Ireland—he did not count those below one acre—as they were not, properly speaking, agricultural holdings. There were 164,000 holdings of between five and 15 acres, many of which, in the more mountainous districts, did not afford more than two, or two and a-half acres of arable land. In these small farms the ground was dug year after year for potatoes until the soil was completely exhausted. In Donegal he made careful inquiries, and he learnt from the people that in an ordinary year an acre of their land yielded not more than 90 cwt. of potatoes, instead of from six to nine tons, which would be the yield of good land properly farmed. In bad years the crop was almost worthless. The Reports which they had received from those who best knew the poorer districts of Ireland were that the population was at present in a state of social and financial crisis. Three years ago, when the crop of 1879 was known to have failed, and when the effects of the failure began to be felt, the shopkeepers refused to give credit. But when they began to give credit anew the great flood of Government aid and private charity also came to the assistance of the people. The Duchess of Marlborough's Committee expended £130,000; the Mansion House Committee £174,000? and considerable sums were expended by the Land League Relief Fund, *The New York Herald*, and other American relief funds. A sum of £1,500,000 was allocated from the Irish Church Surplus, and about £1,250,000 of it was apportioned out in loans and grants. For two years these districts were bolstered up and kept going by artificial and external aid, and in the third year there was an unusually large crop of potatoes. There was also another source of revenue for the small farmers in that year, for they very generally withheld their rent. But it was not only in that year, but for some years past, that this rent was withheld, a proof of which was the extent to which the Arrears Act was resorted to in the districts in question. From Mayo came 20,396 applications; from Donegal 13,650; and from Galway 12,559. In that year also there was an unusually large crop of potatoes. This year, however, there were none of those favouring circumstances. Potatoes were bad, and, in some cases, worse than bad. A year's rent had to be paid in order that the advantages of the Arrears Act might be obtained, and the process of getting that year's rent had in some districts been an exceedingly painful process. The fact now was patent—and the country and Parliament must face it—that the holdings on the West Coast of Ireland were too small; the people could not live on the land without running into debt; credit could not easily be obtained, and the people were dependent on their own resources, which were insufficient to support them, or soon would be. It might be asked—"How could they ever have lived upon their poor holdings?" They had been able to do so because their style of living was formerly much simpler than it had been lately. They used to live on potatoes and meal. They bought absolutely nothing but a certain quantity of meal, and they dressed in home-made flannel or frieze. Some years ago, however, they began to drink tea, to use a good deal of flour, and to buy dresses at stores and shops. Their savings went, their debts grew, their land got less and less productive, until, at present, it was utterly unable to support them. They recognized this state of things very well themselves, and if left to themselves would be willing to accept the only remedy. In Newport Union 1,844 persons had expressed a desire to emigrate; in Oughterard Union 1,556 had done so; in a Union in Galway 1,821 had expressed the same desire; and in Belmullet, out of a population of 16,000, no fewer than 3,000 had applied. The Inspector had informed the Government that if these 3,000 people were to go, a very appreciable difference would be made in the comfort of those who would be left behind; but that if they were given any hopes of extraordinary relief they would be induced to stay at home. If that relief were made permanent it would be merely perpetuation of the evil, and they would in a few years be as badly off as they were before. Would the Government, he asked, be justified in proposing measures of relief for the purpose of perpetuating the state of things which he had endeavoured to describe? He would first consider the question from a humanitarian point of view. He had himself visited the most distressed district in one Union in Donegal. The circumstances of that visit illustrated curiously one of the minor difficulties of the Irish Government—namely, the constant misrepresentation, not only of their motives, but of their words and actions. His visit to the West of Ireland did not suit the purposes of certain people, and so they set the story going that he drove about in a carriage with the blinds down, and that story was made the basis of an extraordinary number of bitter articles and speeches, some of which were delivered by Members of that House. As a matter of fact, as soon as he had reached the border of the distressed districts, he and his party drove about in an open car, and they were well rewarded for doing so by the interesting lessons which they learned. They entered a great number of cottages, and questioned the inmates closely and systematically. The lessons which he learnt he should never forget. For a part of the time he had the advantage of the company of Father Callaghar, and for the rest of the time he was accompanied by Mr. Hamilton, one of the most experienced of the Poor Law Inspectors. He then saw for the first time—and when one saw for the first time it was with truer eyes than people who were accustomed to it—a great number of human beings living with the pigs, with the fowls, and actually with the cattle, in one miserable room, with a floor not of boards, but simply of earth. He saw family after family in which the eldest children were in rags, and the two or three youngest had simply some wretched little shirt on, which was only a name and a pretence for their being dressed at all. It was bad enough, and it was sad enough, that such a state of things should exist; but it was worse still that the taxpayers of England and Scotland, who, in many cases, had enough to do to keep their own modest homes over their heads, should be called upon, year after year, and Parliament after Parliament, to contribute the money, either directly or indirectly, for the purpose of maintaining that state of things, which was a perfect scandal.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER: I should like to know what the British taxpayer has contributed?

Mr. TREVELYAN: In the first place, the English taxpayer lost every halfpenny he contributed at the time of the Famine; and, besides that, they had to consider what the English taxpayer was now asked to contribute, and that was the practical question. But he would come to that point more fully later on. If it was for the benefit of Ireland, then they might have something to say for it—they would be willing to give very large sums; but it was in order to perpetuate what was the greatest misery of Ireland; and if it was objectionable on the ground of humanity, it was much more objectionable on the ground of social morality. The utter destruction of the self-reliance and self-respect of the people by the policy of 1879 and 1880 was perceivable on every side. The moneys of the charities were given in large quantities at first, and when the distribution of the charitable funds ceased, the people did not wish to return to labour, and outdoor relief was largely granted by the Guardians. He would take the instance of the Union of Strokestown, in the county of Roscommon. The Guardians took the matter out of the hands of the relieving officers in February, 1880. They appointed committees of clergymen and others, and distributed outdoor relief. These committees began to distribute relief to the amount of £250 or £300 a week; the sums expended were handed in in loose sheets, and the chairman signed those sheets. The numbers of out-poor relieved rose from 421 in the week ending the 7th of February, to 7,459 in the week ending the 6th of March, and to 9,794 in the week ending the 13th of March, 1880. And what did hon. Gentlemen think was the population of that Union? Very little more than 20,000. That Union was, of course, an exception; but other Unions were so rapidly becoming overburdened, that the Boards of Guardians had to be dissolved, Vice Guardians appointed, and this ruinous system had to be checked and the Union saved, as it were, by fire. There was another result to the ratepayers from another form of this aid. In certain parts of Ireland the Guardians and borrowers of seed were led by unauthorized statements to believe that repayment of the loans would not be rigorously pressed for by the Government, and consequently the extravagance in some places was awful. In one Union the issue of seed was made to tailors, shoemakers, and all the idlers in the streets. Nothing more disgraceful than this jobbery was ever known, and no less than £25,000 was owed at this moment by a wretchedly poor Union in Ireland to the Imperial Exchequer for seed thus thrown broadcast away. The Government could not be a party to entering again upon this course, with the more serious disadvantage that, whereas in 1879 the country was not demoralized in this manner, it was now found to be demoralized already. The Government had determined upon reverting to the machinery of the Poor Law as applied between the years 1849 and 1879. What the effect of the workhouse test had been during that period was well known to everyone who had studied the social history of Ireland. In July, 1879, there were 784,000 persons receiving outdoor relief in Ireland, and until the workhouse test was applied the number showed no symptoms of a decrease. After the test was applied, in the course of three months the number fell from 784,000 to 120,000, and it never ceased falling until, in the year 1855, it reached 685. The Local Government Board in Ireland were not of opinion that it was necessary to relax the workhouse test in times of exceptional distress. A Report had been presented by Mr. Longley to the Local Government Board on that subject, which Report had been adopted by the Board. In that Report Mr. Longley stated that it was not too much to say that all Poor Law administration since the Poor Law Amendment Act had been successful in proportion to its approach to the system of the workhouse test, and it had not been found that such conditions as locality, trade, or population interfered with its applicability. That was the principle upon which the English Poor Law authorities acted.

MR. CALLAN asked if the test was the same in England as it was in Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that in England the people were not asked to go into the workhouse, but the Local Government Board found it necessary to apply the test. The extent to which the workhouse test had been applied in England, and the result, might be shown by a few figures. In the year 1871, £1,524,000 was paid for the maintenance of the poor in the workhouses; in 1881, £1,838,000 was so expended; but in the former year £3,663,000 was spent on outdoor relief, and in the latter year only £2,660,000. The figures showed that by spending an extra £300,000 in maintaining the poor in workhouses the country had saved £1,000,000 in outdoor relief; and the entire cost of maintaining the poor was £700,000 less in 1881 than in 1871, notwithstanding an increase of 3,200,000 in population. And the saving in self-respect and self-reliance might be estimated from the fact that, in 1871, as many as 880,000 persons were in receipt of outdoor relief, while in 1881 their number had fallen to 607,000; and the totals showed that, by the workhouse test, the rate per 1,000 of paupers in England had been reduced from 46 to 30. He would take the case of a single Union. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) had quoted a letter from a clergyman in the East of London; and he would now cite the case of a single Union where the test had been put into operation. In August, 1872, 720 paupers were in the workhouse in question; in the same month, in 1873, there were 803; but in 1872, there were 2,584 persons on outdoor relief, and in 1873, only 1,366, the result being a net saving of £2,900 a-year. In Scotland the results of the change were the same; the indoor paupers had increased from 14,000 to 15,000, but the number of persons on outdoor relief had greatly diminished; and, as was well known, the decrease had not, for the most part, been among the able-bodied paupers. In England and Scotland, then, the tendency was towards the more rigid enforcement of the workhouse test, with notoriously good results. What was the case in Ireland? In Ireland the figures showed that the tendency was the other way. In 1861, £9,600 was spent in outdoor relief; in 1871, 69,000; and in 1881, £182,000. Well, then, were they to relax in Ireland the principles which they were rendering more conspicuous every day in England and Scotland to the immense advantage of these countries, and ought they to allow the ratepayers of Ireland to be overburdened to the disadvantage and general harm of the population. If they relaxed the system of relief, the result would be that that would happen all over Ireland which had happened in one Union in Mayo. He noticed that hon. Members sometimes spoke of the Local Government Board as if it stood between the people of Ireland and the intended shower of comfort and prosperity. Still, as all that comfort and prosperity came from the pockets of the ratepayers, it was necessary to provide against its being poured forth too lavishly. "But," argued some Members, "there are the Guardians. In England the Guardians represent the people, and they are not allowed to do what they please with their own." Well, the Local Government Board in England, in the majority of cases, enforced a prohibitory order. The same thing might be done in Ireland. It had been done in some poor Unions like the Swinford Union, where £25,000 of debt had been run up almost in a single day. It was contended that it was only in such Unions that there was distress, as it was in the case of such poor Unions that the Government were asked to relax the order. He could only say that the money spent by the Guardians in those years was not exactly the money of their constituents, nearly all of whom might be fairly said to be under the £4 valuation, the rates being paid by others; and it would be a gross injustice to allow the Guardians to play ducks and drakes with the money of people who were not, in fact, the people who elected them as Guardians. The present view of the Government was contained in a letter addressed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the Poor Law authorities in Donegal, for the purpose of being read, if asked for, by those gentlemen who had great influence with the people of the district, including the Rev. Father Gallaher, who had shown great affection for the people. There was one paragraph in that letter which he thought he ought to communicate to the House. The Lord Lieutenant said—

> "The Government have already, in the most unmistakable and distinct terms, announced that their policy is to rely solely on the administration of relief through the ordinary channel provided by law; and the true friend of poor persons in want of the necessaries of life is not the man who encourages false hopes that, if they hold out long enough, relief will be afforded in the more acceptable shape of relief works, but the man who uses his influence to overcome their repugnance, which would otherwise be honourable, to enter the workhouse."

The accommodation in the workhouse was ample, and arrangements had been made, by increasing the number of workhouses, to increase the means of relief. The fact was it was the case in 1847, and it would be the case again, that when the first pinch of distress came, the people would lose all their indisposition, which was never very serious, to avail themselves of the workhouse. In 1847, when the people began to feel the pinch of starvation, they went most readily into the workhouse. They did so also in 1879, and they would do so now if they were not advised to do otherwise. He should have liked to make a few remarks on another point kindred to this; but he thought he had detained the House quite long enough. He would, therefore, only call the attention of hon. Members to the fact that this distress existed almost entirely in overcrowded districts—those districts in which the population had not been diminished. In the prosperous districts of Ireland—the prosperous districts of Munster, Tipperary, and Cork—the diminution had been very large indeed, sometimes 80 per cent, down to 50 and 40 per cent; whereas, in the poorest districts, the diminution since 1841 had been scarcely perceptible. In the opinion of the Government, it would be a cruel kindness to go on expending the public money upon a system which was neither advantageous to the Exchequer nor to Ireland. They thought they would do much better by encouraging in the Irish people greater self-reliance at home, and if they gave assistance, without exercising compulsion, to those who wished to go elsewhere and seek a home. This policy might be considered cruel to some. He was sorry it should be so considered; but, in the opinion of the Government, it was the only kind and wise policy, and, therefore, the Government thought they would do very wrong if they did not carry it out.

MR. GIBSON and MR. O'DONNELL rose together.

MR. SPEAKER called upon Mr. GIBSON.

MR. O'DONNELL: I wish to reply to the Chief Secretary on the question of distress.

MR. SPEAKER: I have already called upon Mr. Gibson.

MR. O'DONNELL: He is no Representative of Ireland.

MR. GIBSON said, he wished to make a very few observations on the Motion before the House. The Motion was one framed with various intentions; but the debate had turned only upon one aspect of the subject. The Motion dealt, no doubt, with a variety of matters, which might be divided into two heads—one that the legislation suggested might have been tried; and the other topic was the distress. He did not propose to deal with the speech of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell), who had alluded to him (Mr. Gibson) in the course of his speech; but as his hon. and learned Friend did not think it proper to reply to him upon the previous Motion, he would take the liberty of passing over the speech of his hon. and learned Friend now simply with an expression of cordial thanks to him for the kind way in which he (Mr. Gibson) had been referred to. He would, however, make an allusion to the speech of his right hon. and gallant Friend behind him (Sir John Hay). He had listened to that speech with attention; but he was unable to look at the question from exactly the same point of view as his right hon. and gallant Friend, because, after all, whatever hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway might say, he was an Irishman, and, therefore, he must look at the question from an Irish point of view. He should be sorry to think that the remedy for Irish distress was to be anything at all in the shape of a forcible deportation of the people. He should be glad to think that Ireland could be made a happy, peaceful, and loyal home for a substantial peaceful, and tranquil population. He hoped that the future of Ireland's happiness would not be found in very violent or drastic remedies. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was one which went fully into both of the topics raised by the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman passed by, as almost all previous speakers passed by, any details dealing with the suggestion of legislation. The debates had not dealt largely, nor in any detail, with that topic at all. The right hon. Gentleman, however, used some expressions which he (Mr. Gibson) thought it would be well should be constantly borne in mind upon this subject. The right hon. Gentleman, alluding to Ireland and Irish affairs, said that it would be unwise and unstatesmanlike to indulge in any vague generalities, and to give vague promises and pledges. He said that it was a great deal more the part of a true statesman and a true friend of Ireland to give a list of the practical measures intended to be submitted for Ireland, and not to indulge in vain and dangerous phrases about possible future legislation. Those words, he hoped, would be considered and pondered over by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade before he next made another remedial speech to the House. The way in which the question of distress had been presented to the House was a matter calling for a very different observation. Everyone must regard that topic as one of extreme importance, and they were bound to consider it with an anxious desire to arrive at the truth. They were further bound to consider the disclosures that were made with sympathy. He thought everyone must be conscious, who listened to the interesting speech of the Chief Secretary, of this point, whether they agreed with his conclusions or arguments—that he had, at all events, considered the subject fully. It was essentially the duty of the Irish Government to consider and to weigh this great difficulty in their path, because the responsibility rested broadly and mainly on their shoulders. It was impossible for any man to deny that there was at present substantial distress in several parts of Ireland. Everyone must admit that. It was a painful fact. It was of no use to attempt to extenuate or deny it, or to attempt to exaggerate it; but once the question was looked at, and once it was understood, and once the Government admitted and showed that they realized the fact, then at once they admitted and assumed the responsibility which rested upon them, and which the Irish Members in that House had a right to believe they would assume. In considering the question, the debate had unnecessarily touched upon the causes of this distress. Whether the causes were temporary and exceptional, or inseparable from the permanent condition of the country, he did not propose to discuss. It was unquestionably impossible, in the face of the great statistical fact of the number of small holdings to be found mostly in the West of Ireland, not to expect the repeated appearances of great distress. It had been repeatedly pointed out that even if the poorer tenants on the small holdings had no landlords at all, and had to pay no rent, and got constant outdoor relief, it would not keep them from occasional periods of almost famine. Then the distress should be dealt with in such a way as to prevent, not only the extremity of famine, but the acute pressure of suffering in occasional times of distress. The Government stated that they were prepared to undertake this responsibility by the agency of the Poor Law. A great variety of the figures which had been presented to the House were well worth attentive consideration; but the matter could hardly be gone fully into in an incidental debate like that. Then, again, emigration had been suggested as a remedy. He had no doubt that it was a remedy which, if presented in such a way as not to wound the susceptibilities of the people, might afford a large amount of relief. But if emigration was suggested to the people, as if they were anxious to get rid of them—if emigration was suggested to the people in a way that would wound their susceptibilities, treating them as mendicants, always asking for alms, it would not bring about a satisfactory state of things, from a people, who, with all their faults, had pride—great and just pride—and had always shrunk from the possibility of falling into pauperism. Emigration, if considered from a sympathetic standpoint, as it was suggested now by many agencies in Ireland, and notably by a gentleman whom he did not know, except by name—Mr. Tuke, who must be held in the highest praise in Ireland for the way in which he had devoted his time and money to that country—might be productive of much good. Mr. Tuke had suggested agencies by which individuals might be relieved in groups and in families, and taken to places where they would find themselves not deported, friendless, and unassisted, but where they would find companions, new homes, and the prospect of future happiness. If emigration were brought to the minds of the people, and they were made acquainted with it, and it were made an important supplement to the judicious working of the Poor Law, it might do much towards preventing the possibility of a future return of distress. There was one point in connection with this subject which he desired to mention, and it was a matter which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary referred to—namely, the Arrears Act. He (Mr. Gibson) had received many complaints as to the working of the Arrears Act. He had been told that in many cases where the tenants had lodged their year's rent, and where the landlord and tenant had practically agreed, neither party was a bit nearer to a settlement, as the landlord had neither received the money the tenant had lodged, nor the money it was arranged the State should pay. He had received this statement from gentlemen of the highest character who were on the best terms with their tenants, and it had been agreed that bygones should be bygones. The tenant had been told to lodge his rent; he had done so; but yet neither landlord nor tenant was one whit the better off. A large proprietor in Ireland, who had allowed arrears to accumulate, told him yesterday that although the tenants had lodged their year's rent, and there was no question whatever in dispute, he had not yet received 1*s.* of the money, and he could not find out when he was to receive it from the Land Commissioners. All this placed the relations between landlord and tenant in the greatest confusion. The tenant considered that by the fact of payment and the landlord being willing to accept payment, he was entitled to a receipt in full up to the last day; but the landlord had not yet been told by the Land Commissioners when the matter was going to be settled, and everyone was kept in the greatest uncertainty. As to the distress, the Government were fixed with the distinct responsibility of watching over it, and with the grave responsibility of seeing that the machinery of the Poor Law was adequate to deal with it. They were fixed further with the responsibility of seeing that all judicious and humane schemes of emigration were fairly assisted and encouraged by them. It was the duty of the House to watch and see fairly and firmly that the Government discharged these grave duties, which, indeed, they appeared to recognize in reference to the present existence of distress in Ireland.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, he was very glad that the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down was prepared to support any measure that might be devised for the purpose of remedying the great evil of over-population in certain districts of Ireland, and which did not involve necessarily the deportation of large masses of the Irish people. Certainly, he (Mr. O'Connor Power) hoped that before the right hon. and learned Gentleman sat down, he would give some indication of what the remedy was by which he desired to carry out that desirable object. He had been as much disappointed with the right hon. and learned Gentleman's speech as he had been last night in listening to similar observations made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin), who repudiated the idea that the Conservative Party sought to govern Ireland by repression alone, and gave a catalogue of the measures which he said the Conservative Party would be glad to pass in order to improve the condition of Ireland. The hon. Member spoke of emigration as one remedy, of migration as another, and the encouragement of industrial pursuits in Ireland. He was not going to comment upon the observations of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin), which were made upon another question; but he wanted to call attention to the fact that they were very often favoured from that side of the House with suggestions as to what might be done, but he was sorry to say that when they asked for a distinct proposal their Conservative Friends invariably took refuge in unbroken silence.

MR. GIBSON said, he had proposed emigration as a remedy for overcrowding.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER asked if that was all?

MR. GIBSON asked what was his own suggestion?

MR. O'CONNOR POWER confessed that he did not know how to estimate the right hon. and learned Gentleman's interruption. The right hon. and learned Gentleman deplored the poverty of the Irish people, and admitted the miserable condition in which they were. Then, what was to be the remedy? If it was an economic fact that they could not feed and clothe the Irish people at home—if that were the admitted fact, it was a hollow and false sentiment to shed crocodile tears in lamenting the past and present, and still refuse to find a remedy. He (Mr. O'Connor Power) was not in the habit of recommending a policy to the House without suggesting something in the nature of a remedy, and he hoped he would not be guilty of occupying the attention of the House without saying something as to the practical remedy in this case. He would, in the first instance, call attention to an interruption he had made during the delivery of the speech of the Chief Secretary. He was surprised to find that the right hon. Gentleman gave new life to a wretched Parliamentary common phrase in talking about the relief of Irish distress in connection with the money of the British taxpayer. He had heard that phrase used constantly in the House during the last few years, and he hoped to be able to drive a nail in it before he sat down. When the right hon. Gentleman was discussing the subject, he (Mr. O'Connor Power) felt unable to restrain himself, and accordingly he interrupted the right hon. Gentleman by asking what the British taxpayer had given towards the relief of Irish distress? The right hon. Gentleman said he would refer to that matter before he got to the end of his speech; but the right hon. Gentleman closed his speech without dealing with that part of the subject. If the Chief Secretary and his right hon. and gallant Friend (Sir John Hay), who spoke for all Scotland a short time ago, had not got the facts and figures of the subject, he (Mr. O'Connor Power) had. If they repudiated figures of speech in dealing with Ireland, he wished to point out that they were dealing with figures of speech alone when they referred to the money of the British taxpayer having been expended in the relief of distress in Ireland. They had had in the year 1880 two Acts passed for the purpose of relieving distress in Ireland. The first Act was introduced and passed by the late Government shortly before the Dissolution of the late Parliament; and that Act authorized, not a grant of money out of the Imperial Exchequer for the relief of Irish distress, but an advance of money to the extent of £750,000 out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund. What had the money of the British taxpayer to do with the Irish Church Surplus Fund? Why, in this hour of their humiliation, should the people of Ireland be subjected to the additional humiliation of being falsely charged with levying taxation on England and Scotland towards the relief of their distress? Another Act was passed in August in the same year by the present Government and Parliament; and by that Act the sum of £750,000, authorized as an advance out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund, was increased to the sum of £1,500,000. Perhaps hon. Gentlemen would say now, at least, they touched the Consolidated Fund; but the money authorized to be advanced did not come out of the pockets of the British taxpayer, but out of the same Irish Church Surplus Fund. The only Act he could find in recent Acts of Parliament in which there was any trace of the application of the money of the British taxpayer—and he supposed that Ireland was included in that generic name of British taxpayer—was in the Arrears Act, by which the Board of Works in Dublin was authorized to make a grant of £100,000 in aid of Irish emigration. If the Chief Secretary would tell him what proportion was paid by the British taxpayer of that sum of £100,000, which the Board of Works in the late Arrears Act was authorized to grant in this grand scheme of Imperial transplantation, in which the right hon. Gentleman professed to have so much faith, then, as far as he could do so, he would give him a Parliamentary receipt for the paltry amount. He was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman should say a short time ago that it was really too bad that the British taxpayer should be called on to relieve this intolerable load of Irish distress. It was quite time that this fallacy should be exposed. The right hon. Gentleman, when he (Mr. O'Connor Power) had ventured to interrupt him by his question, fell back on the great Famine of 1846. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman invited him or the Irish Members to enter into a discussion on that part of the matter. He had no desire whatever to shirk it, if this were the appropriate time and the appropriate occasion. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary opened his speech in a manner which indicated that he realized the magnitude of the evil. The right hon. Gentleman had certainly relieved him from one obligation under which he felt himself at an earlier stage of the discussion. He had felt thoroughly convinced that the time had come when, by some effort, a vivid picture should be presented to the House and the people of Great Britain of the frightful misery in which thousands and hundreds of thousands of the population of the South and West of Ireland had been steeped. He was glad the Chief Secretary had relieved him of any attempt at pictorial eloquence in giving that description, because he believed that when the speech of the right hon. Gentleman came to be carefully studied, it would show that in five or six of the Western counties—and, unhappily, the county which he (Mr. O'Connor Power) had the honour to represent—the county of Mayo—was one of them—there were tens of thousands of tenants, and at least a hundred thousand people, in a condition which was not only a reproach to the Government, which, as a Government, was responsible for the management of Irish affairs, but a reproach to their common humanity. When he looked at this large amount of suffering humanity in the West and on the South-West Coast—when he looked at Ireland, with its population of 5,000,000, as a poor country, and contemplated the wealth, and power, and greatness of the people of England and Scotland, with their 30,000,000 of population, and their great capacity of doing an act, in the name of humanity, with the object of relieving distress, and when he recollected, at the same time, that their Irish fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen, within so short a distance of them, were in such an unhappy condition, he felt that if the people of Great Britain could realize that picture, they would say at once—"We will take measures, without delay, to put an end to it; and we will not be slow, if necessary, to recognize that this is an Imperial danger and an Imperial necessity; nor shall we be reluctant to employ Imperial funds in applying the necessary remedy." The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had referred to some Unions in his (Mr. O'Connor Power's) county, and also to the Union of Swinford, and another Union, in the adjoining county of Roscommon, and he had deplored the insolvency, or the repudiation of indebtedness, of which those Unions were guilty. The right hon. Gentleman alluded indirectly, and therefore he could not say to whom the allusion referred, to certain persons who had led the Board of Guardians and ratepayers to believe that if they held out long enough, and refused to pay the loans advanced for the relief of distress, the time would come when the Local Government Board in Ireland would get tired of the matter, and give a receipt. He did not know to whom the right hon. Gentleman referred.

MR. TREVELYAN: I did not assume that they had that idea.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, he recollected very well in the town of Ballina, the largest town in his county, during the progress of an election contest, he was asked by an enterprizing Poor Law Guardian whether, in the event of being returned to Parliament, he would promise to secure the remission of the seeds loan, and in the presence of from 8,000 to 10,000 persons he distinctly refused to give any promise of the kind. So far as he knew the feeling of the country, and so far as he had read the speeches of his hon. Friends near him—the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and others—he did not know that any such promise had been made or any such dishonourable encouragement held out. He had ventured to ask the Chief Secretary a few questions the other day touching the distress in the West of Ireland. In the Autumn Session of Parliament they found some difficulty in discussing the question of advances to tenants for the improvement of their holdings; and his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), in putting a Question to the Secretary to the Treasury, was met by the reply that a difficulty would arise in many cases on account of the expense attending the necessary inspection of the holdings, and also that other circumstances had to be taken into consideration before advancing any loan. It was said that there would be a difficulty on the part of tenants under a £10 valuation in finding security, and he had himself suggested that tenants under the £10 valuation should be allowed to make a joint application for loans on the joint security of their tenant right. It must be borne in mind that since the passing of the Land Act of 1881 the tenant's property in his holding was a distinct, tangible, and realized thing. It was not a vague amount; it was something which, in the majority of cases in some parts of the country, was already determined by the judicial rents fixed on the holding, consideration being given to the interest which the tenant had in his farm. He had asked the right hon. Gentleman last Thursday what decision had been come to on that important question. He had written to the Treasury on the subject as far back as the 4th of last December. He had written to the Chief Secretary a few days later, and he had received from the right hon. Gentleman—he thought on the 18th of December—a letter in which the right hon. Gentleman told him that the subject was under the consideration of the Lords of the Treasury and the Irish Government. But up to this moment, notwithstanding the elaborate speech the right hon. Gentleman had delivered, not the slightest reference had been made to one of the most important questions connected with the resources of the country. What was the use of mentioning loans in connection with a Vote of Parliament? Hon. Members heard a certain buzz outside the House upon different matters. They heard the question raised of the reclamation of land; they heard the question of emigration talked of, and it was said that something must be done with regard to it; and next they heard of Irish distress and some talk about guaranteeing a loan of £100,000. To his mind, that was simply trifling with the gravity of the question. The diagnosis of the disease was the first step to be taken; and this was the true diagnosis. But the right hon. Gentleman, when he came to the remedy, had no remedy at all but the rigid application of the Poor Law, which, in the opinion of economists, had done more to impoverish and demoralize the people of Ireland than any other known system of relief ever devised. He thought it was time the House should realize, notwithstanding the army of Inspectors and clerks with which the authorities in Dublin surrounded the Executive, that they had not yet obtained a true conception either of the distress in Ireland or of the true remedies yet to be applied, and which were constantly being suggested by the powerless and despised Irish Representatives. There were difficulties in the way, of course. After the description which the Chief Secretary gave of the magnitude and gravity of this evil, it was idle to suppose there were not. But it was the business of statesmanship not to sit down and repine under those difficulties; and if the Government could not master them, then he said they were not qualified to administer the affairs of the country. He would like to know whether it was not possible, considering that four-fifths of the tenant farmers in the distressed Unions in Ireland could not be reached by those provisions of the Land Act which contemplated the advance of money for the purpose of enabling tenants to improve their holdings? He would like to know, if the rule limiting the advances to tenant farmers with holdings of £10 rental and upward were not relaxed, whether something could not be done to enable tenants of lower valuations to make application for loans on their joint security? As to the remaining portion of the seeds rate which was due in the Union of Swinford and other Unions the position taken up was this. It was said not to be an extravagant demand, recollecting that the advances were made to the people under the Relief of Distress Acts, and recollecting that those advances, though made out of the Imperial Exchequer, were made to meet a national calamity, and an emergency, the burden of which should fall equally on all parts of the United Kingdom.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, that up to the present time £10,000,000 had been written off on account of Ireland by the Treasury.

Mr. PARNELL: How much for England?

Mr. TREVELYAN: £750,000.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, further taxes were imposed upon Ireland, by which she lost more than the amount written off; and he had yet to learn, with regard to the Famine of 1846-1848, if the people of Ireland were really brought face to face with the horrors of that period caused by a great national calamity, that the people of England refused to acknowledge any responsibility. Why, not a year elapsed without the Lord Mayor of London opening funds for calamities in all parts of the world; but it now appeared from the statements of the right hon. Gentleman that he invited his countrymen to express regret only for their own misfortunes. His (Mr. O'Connor Power's) contention was that no grants had been made to Ireland in relief of the recent distress, and as it had been said frequently in that House that Ireland was dependent on the British taxpayer, it was time to contradict that statement, and to show that it had no foundation. The Chief Secretary had accounted for some of the distress which now prevailed in Ireland by saying that a change had taken place in the habits of the small tenant farmers, and he attributed it in some part to their families drinking tea and wearing cotton dresses, instead of the frieze and flannel formerly manufactured in their own looms. He did not think he could endorse the description of the right hon. Gentleman—on the contrary, he was afraid that the clothing and diet of the people they were mainly considering in reference to the present distress had undergone very little, if any, change during the last 30 or 40 years. He admitted that the better class of farmers had improved in this respect. He admitted that the various Land Acts which had been passed had brought some amount of relief to this class; but he denied that they had ever brought relief to those who most needed it—namely, the small farmers of £4 and £5 rentals in the Western districts. Those who were best qualified to speak as to the condition of Ireland—namely, the representative men living in the distressed localities—had already approached the Government upon this question, and on Thursday last he had directed an inquiry on the same subject to the right hon. Gentleman without receiving any satisfactory reply. He had asked the right hon. Gentleman what decision had been arrived at in reference to the proposals laid before His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the deputation of Catholic Bishops who waited upon him, on the 9th of January last, and who made certain suggestions with the view of remedying the existing distress and permanently improving the country? Well, he had looked in vain for any reference to this subject in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. The deputation, which included the Archbishop of Tuam and three other Bishops, stated that the people in many districts were short of food, destitute of money, and hopeless of credit. To meet that serious situation of affairs, the Prelates suggested that loans should be advanced by the Board of Works to all holders of land for the improvement of their farms. But there was not the slightest reference to that suggestion in the speech of the Chief Secretary to which they had listened that evening. Unlike the right hon. Gentleman, they did not believe in the adequacy or efficiency of the Poor Law system as it at present existed—on the contrary, they said that the existing Poor Law arrangements were wholly inadequate to meet the present distress, and that, to insure any permanent relief to the vast districts in question, it would be necessary to establish a system for the reclamation of waste lands, and to open up railway communications. The Prelates, he was informed, made several other suggestions, but he only quoted those mentioned in the paragraph before him. Let it be supposed that the only way to benefit the congested population of the various districts of Ireland was emigration. He asked the Government whether they believed in that remedy, and, if so, what steps had they taken to see it effectually carried out? They had authorized a paltry grant of £100,000, if somebody reported, after many inquiries, that this sum would be used for the purpose of emigration. If the right hon. Gentleman could not profit by his suggestions he asked him respectfully to listen to some figures bearing on this subject which had been furnished by Mr. Tuke. That gentleman went into facts and figures with the greatest possible care, and although he could not bind himself to endorse every proposal made by him, he heartily re-echoed the praise bestowed upon him by the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), and was sure his benevolence entitled him to the respectful consideration of every patriotic Irishman. Mr. Tuke calculated that at least 20,000 families, or 100,000 persons, must be removed from their present holdings, and because of the difficulties which he said were inseparable from any scheme of migration he thought the only way was to proceed by emigration. But he also pointed out that the cost of moving 20,000 families, equivalent to 100,000 persons, at £7 per head, was £700,000, or an annual sum of £140,000 for five years. He said, moreover, what would naturally suggest itself to any person of a practical turn of mind, that if this plan was to be carried out, it must be made the business of some persons to see that it was done, and he suggested that Commissioners should be appointed specially for making arrangements for the reception of the families who were to be emigrated in the country to which they were sent. He said, further, that if a Government grant were obtained, it might be placed at the disposal of a Commission for the purpose of allocating the fund to the different Unions on some general principles to be laid down for their guidance, and having regard to the population and taxation therein. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary must have seen Mr. Tuke's Circulars, and the figures he had quoted; and, that being so, he was surprised that the Government had not availed themselves of the valuable suggestion of this gentleman to make it the business of some properly constituted body to carry out a system of emigration, if emigration must be resorted to.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, the Government had appointed two paid officers for the purpose, and were now considering the appointment of a third.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, a special Commission was wanted for the purpose; but he was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman was doing something in the matter. At the same time, he would remind him that people in Ireland were of opinion that the wheels of the Government coach moved very slowly. If the right hon. Gentleman thought the question one of magnitude, he must say that he had not realized the magnitude of the remedy necessary to cope with it. He (Mr. O'Connor Power) was reluctant to see large masses of the population leaving Ireland; but he would rather see the distressed populations emigrated than see them remain steeped in their present misery, and he would hail, as a wise and beneficent act on the part of the Government, to appoint a properly constituted body to see that they were emigrated on proper conditions. The Chief Secretary said that the value attaching to emigration consisted in the fact that the departure of some would relieve those who remained. Well, if the right hon. Gentleman thought that emigration, as at present conducted, in face of the figures supplied by Mr. Tuke's Committee and his agents, would permanently relieve the condition of the distressed Unions, he ventured to tell him that, as far as his information went, he was mistaken. When the Government had emigrated families from their holdings, did they intend to prevent those holdings being subsequently re-occupied? He hoped to be able to obtain from Mr. Tuke—who was then in Mayo —an answer to a few questions which he had ventured to address to him through an hon. Friend. His first question was—"What becomes of the holdings from which the families are emigrated?" Were they consolidated, were they permanently cleared, or were they subsequently re-occupied? If the latter were the case, it was nothing more than a process similar to that of letting water into a pipe at one end, and letting it run out at the other. He contended that if emigration was to be scientifically applied to the relief of Irish distress, a great deal more remained to be done than had yet been dreamed of by Her Majesty's Government. But then the hon. Member for the City of Cork wished to know what was to become of the people who remained. Well, he should say that if by any process you sufficiently cleared a district, it would enable you to make by consolidation farms of sufficient size to afford a livelihood to their occupiers; but this he believed could not be done by means of the machinery proposed by the Government. He came now to the proposal which had always been favoured by the bulk of Irish Members as a means of remedying the evil of congested population. They had always preferred to advocate a system of migration, because they had never admitted, and he was not prepared to admit, that Ireland, as a whole, was over-populated. They had always spoken of the condition of Ireland in this respect as one of congestion, not of over-population; and he said now that in all the districts referred to by the Chief Secretary where there was a surplus population, if the Government could not meet it by a scheme of migration, if they could not take possession of unoccupied lands elsewhere in Ireland, and advance the tenants sufficient money wherewith to build houses and cultivate their holdings, why, then, of course, the only alternative was that of emigration. For his own part, he would like to see the Government bringing these two proposals of emigration and migration to the test of practical operation. Not only would he wish to see power given to Commissioners to advance money to enable persons to emigrate, but a Commission also appointed to consider the existing distress having power to present the alternative of migration to those who had no wish to emigrate. Upon that subject some valuable suggestions had been made before the Richmond Commission, and had been from time to time laid before the Government from other sources. He referred to Professor Baldwin, who had collected evidence upon the subject which appeared in a small book recently published, and which he ventured to say should be in the possession of every Member of Parliament who wished to understand the real remedies to be applied in Ireland. Professor Baldwin said, that, if they went before the people of Ireland with a proposal for emigration alone, that proposal would never be carried into practice, because the public feeling was so strong against it, but that if they went with the alternative remedy of migration, fully one-half, and in many districts the larger majority of the people concerned, would be prepared to accept emigration. If that were so, Her Majesty's Government had the opportunity of bringing the two plans to the test of practice. Considering what had happened in Ireland side by side with the increase of population—what had happened side by side with the increased area of land, waste and out of cultivation, he thought it would be a pity if the Government confined themselves solely to the attempt to get the people to emigrate, without doing anything for migration and the reclamation of land. His own opinion was, therefore, in accord with the scientific knowledge and experience of Professor Baldwin. He said that in Mayo alone—and he was supported by Dr. M'Cormack—there was sufficient land that could be purchased for a small sum to accommodate with farms of a respectable size the whole of the surplus population in the county. The same statement was made by him as to Galway and Donegal, and some step might be taken to test the accuracy of these statements. Whether it was right or wrong, it was, at all events, a proposal which came before this House in the name of the overwhelming majority of Irish Representatives, and which was, so recently as January last, solemnly laid before the Lord Lieutenant by four Bishops who lived in that part of the country and were in daily contact with the masses of the people. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had dealt with this question of migration during the Recess, as also had done several other right hon. and hon. Members. The right hon. Gentleman had fallen into the mistake of saying that migration was impossible for the reason which he mentioned. He said that they had heard a good deal of the cry about migration instead of emigration. He believed that to be impossible. They could not go to other districts in Ireland without taking away the land from those who already occupied it. But that was not the fact, as was shown by the figures in regard to unoccupied land, or land over which the landlord had the slightest hold, where the tenant sometimes might have the run of the mountain side, but possessed little or no tenant right. He (Mr. O'Connor Power), therefore, thought he was justified in contradicting the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. The reason why this question of migration ought to occupy the attention of the Government was this. Turning to the eight years which had elapsed between 1874 and 1882, what did they find? They found that as Ireland decreased in population the area of the waste and uncultivated land increased. In 1874 the area of waste land was set down at 4,250,621 acres. In 1875 it was 4,255,525 acres; in 1876 it had risen to 4,278,214 acres; in 1877 it went up to 4,572,216 acres; in 1878 it went up to 4,651,524 acres; in 1879 it was 4,653,551 acres; in 1880 it seemed to have been stationary. In 1881 it rose to 4,680,059 acres, and in 1882 it rose to 4,787,275. So that in the space of eight years over 500,000 acres of Irish land, which had been previously cultivated, had gone out of cultivation and become waste. What did that show? If it showed anything at all, it showed a want of the employment of labour under proper conditions in the cultivation of the soil. He agreed with Professor Baldwin—whose name he had mentioned, and whose suggestions he hoped they would have some subsequent opportunity of discussing—that a better system of migration would bring about a better system of farming, which they might hope for if they had proper agricultural schools and proper technical instruction bearing upon agriculture imparted to the people in various parts of Ireland. He did not like to weary the House by going further into these matters at this particular time. He could only regret that the subject had not been brought before the House on the very first night of the Session. During the last eight or nine years he had had the painful experience of seeing that the great Parties in that House were more interested in the political aspect of questions than in their economic or industrial utility, and that it was only by sheer perseverance, and by the exercise of that quality which some people might characterize as obstinacy, that Members who held strong views on these matters and advocated reforms of this nature could produce any serious impression on the House. He must express extreme regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the

Lord Lieutenant, in the speech he had made that night, had lent himself to a gross fallacy. He regretted that the only remedy the right hon. Gentleman could offer the people of Ireland for the terrible evils he had described was to be found in a rigid application of a law which had hitherto proved to be lamentably inadequate, and which bore, on every trace of its operation, the marks of a humiliating and disgraceful failure.

Mr. RATHBONE said, that, on behalf of himself and others who were working with Mr. Tuke, he must entirely reject the view that they had experienced any want of full support from the Government.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he had spoken of the amount of money granted by the Government. He had no doubt that any amount of sympathy had been lavished upon Mr. Tuke and his Committee.

Mr. RATHBONE said, he was not speaking of sympathy, but of money. They had had as much money placed at their disposal as they would be able to use in the present year. The question was not so much one of money; but they could not throw a number of Irishmen on the coast of America, to find no home or place ready to receive them. That was the real difficulty—that was the limit to their work. If any attempt were made, such as that proposd by the hon. and gallant Member opposite, to throw hundreds of thousands of Irishmen on the shores of America, without places having been provided to receive them, they would all be sent back on their hands. The Committee were determined not to send unsuitable parties to America. At that time of the night (12.50 a.m.) he would not go fully into the matter; but there was just one point he should like to answer, because it was one which occurred to everybody who approached the subject. An hon. Member asked—"How are you to secure that when you remove men from these congested districts, their places are not very soon filled up by individuals of the same class?" They had the principle of self-interest to guard them to a large extent against that. Formerly when, in years of distress, a large number of the population were removed, as soon as prosperity returned to the country the places of those who had been removed were filled up by people from neighbouring districts, for the landlord had an interest in allowing it. The landlord, under the system of divided tenancies, could secure a far higher rent from his tenants than he could possibly get if he let out his land in large farms, or in farms on which the tenants could live decently. The Land Act, however, had done away with the state of things under which the system of divided tenancies flourished. Now, the landlord could get no more from the tenant of a small farm than from the tenant of a large one, whilst he knew that directly a period of distress recurred, his rent disappeared altogether. Therefore, it was perfectly clear it was to the interest of the most selfish landlord to prevent the filling up and re-division of holdings, if once they could relieve the most congested districts of some portion of their population; and though, no doubt, Mr. Tuke's estimate was correct as to the total amount of relief, in the first place, they could not proceed without great caution. He hoped that emigration would take place at an increasing rate, and he was sure it would do so if places were provided to receive the stream of emigration as it arrived on the other side of the Atlantic. The Emigration Committee found by experience that almost every emigrant who went out to the United States became himself an agent for emigration, drawing other emigrants to him. It was found that people sent to certain districts communicated with their friends, giving a flourishing account of the places in which they were located, and of their prosperity; and the number of people who were induced to go out by representations of that kind was most extraordinary. This year they found that many families in the congested districts were anxious to go out to exactly the same places as those to which they had sent families last year. He had stated, he thought, enough to show hon. Members that what they were doing was not limited by any niggardliness on the part of the Government, but that they were only proceeding with consideration, which in the end would prove more effectual than if they were now to attempt a more rapid progress.

Mr. MOLLOY said, the speech of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was of such importance that it would be utterly impossible at the present moment to reply to it. It contained such a mass of figures, that hon. Members had found it impossible to take them down while the speech was being delivered. There were some 17 or 18 hon. Members who wished to explain their views on the subject. [" Oh, oh ! "] Hon. Members seemed to receive that statement with disapprobation ; but this subject was clearly of importance to many of the Irish Representatives. There was no subject that would come before the House that Session which was of such first-rate importance, not only to Ireland, but to the whole of the United Kingdom ; and he ventured to say the House would agree with him that, for this reason, it would not be improper to ask them to adjourn the debate. He begged to move the adjournment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, " That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Molloy.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he had hoped, and he thought the House had hoped, that it might have been possible to have concluded the debate on the Address to-night; and it was very much to be regretted that, owing to the delay in the preliminary proceedings, there was now no likelihood of that result. He perfectly admitted that the subject debated during the last three or four hours was infinitely more important and deserving of the consideration of the House than some subjects which they had discussed upon that Address, and, therefore, he need not offer opposition to the proposal. He trusted, however, that the hon. Member who had just spoken was mistaken in thinking that it would be necessary for so large a number of Members to take part in the debate to-morrow, and he earnestly hoped that they would be able to bring the discussion to a close in the course of that day, and that it would not be necessary to take a long discussion on Report. To-morrow he would move—

> " That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Debate on the Motion for an Address to Her Majesty, and the further proceedings thereon."

If the Address was disposed of before 6 o'clock, he should ask the House to proceed with the Report, and he earnestly hoped that it would be the will of the House to go on and finish that stage at once. The urgency for Supply was becoming very great indeed. The length of the Session before Easter this year would be very short indeed—very much shorter than usual. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer told him that unless they were able to obtain Thursday and Monday next, and Thursday in next week, for the Votes in the principal branches of Supply, the House would be placed in a position of great inconvenience, and it would be necessary to resort to the extremely objectionable practice of Saturday Sittings, or else the House would be compelled to sit so late as Thursday in Passion Week. Either of these courses would be extremely inconvenient to the House, and he trusted, therefore, that some attempt would be made to make progress with the Address.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he had only one remark to make. The noble Marquess had taken the course he was expected to take on this important matter. The discussion could hardly have been concluded to-night; but if he was not out of Order in just making this one suggestion, he would point out that it would help the House very much in the consideration of the matter if some Member of the Government—perhaps the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland—would, in the course of the debate to-morrow, give them the last information obtained by the Government as to a possibility of a considerable increase or not in the distress between now and the next harvest. That seemed to him to be the practical matter with which they had to deal ; and, most interesting as was the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, it did not appear to give them information on that point.

MR. CALLAN said, he thought it would conduce very much to the convenience of the Irish Members generally, if the Chief Secretary would to-morrow bring down, for the use of those who wished to see them, a number of copies of the Memorial presented to him by the Archbishop of Tuam and the three Bishops who accompanied him as a deputation to the Castle. In that Memorial they had the official statement of the four Bishops who belonged to the distressed districts. It was not an official Report, but an official statement of the most trustworthy representatives of the distressed districts in Ireland. Some private promise had been made on the subject by the right hon. Gentleman he was aware; but he would ask for a public statement. He would also express his surprise that the Chief Secretary had not referred to the celebrated letter of the Rev. Mr. Gallagher, who accompanied the right hon. Gentleman through Donegal. This letter was important, because, if the statements made in it were true—and they had not been contradicted—it endorsed officially other Reports that they could not get at before to-morrow.

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out that the hon. Member is not confining himself to the Question before the House—namely, that this Debate be now adjourned.

MR. CALLAN: I will merely ask, is the statement true that the sad condition of the districts referred to exceeds everything that has appeared in the Press?

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 83.]

(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. J. Lawrance.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, it was the same as the Bill he introduced last Session, which the House read a second time without discussion. He hoped the House would agree to reading the Bill a second time now, and refer it to the Committee to which the Government Bill on the same subject would be referred. There were many questions involved which could be better discussed by a Committee than by the House. The Bill was a comprehensive, and, he believed, a good measure, and he thought he was consulting the general feeling of those interested in it by moving the second reading. Whatever merit attached to the Bill belonged to the Society of Arts—and especially to Sir Frederick Bramwell—on whose behalf he introduced it last year, and now again asked the House to consent to the second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

MR. R. N. FOWLER inquired whether the hon. Baronet contemplated referring the Bill to one of the Grand Committees?

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK: Yes.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not like to object to the course my hon. Friend proposes to take, and I shall not oppose the second reading. Neither shall I oppose the second reading of a similar Bill of which Notice has been given by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson). But I feel bound to say this. My hon. Friend proposes the second reading at a time when it is impossible to discuss the measure, and asks us to assent to the second reading, as it were, *sub silentio.* That is rather against the ordinary practice of the House; but, at the same time, there is considerable interest taken in both Bills, and I do not like to take the strong course of opposing them. But I do not think my hon. Friend will be very much advantaged by the course he proposes to take, because I assume that the Grand Committee will, in the first place, consider the proposals of the Government on this subject, and they might come to a decision upon those proposals. Having done so, I doubt whether they would then consider the Bills now brought forward. I presume that my hon. Friends will adopt the course of moving such portions of their Bills as are not in the Government Bill, or as they think it desirable to insert in the shape of Amendments to that measure; and I should have thought it more convenient to do that, than to carry both these Bills formally through their several stages.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* 6th March.

PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS (No. 3) BILL.—[BILL 99.]

(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Brown, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Hinde Palmer.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. ANDERSON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he did so for the same reason as that given by his hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock). The objection mentioned by the President of the Board of Trade did not apply to this Bill, because it was read a second time after full discussion two years ago. The principle of this Bill was the same as that of which the House then approved.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* 6th March.

House adjourned at One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 28*th February*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Public Worship Regulation Act (1874) Amendment * [109].
Second Reading—Bankruptcy Law Amendment * [43].

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—ORDERS OF THE DAY.

MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT.

THE MARQUESS OF **HARTINGTON**, in rising to move—

"That the other Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Motion for an Address to Her Majesty, and further proceedings thereon,"

said, he wished to make an urgent appeal to hon. Members sitting on both sides of the House to endeavour to conclude the remaining stages of the Address that day, in order to enable the Business of Supply to be entered upon to-morrow. He trusted there might be a disposition to make arrangements that would greatly facilitate the progress of Public Business.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the other Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Motion for an Address to Her Majesty, and further proceedings thereon."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [TENTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [27th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February.]—[See page 98.]

And which Amendment was,

To insert, at the end of the 10th paragraph, after the word "Executive," the words:—"Humbly to assure Her Majesty, that the state of distress among the population of many parts of Ireland; the inadequate machinery of the Land Act, and its partial and imperfect character, especially with regard to leaseholders, the right of tenants to their improvements, the purchase system, and the condition of the agricultural labourers; the unsatisfactory operation of the Arrears Act; the state of the Law of Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises in Ireland; and the condition of Local Government in that Country, are all questions demanding the urgent attention of the Legislature and the Government; and that the absence of any undertaking to legislate on any of these questions, or on any question affecting the welfare of the Irish People must tend to promote discontent and intensify disaffection in Ireland."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. **MOLLOY** said, that he had no desire to prolong the debate one moment beyond what was necessary; but the speech made last night by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, he regarded as a very important declaration, and reading over the report of it this morning, he thought it even of greater importance. He could not, therefore, allow it to pass without remark. That speech, he felt convinced, would have an exceedingly bad effect when it came to be read in Ireland. He did not deny the courtesy and the kindly feeling of the Chief Secretary, and also his honesty of intention; but still he did believe that the right hon. Gentleman's speech of last night—a speech not of a practical statesman, but of a doctrinaire indulging in a literary effort—would be the cause of very grave dissatisfaction in Ireland. There was nothing in it to indicate what the Government policy would be. There was nothing in it to give the least satisfaction to any person concerned in the question of distress in Ireland. It was simply and solely a literary success. The Chief Secretary spoke as if distress in Ireland was something that was already past, and he did not seem to realize the fact that, instead of being passed, the disease was only now beginning. The Chief Secretary then went on to discuss the comparative success in England and non-success in Ireland of the system of Poor Law relief, which was really outside the question; and the only practical attempt at a suggestion which the right hon. Gentleman made was in the reference to emigration. The House, however, would remember that although the Chief Secretary dealt with the question of emigration, he did not, at the same time, tell them by what methods the Government intended to carry out their intentions with regard to it. For years that question of emigration was being debated in that House, and the Irish Members, who at least might be supposed to know something of the wants of their own country, and what was most likely to satisfy those wants, had invariably opposed this idea of emigration, and they had stated invariably, that it was a proposition that was contrary to the wishes of the people, and contrary to their prejudices. The Irish Members, as an alternative, had advocated from time to time what was known by the name of migration, and migration resolved itself into this—that whereas the Government desired to transport the people of the poorer parts of Ireland to a prosperous home, 4,000 miles away, the Irish Representatives desired that they should be removed to a home equally prosperous in their own country. Migration was a matter which, it appeared to him, was never clearly understood by the Government. They always preferred emigration, which they seemed to think the easier, although the more cowardly, way of getting rid of a people, the real difficulties in connection with whom they had never the courage to face properly. Notwithstanding all that had been said in that House on the subject of migration, the Chief Secretary, in his speech of last night, appeared to treat the matter as if it were something new, and as if this proposition to populate the rich waste lands of Ireland with the surplus people of the poorer districts were a sort of obstructive Motion, brought before the House to embarrass their proposals. Now, what was the real history of the migration question? By whom was it first introduced? He would inform the House. In the year 1842, Sir Robert Peel obtained from Parliament a grant of money for the reclamation of 1,000,000 acres of waste land in the West of Ireland, and that money having been granted by the Government, it passed under the administration, or rather he should say the domination, of Dublin Castle. What was the result? So far as it was possible, the intentions and policy of the Legislature were strangled by the officials of Dublin Castle. Out of the grant for the reclamation of 1,000,000 acres of land, which that House passed after a long consideration and a long debate on the subject, on the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel, only 270,000 acres were ever reclaimed, and the money for the reclamation of the other three-fourths was dispensed in some extraordinary manner that he could never discover, and it was still a secret in the pigeon-holes of Dublin Castle. Now, with regard to that scheme of migration, for migration was nothing more or less than reclamation, it necessitated reclamation. It might be suggested that the non-success of what was done in the reclamation of 270,000 acres proved the uselessness of proceeding with the whole scheme. Such, however, was not the case. Amongst those 270,000 acres they would now find some of the richest land in Ireland. The accuracy of that statement he could vouch personally for. He had the good fortune, or perhaps he might say, in these days, he had rather the misfortune, of having an interest in land so reclaimed. That land before its reclamation was utterly worthless, whereas it now supported a comfortable population, and parts of it paid the owner 25*s.* an acre. Nor was there a trial, a successful trial, of the policy of migration. It would appear that the full effect of that trial was strangled almost at its birth by the red-tapism or what not of the administrators in Dublin Castle. Again, in 1849, Sir Robert Peel brought forward this subject, and in a speech then delivered by him in the House he said that it was the duty of the Government to consider every means by which a better state of things might be introduced into Ireland, and, amongst other matters, he suggested the further reclamation of waste lands and the appointment of a Commission of men of the highest character, who would devote their time gratuitously to carrying out a scheme of reclamation; and then Sir Robert Peel added—

> "I look to the West of Ireland in perfect despair if the present state of things is to continue to exist."

And, further, he said—

> "The West of Ireland afforded opportunities for improvement which no other part of the world appeared to give."

That was a prophecy made in 1849, and had they not the fulfilment of that prophecy on the present day, These were the words of an English Statesman, not of an Irish Member; and here they were now, because of the intervention of Dublin Castle, because of the manner in which it strangled the scheme passed by Parliament in 1842—here they were now, in the present day, discussing the fulfilment of a prophecy made by Sir Robert Peel so far back as 1849. Well, there was another extract which he would like to read on this subject. It was from the pen of a man who was, perhaps, the greatest authority on the question of land in Ireland, Professor Baldwin; and this extract stated that there were in Ireland 1,000,000 acres of worthless land, because it was surcharged with water, and that land would, in his (Professor Baldwin's) opinion, by judicious drainage repay the outlay upon it in a short time. Further on, Professor Baldwin added, that, with a mixed system of husbandry in the land reclaimed, the gross yield would be three-fourths. Now, for these statements they had the authority of a man who had made Irish agriculture a life study, a man to whom there was scarcely a part of Ireland which was unknown, who had been into nearly every cabin in the West of Ireland, and what that authority proposed was exactly what Irish Representatives had been for years pressing on the House of Commons, and what the Irish Bishops were pressing on the Executive in Ireland; and yet, notwithstanding all these combined efforts to press these matters on the attention of Parliament, they were now met with nothing more than what he could not help describing as the cowardly attempt of the Government to avoid the real difficulties of the question. Now, the Chief Secretary, in his speech last night, complained that some newspapers described him visiting the distressed districts in Donegal in a close carriage, with the blinds pulled down; and then he proceeded to say, in the most jubilant tones, that the accusation was wrong, for he had spent three days driving through the country on an Irish jaunting car. Well, let that be admitted; but was the experience of three days on an Irish jaunting car an experience equal to the life-long experience of Professor Baldwin? Did the Chief Secretary presume to say that the experience he derived from a ride for three days on an Irish jaunting car was sufficient to rebut the proposals made by Sir Robert Peel in 1842 and 1849—the proposal of Professor Baldwin, the proposal of all the Bishops of Ireland, time after time repeated, and the proposal the Irish Representatives were continually pressing on the attention of the House? Was it not heartbreaking that a doctrinaire, because he had the experience of a three days' drive on an outside car in the county of Donegal, should on that account set up his opinion against the accumulated opinions of the men who knew Ireland best, and who could say best what should be done on this question of distress? For himself, he could not understand the Chief Secretary coming forward with such an explanation, and the only moral he could derive from it would be this—the utter condemnation of the whole system of government, as it was called, in Ireland. It was a farce rather than a Government which existed in Ireland in the present day. It might be said that it was not the duty of the Government to undertake the works proposed; but he would say that it was the duty of all Governments to undertake whatever was necessary for the welfare of the people they ruled, and he would place no limit on their duty in this respect. If they would ask for examples of Governments that had so acted, let them look to Holland and elsewhere. Holland, because of its reclamations, had a prosperous population living where a few years ago ships were sailing; and, forsooth, this rich Empire was not able to undertake a similar reclamation in Ireland, even for the purpose of saving starving people there. Again, Prussia reclaimed 1,000,000 acres and planted it with trees for the benefit of the people; but though Prussia was not as rich as England, yet Prussia had statesmen, which England never had, at least in regard to questions connected with Ireland. Three days on an Irish jaunting car was all, it would appear, that an English Statesman required to solve the difficult problem of the reclamation of waste land. He had only to say, again, that he regretted very much the speech of the Chief Secretary. The courtesy, the good feeling, the kindliness of heart of the Chief Secretary he would admit; but he felt bound to say that his speech, doctrinaire as it was, useless as it was, proposing nothing, solving nothing, had done, he was sure, when read in Ireland that morning, more harm than all the speeches for which men were now suffering in Irish prisons.

The O'DONOGHUE said, that neither in the speech of the Mover of the Amendment, nor in those of his supporters, had a single suggestion been made which would have the effect of relieving any of the distress prevalent in Ireland. The first and more important question was, how could that distress be alleviated; and the second, what was the cause of the distress? Outdoor relief might be at once dismissed as a remedy, because its effect would be to utterly demoralize, and in a short time to ruin, the whole agricultural population. He, therefore, dismissed that system from consideration. Many people thought the Government ought to institute public works; but public works could be set going only in a very few districts, and not where the greatest destitution existed. Nor was it likely that the Government would set about draining bogs and undertaking the reclamation of land, which would require an enormous expenditure to bring into and keep up anything approaching a condition which might be called arable. Public works would only give partial and transient relief. He could never bring himself to have anything to do with Reclamation of Waste Land Bills. People seemed to forget that the soil of the country had been occupied and tilled for generations, and, therefore, that it was almost certain that there was not a spot which could be grazed which had not been found out. By waste land, he understood land of which the present occupiers made no use; and, even supposing it were taken from the occupiers, they would insist upon compensation, and another result of dispossessing them would be to plant upon some of the most wretched land in Ireland a race of cottiers living in a state of abject poverty. Of the many impracticable proposals of which he had heard, he had never heard any so impracticable as what was called migration. It was never heard of until it was stated by Mr. Parnell, and he never heard that the Bishops or the people of Ireland were in favour of it. Migration could not be carried out without the dispossessing the present owners of the land. If they put people on bad land, they would not be able to exist. If they attempted to take good land, the result would be civil war. He still believed that if occupiers had good terms and security of tenure, cultivation of the land would follow naturally. The Land Act of 1881 gave occupiers all they could reasonably expect; and, no doubt, within a comparatively limited time every available acre in Ireland would be brought into a state of profitable cultivation. His own suggestion for the relief of distress was suggested by its cause, and the cause furnished the justification for the remedy he would apply. Want of employment was the cause, and the necessity for emigration rested upon the undoubted fact that there was not the remotest probability of that cause being diminished in any appreciable degree. He would enable everyone in the agricultural districts who desired to emigrate to do so, provided they were not disqualified by mental or physical disability. He could understand the people of England and Scotland being opposed to emigration as a measure for the relief of distress, because in those countries distress was never more than temporary in its character; but he could not comprehend their being opposed to it if no one could see a chance in the future of the cause of the distress being removed. No one would go away who saw the remotest prospect of lives of even tolerable comfort; but only those who saw before them the prospect of semi-starvation. Multitudes in Ireland were desirous to emigrate, and would bless the Government that sent them out. Hundreds of people in Killarney district had applied to him with regard to the question, thinking that the Land Act of 1881 provided for emigration, and they had expressed to him their disappointment, if not amazement, that the patriots thought it better they should remain at home, half-starved, and wait for political changes which they might never live to see. It was said by these patriots that "if we had the management of our own affairs, there would be no necessity for emigration." He never knew whether to attribute this observation to ignorance, or silliness, or sheer audacity. The fact was, if the theories of some of their great patriots were to be carried out, the almost immediate result of Irish legislative independence would be to bring Ireland down to one dead level of pauperism. He desired to see a better state of things, but he knew the improvement must be gradual; and he would like anyone to indicate by what immediate political changes the people of Ireland were to be placed in a limited period in positions of comfort. He regretted the Government had not acted in this matter with their usual thoroughness and energy. They appeared to have listened to the theories which were in vogue on this side of the Channel against emigration, and to have been afraid of clamour on the other. All that had been done at present with regard to emigration had been absolutely useless. He hoped that now they would take some systematic action in that respect, and would give the thousands of suffering people of Ireland the only possible escape from lives of misery.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that he should never have accused the Chief Secretary of going through the country with the blinds of his carriage down, and it was quite evident from the right hon. Gentleman's speech, that he thoroughly realized the condition of the people. He did not think any Irish Member would quarrel with the description which the right hon Gentleman gave; only when he talked of people sleeping with their pigs and their fowls, and even their cattle, he forgot to add that many of the people now had neither fowls, nor pigs, nor cattle. It was quite evident from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, as well as from the correspondence which had taken place between the Local Government Board and the Poor Law authorities, what the policy of the Government was to be. During the last Recess he attended the meetings of the Board of Guardians in his neighbourhood, of which he was a member, and he knew the train of thought which ran through all those communications, and the speech of the Chief Secretary only further carried out the spirit of those letters. The policy of the Government, he was sorry to say, was this, that they wanted they people to emigrate, and were ready to use this distress as a means of furthering emigration. He did not say that the right hon. Gentleman rejoiced at the distress; but the Irish Government seemed to rejoice at the want which hurried on this emigration. The same thing had been done before. He remembered reading of a man at a public meeting who said that good had been brought about by the Irish Famine in encouraging emigration; whereupon one man in the room called out, "Three cheers for the Irish Famine." The speech of the right hon. Gentleman might almost be said to be in that spirit. It was as much as to say that the country would have to be worse before it was better, and that this extreme want would force the people to emigrate in large numbers. He had no objection to the Government encouraging emigration in every possible way, and he believed that the emigrants ought to be well looked after when they got to their destination; but what he did object to was, that present and future distress should be used to hurry on emigration and to force people to leave the country in very large numbers. That he believed to be the policy of the present Government—a policy so cruel that when the Prime Minister got back he would not enforce it, but would try and adopt some other remedy. He agreed with the hon. Member who spoke last night (Mr. Rathbone) that there was a great danger in taking too many people out at once, for emigration to be effective should be perfectly natural. He agreed, too, with the Chief Secretary that the workhouses in Ireland were large enough to meet any demands that might be made upon them; but, on the other hand, the people would endure great privations, would even die of diseases contracted by want of food sooner than go into those workhouses. He could not quite agree with his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Colthurst) that the relaxation of the workhouse test would meet all the difficulties of the case.

Colonel COLTHURST: What I intended to convey was, that the abolition of the workhouse test was the first step in any system of reform.

Colonel NOLAN: Although in a short time such a step would undoubtedly become necessary, yet the extension of outdoor relief would lead to a large number of people being pauperized. It was the opinion of a very large number of ratepayers that if they had to pay 5*s.* or 6*s.* as the pound-rate they would be driven upon the rates themselves. There had been a great change in the Land Laws of Ireland, and he thought the Government ought to let the country go on for three or four years, and so try their own measure, and try to tide over the present difficulties. The whole mass of the population were not very poor at the present moment. There were a large number of the people who had got only small holdings, or no land at all, and these men were in abject poverty or on the verge of starvation, because there was no employment. He thought, therefore, the Government ought to come forward with some scheme of public works. They need not be of a very expensive nature, and if the money were advanced in the form of loans there would be very little absolute loss. The question of railways and tramways might be gone into at once, and the Government should inaugurate a few schemes on the system adopted in France. If they threw themselves with any energy into the matter, a large amount of public work of a remunerative and necessary character would be at once provided. Emigration had, in fact, become necessary only because no employment was given. Another class of work that might be undertaken was the reclamation of waste and flooded land, work which he believed no one but a Government could properly undertake. They could appoint officials in districts where drainage was required, for the present system, under existing local public bodies, was only permissive, and therefore inadequate. The Government itself—and when he used that term he meant Government for the last 15 years or so—were to blame for a good deal of the distress which existed. It was all very well to say that Ireland was better suited for grass than anything else; but it must be remembered that land in grass required very little labour and very little management. The reasons why he thought the Government to blame were two—one simple, and the other more complex. The first reason was that until the Land Act a landlord had a good many legal advantages by keeping his land in grass, and the natural consequence was that a great deal of land tolerably suited for tillage never got cultivated at all. The present Land Act placed grass land on somewhat different terms; but as it only applied to new lettings, and as new lettings were very few, it would take a long time to operate. The second reason was that grass land, giving the owner less trouble of management, it was the more easy for the landlord to spend all his time out of the country, more especially as no advantages were offered to tempt people to reside in the country. It was true that small holders went to the other extreme; but there were vast tracts in the counties of Galway, Roscommon, and Mayo entirely given over to grass. In his opinion, however, it would be much better for the country if more land was tilled, although he admitted that it was improbable Ireland would ever be a great corn-growing country. The right hon. Gentleman dwelt very much last night on the point that English taxpayers were asked to pay money to keep the Irish people. If that were so, he (Colonel Nolan) would feel a sense of humiliation; but for the last 10 years the Government had been repeatedly challenged in that House to produce an Irish balance sheet, and they had never done so. He believed the taxpayers in Ireland contributed altogether about £7,400,000 or £7,500,000 a year. The cost of the Army and Constabulary—he did not include the weapons and the expenses of training, but the actual cost of maintenance alone, together with the several other things, such as education—did not amount to more than £3,000,000. There was another £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 spent in extra military force, which would not be required in a happier condition of the country. All the Irish people asked for was a loan of £2,000,000 for three or four years, on the security of the resources of the country, until the Land Act had had time to work. That was a very moderate request. But then the English people would say that Ireland ought to contribute to the expenses of the general policy of England, inasmuch as she shared in all the advantages and the glory of foreign victories and foreign arrangements. But he did not think they ought to be asked to pay for the military victories of England, many of which were undertaken for commercial purposes in which Ireland had no interest. At any rate, they ought not to be asked to pay for them until they were in a better position. It was true that outdoor relief and charitable funds could not be administered without a certain amount of demoralization; but a system of useful public works which paid, or very nearly paid for themselves, would not produce that evil, and it was to this matter that the Government should turn its earnest attention.

MR. CORRY said, that, as an Ulster Conservative Member, he desired to place his views before the House. He could not at all agree with the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) that the speech of the Chief Secretary last night would have a bad effect upon Ireland. On the contrary, it would show those who were waiting for outdoor relief and schemes for public works, that they had nothing to hope from the Government. He (Mr. Corry) believed that the speech would do a great deal of good, especially to those who had the real interests of Ireland at heart. The distress in Ireland was a subject which must occupy the attention of everyone who, like him, had lived all his life in the country. He could not but feel, when the Chief Secretary was speaking of the wretched hovels he had visited in Donegal, that he himself had precisely the same impression made on his mind the first time he travelled in the West. One thing struck him, however, and that was the healthy appearance of the children. If the Chief Secretary had gone into some of the districts in Donegal on a Sunday and seen the people going to their places of worship, he would have been struck with the difference in their appearance from that presented on his recent visit. With respect to the measures enumerated by the Chief Secretary as forming the Irish Programme of the Session, they were not likely, on the whole, to be productive of any great conflict of opinion; but there was at least one of them which would provoke considerable criticism. The system of outdoor relief such as was advocated by popular Members, as they called themselves in Ireland, he felt very strongly would be the ruination of Ireland. He had had some experience of a relief fund, and he must say that even in Belfast, without a test, it was almost impossible to prevent the absolute demoralization of the people. From the statement of the Chief Secretary he was pleased to notice that the Government were taking the right step, that nothing was to be expected from them in the way of extending outdoor relief, and that the workhouse test was the right test that should be imposed. The instances given by the Chief Secretary of how local government was understood by Boards of Guardians in Ireland would show the House that any extension in that direction at the present time would be disastrous. The fact that in some cases the Board of Guardians had had to be dissolved and administrators appointed by the Local Government Board was not a hopeful augury of the success of any such scheme for the extension of local self-government. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had stated that loyalty was no better in Ulster than in the other parts of Ireland; but he (Mr. Corry) knew that if it had not been for the loyalty of that Province the government of the country would be even more difficult than it was at present. It was the self-reliance and industry of Ulster that made it so different from any other part of the country; and while it was a fact that many of the manufacturers there could employ more hands at their works, those who lived on the shores of the Atlantic were not fitted for that kind of work. He should like to see industries scattered over the country; but until they had some guarantee that capital would be safe they could not look for this being done. If the Government gave assistance by way of loans in promoting railways and tramways, it would be of great advantage to the country. The Treasury had been too stringent in its regulations with reference to some of these loans, and they could not do better than relax them somewhat.

MR. BLAKE said, he regretted that the four Representatives of maritime constituencies—County Cork, County Mayo, County Galway, and Tralee—had not mentioned the means of employing the public money which would be most advantageous to that part of the population of Ireland who lived near the sea coast. Nothing was more desirable than that the expenditure should be, if possible, of a reproductive character, and no expenditure he believed would be more remunerative than that which was devoted to increasing the fishing capabilities of the country. The Reports of the Fishery Inspectors showed that there was great need of increased harbour accommodation for the fisheries, and that very good results would follow from an outlay for that purpose. A Committee had reported upon the eligibility of 70 sites, and great hopes were entertained that the Government would make a substantial grant. It had now, however, been announced that £3,200 only would this year be applied to harbour extension. That was but a drop in the ocean; about £200,000 sterling was required at the least. With respect to emigration, he agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), that if emigration was to do any good the holdings from which families had been removed must be consolidated and prevented from again being sub-divided. There were several causes to account for the depressed state of Irish agriculture. In the first place, Ireland suffered from want of sun fully as much as any other part of the United Kingdom. According to an eminent astronomer, a hole had been burnt in the sun since the creation, into which ten worlds at least could be thrown. If this went on, it would some day, like the moon, become a burnt-out cinder. When that change should have been effected the inhabitants of the earth would either be frozen or drowned. The power of the sun was really decreasing very rapidly, and the yield of crops was insufficient in consequence. Another factor to be taken into account when considering the gloomy prospects of Irish agriculture was American competition; and we were threatened with competition from a fresh quarter—namely, Canada. The Pacific Railway would soon bring within the reach of civilization millions of fertile acres. One most fertile belt of land to which that railway would give access was 1,000 miles long and 300 miles broad. When the resources of Canada should be fully developed, it would be difficult to measure the loss to the agricultural population of Ireland. At the present moment in Connemara, Mayo, and other districts, the people were in such a hopeless state of misery that if land were given to them for nothing they could not support themselves properly. In the districts to which he referred the misery of the people even in good times was more hopeless than anywhere else. Thousands of people during the greater part of the year never tasted a drop of milk and existed on bad potatoes. What that meant would be better understood when it was remembered that physiologists laid down that in order to obtain sufficient nourishment out of potatoes a man must consume 14 lbs. of them per *diem*, but that it was impossible for any man to consume more than 5 lbs. in that time. He was now about to say something which he knew would be received with dissatisfaction in Ireland. He had said many things in the past to please his constituency; but he was now under notice to quit, as the hon. Member below him (Mr. Richard Power) knew uncommonly well, and he intended unhesitatingly to speak the truth. As long as he was a little popular, he was to a great extent tongue-tied, but he did not intend to be so any longer. His advice to his countrymen who intended to emigrate was that they should emigrate to British America. He had been over the whole of the United States and over the whole of Canada, and he had found that in the latter country the Irish were treated with infinitely more consideration than in the former, both by the Government and the people. In the United States, Irishmen who were unwilling that their children should receive the State education, which, in the opinion of Roman Catholics, was a godless education, were nevertheless compelled to pay the education tax. In British America the case was very different. If they did not avail themselves of the State education, they were allowed the tax to educate their children as they pleased. There the Dominion Government took great care of emigrants. In the United States the contrary was the case, and but for the association over which Mr. Tuke presided, and similiar societies, emigrants would often be placed in very difficult positions. Nothing could be more absurd than to put poor emigrants from Sligo, Kerry, or Roscommon, into possession of land immediately upon their arrival in America. He had himself seen some 30 or 40 families who were each given 160 acres of land in Minnesota, and who did not know what to do with it. The land, in fact, was a white elephant to them. One of these settlers told him that at home he spent half his time in idling outside his house door, and the other half in fighting with the landlord. What could such men know about farming? The Canadian Government, seeing the disadvantage of giving land to emigrants immediately after their arrival, proposed to convey them to Ontario, where work would be given them, for which they would get £40 a-year and their maintenance, and after some time, when they should have acquired Colonial experience, each man would be given 160 acres of land in the Great West. Exaggerated ideas prevailed about the inclemency of the weather in the West. It was true that it was very cold there, and at one time this year the thermometer stood at 50 degrees below zero. But the dryness of the atmosphere rendered the country healthy, and as a proof that it was so he might state that the descendants of the settlers who went there at the instigation of Lord Selkirk many years ago were some of the finest people whom he had ever seen. A great number of emigrants had told him that they preferred the climate of Manitoba and the West to that of their own country. In Manitoba the people were compelled by law to be total abstainers, and many physicians had told him that, in spite of the cold, they had never even had occasion to order their patients to take alcohol medicinally. For the reasons which he had stated, he trusted that in future a fair number of emigrants would be directed to British America; and, in conclusion, he desired to lay stress upon the fact that it was a great mistake to suppose that all emigrants ought to be provided with land as soon as they landed in America.

MR. O'SULLIVAN said, he felt very great pleasure in supporting the Amendment under the consideration of the House. It was quite true that the distress in Ireland did not prevail generally; but it was well known that the people of Donegal, parts of the County of Cork, and parts of Kerry, were in very great distress; in fact, it was as bad as in 1879. He was astonished to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary say in his speech on the previous evening that he had no remedy to offer for the distress except the workhouse. Bad as the Conservative Party were, he did not think they would allow the people of Ireland to die of starvation, which many of them would undoubtedly do rather than enter the workhouse. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he knew very little of the feeling of the people of Ireland on the subject of the workhouse test, or he would not have made that statement. From his (Mr. O'Sullivan's) experience, he could assure the House that there were widows and children who would have starved together in their miserable hovels rather than become paupers. The right hon. Gentleman had no idea of the pride of the people of Ireland in this matter of the workhouse. The right hon. Gentleman had no idea of the spirit of pride which these poor people had, or their hatred of becoming paupers. Had the right hon. Gentleman any experience how children reared in workhouses turned out, and what bad members of society they became? Surely, had the right hon. Gentleman known the demoralizing effect of the workhouse on Irish children, he would not have encouraged the idea of workhouse relief to children as he had done on this occasion. The right hon. Gentleman was afraid, if he gave additional powers to Guardians, he would increase the tax on the rates. He found that, as a general rule, the majority of Guardians were reluctant to relieve even the worst cases. If the right hon. Gentleman would not give the people relief, he might at least give them employment. There were many ways of doing so. There was the reclamation of waste lands. Let the Government give the power to Boards of Guardians to make advances by way of loans of such an amount of money as they might see fit for the purpose of reclaiming waste lands. They would see the great amount of good that would do in many ways. It would give employment to the people, it would reclaim waste lands, it would ultimately make additional homes for the people who had no homes at present. There were many parts of Ireland with thousands and thousands of acres lying waste at present which, if planted with trees, would repay the outlay threefold. Then there was another way in which the right hon. Gentleman might give relief. If the Government would grant loans to small tenants under £10 valuation, they would be enabled to improve their land, and it would give employment to themselves and their families as well as improving the general wealth of the country. Many things would be done with these loans, and there would not be the slightest danger of their not being repaid. The Government might also do something to forward arterial drainage, which was so badly wanted in many parts of the country. In Ulster there were thousands of acres going to waste for want of £20,000 or £30,000. He was quite sure if the Government would lend that sum on easy terms, it would bring in £7,000 or £8,000 a-year to the farmers, and in a few years the capital and interest would be repaid. This was only one of the many ways in which employment could be given to the people without any loss to the Government or ratepayers. Then there was the amendment of the Land Act. Not a word had been said by the Government as to the amendment of that Act, though it was so urgently wanted. That part of the Act dealing with leaseholders was very badly in need of amendment. Anyone who knew Ireland could not be unaware of the dissatisfied condition of the leaseholders. A, B, and C, simply because they had no leases, might have their rents reduced from 20 to 30 per cent, while another man, because he was industrious and had more capital, was obliged to pay largely in excess of the value of the land in the district. There was nothing more calculated to make the people dissatisfied and disloyal than this. He knew many leaseholders who could not have paid their rent had it not been for the aid they received from other sources. In the county which he represented and in the County Cork, there were many poor tenants who had given notice to the Court for a re-valuation of their land nine and even 12 months since, and the cases had not yet been heard. These people were satisfied that they would receive a reduction of from 30 to 40 per cent, and yet they had to live into the second year since the passing of the Act at a rack rent owing to their cases not having been decided. He thought one remark in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary ought not to go uncontradicted. The right hon. Gentleman said that the taxpayers of England had on many occasions come forward to relieve the poor of Ireland. He had been nine or ten years in the House of Commons, and he did not know any occasion upon which the English taxpayers had been called upon to assist the people of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the Seeds Loan; but he omitted to tell the House that the Seeds Loan had to be paid back again. The right hon. Gentleman had the right to tell the House that the English taxpayer was relieved by the Irish Church Fund, and by the Maynooth Grant; so that the case lay the other way. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that he saw misery in many parts of Ireland; but, in spite of what he saw, he admitted that he had no remedy to propose except the workhouse. He knew the poor people of Ireland, and he knew that thousands would die of starvation in their miserable homes sooner than accept the shelter of the workhouse.

Mr. J. N. RICHARDSON said, that he had voted against the two Amendments which had already been proposed on this subject to the Address; but he had extreme pleasure in supporting the Amendment which had now been brought forward. He believed it to contain matter which might well, indeed, be debated in the House, and he could only regret that the time occupied in debating those previously moved had not been devoted to the debating of the Amendment now before the House. The Amendment might be divided into two or three parts. It pointed out that no allusion was made in the Speech on the subject of local or county government, and on the subject of amendments to the Land Act. The matter of distress had been so fully and ably alluded to by the Irish Members on both sides of the House, that he did not think it was his duty to occupy the time of the House in speaking upon it, except, perhaps, to allude to what fell from his two hon. Friends opposite. He listened with a great deal of interest to the hon. Member for the County of Waterford (Mr. Blake), and was delighted to hear him declare that from that time forward he meant to speak the truth in the House—not that he meant to insinuate for a moment that he had ever heard him say anything which was not true—and he only alluded to the matter for the purpose of saying that he, too, intended in future to fearlessly speak the truth in that House. If the Government, from the remarks which had been made in the course of that debate, saw their way to instruct an officer of the Local Government Board to come forward with a scheme for the relief of the distress, or if the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury could see his way to bring forward a loan, he would respectfully impress upon the Chief Secretary for Ireland that he did not think the money could be better spent or devoted to a better purpose than to the purpose so well advocated by his hon. Friend—namely, in the erection of fishery piers around the coast of Ireland. He did not altogether agree with the speech which had been delivered by the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Corry); but there was one part of it which he would like to emphasize if he could. It was, that if there were more confidence in some parts of Ireland, there was an abundance of capital in England and Scotland—he would go further, there was an abundance of capital in Ulster itself—to promote industries in the other parts of Ireland. If there existed in England and Scotland, or in Ulster, a little more confidence that a fair commercial return for capital invested would not be interfered with by agitation, he believed that capital would be forthcoming. Knowing something of the state of trade in the North of Ireland, he believed hon. Gentlemen would bear him out in saying that they had not too many workers at the present time to conduct that trade. There were two ways of supplying the want of the workers—one was to bring the workers to the work, and the other was to take the work to the workers. He believed that under the special circumstances of the linen trade, and knowing that sheltered valleys, away from large towns, with water power, were pre-eminently suited for the erection of linen-weaving factories, considerable capital would be distributed throughout Ireland in the erection of factories, if the hon. Gentlemen who professed to be leaders of the people would sternly and boldly say — "We must have no agitation directed against trade." In a speech which some of them might have read, the American people had been asked to "Boycott" Irish linen. He did not suppose that the Americans "Boycotted" the linen; but still it showed the tone and temper of some people, and such a suggestion would have the effect of preventing English or Scotch capital flowing into Ireland. He would like to direct the attention of the House to the subject of the amendment of the Land Act. The right hon. and gallant Member (Sir John Hay) stated on the previous night that he was sick of the Irish Land Question. He heard that statement without the slightest surprise. He was not surprised that English and Scotch Members were sick of the Irish Land Question, and he could assure them that they were not as sick of it as the Irish Members themselves were — at least, on his side of the House—and on the Benches occupied by Conservative Members. They would gladly allow the question to rest; and he should be content to retire to the Back Benches to listen to the racy humour with which Scottish subjects were always discussed. But their duty to their constituents compelled them to continue bringing it before the attention of the House. All that the tenantry in the North of Ireland required in the amendment of the Land Act was that what he believed was the intention of the Prime Minister, and what he believed was the intention of the Liberal Party, should be carried into effect. He would not read any extracts from the Prime Minister's speeches, because the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) always kept every one of his pockets stuffed with the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman; but the Prime Minister made a very remarkable simile in introducing the Land Bill in 1881, to which he would refer. It was this—he likened the Land Bill to a policeman, who should be within reach of every person who was in danger—of unfair rent; and all they asked at the present time was that every tenant should really be brought within reach of the Act. At the present time two classes of men were within hail of it, but they were not within reach of the Court. One of them was the class of leaseholders. A very large and important class of those men, he submitted, deserved the consideration of the House. What was the position in which they found themselves? A man, on account of continued good character, and on account of being a favoured man, and with a desire to protect himself against a change of policy on the part of a future landlord, had taken out a lease in perpetuity at £100. Owing to the altered state of the law, he found himself for ever tied to pay £100 a-year, when his neighbour, with not so good a character, and who a few years ago would not have been favoured as he was, had his rent fixed at a fair calculation of £75. But the leaseholder found himself in a worse position still. If further facilities were given for the purchase of property by tenants—and, seeing that a scheme of that kind had been mentioned by right hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition Bench, he thought it probable that some further legislation would take place in that direction—a direction tending to create every occupier an owner—where would the perpetual leaseholder find himself? He would find himself in this position, that at the end of 52 years he would have paid £5,200, and remain still a tenant; whilst the man who had not taken out a perpetual lease obtained his holding, got his rent reduced immediately, paid a less rent, and at the end of 52 years became the owner of his own property. Having regard to that state of things, he was not surprised that the leaseholders should look to the House for redress. He must say that he was disappointed with the speech of Lord Carlingford in "another place." There were two Bills to be brought in for the amendment of the Land Act this Session—one from the Ministerial side of the House, and one by Irish Members sitting opposite. He should have frequent opportunities of expressing his views on the subject, and would not, therefore, detain the House. Before sitting down, however, he should take that opportunity of impressing upon the Government the desirability of rounding off the corners of the Land Act. In view of a large number of Home Rule candidates being returned at the next General Election, he would suggest to the Government the necessity of amending the Land Act, so that there would be nothing but sentimental grievances to agitate over in Ireland.

Mr. M'COAN said, he thought the whole subject of this Amendment had received a very incomplete measure of attention from the Government, and one of the points he specially referred to was the relief of distress. Although that had been the principal topic to which hon. Members had addressed themselves, yet he did not think that the real urgency of the question had been sufficiently pressed upon the Government. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had so completely proved the existence of very severe distress along the Western Coast of Ireland, as to dispense with need of any further argument or evidence about the fact. But, while he recognized that the Chief Secretary made out that case to demonstration, he regretted deeply that the right hon. Gentleman had thrown out no hint as to the intention of the Government to take immediate steps for the relief of the distress. The right hon. Gentleman had dealt with some of the arguments of previous speakers, and showed that there was much to be said against a system of outdoor relief; but he seemed to confine his own view of the possibilities of what might be done to the sole remedy of emigration. He (Mr. M'Coan) was not one of those who had an insuperable objection to a well-regulated scheme of emigration. He thought it might be tried usefully and with great advantage to the people themselves, because they all knew that if many of the suffering peasantry of the West of Ireland had their small patches of land for nothing, they were not sufficient to support them. Little or nothing was to be done by migration—that he regarded as an impracticable method; so that there only remained emigration, which he thought would afford greater and ultimately more adequate relief than any other remedy that could be applied. So far as he understood the speech of the Chief Secretary, he had not attempted to grapple with the fact—that there was existing starvation in the country which it was the first duty of any Government to relieve and prevent. There were two primary obligations of a Government—to relieve famine where it existed, and to suppress and punish crime. As to the extent to which the Government had discharged its obligation in the latter regard, he confessed it had his approval and would have his support; and if the Crimes Act were again before the House, he would give it his vote; but he regarded it as an obligation of equal force to press upon the Government to afford relief to such distress as now unhappily existed in the Western counties of Ireland. It was idle to talk of theories of indoor relief and outdoor relief, when they had the fact before them that there were thousands of families sustaining life on seaweed and such like garbage. Such a state of things was not only a scandal to the Government, but an outrage on our whole civilization; and it was the duty of the Government, in the teeth of any and every economical law, to at once put its hand into its pocket and give the necessary relief. They had had a promise from the Chief Secretary during the Autumn Session that if the ordinary Poor Law did not meet the distress, the action of the Government would be found adequate to the occasion. But although in December and January the distress had become much accentuated, yet they had not heard that a shilling had yet been advanced, either in the shape of free grant or in the way of loan. The distress was now worse than ever, and he felt that it was the duty of the House to force upon the Government recognition of the fact that its primary duty was to deal with this distress. The duty of devising the form in which the relief should be given lay upon the Government; and it was not for any mere private Member of the House to take the responsibility off their shoulders by suggesting this or that plan. But certain it was, if they did not do so, they would lay themselves open to the censure, not merely of Parliament, but of the nation. He would take lower ground, and say that it was a course suggested by considerations of mere policy, which he recommended; for if it was not done, it might and would fairly be said that while the Government could sternly enough administer Coercion Acts, they could do nothing better towards relieving distress than throw out suggestions of shipping off the sufferers to the United States or Canada. The House, however, was quite familiar with methods of relief other than those through the Poor Law Guardians. The Government were not asked to put their hands into the Treasury and make gifts, but by making loans at low rates of interest the difficulty would be partly met. He did not profess to be familiar enough with the counties of Munster and Connaught to be able to say how far the accounts given of the distress were, or not, exaggerated; but from all he had heard, he was convinced there was great need of reclamation works, which, if promptly begun, and carried out on a large scale, would afford such relief as was now needed, and, at the same time, do much permanent good to the country.

MR. BERESFORD said, that the great want of Ireland was capital to employ the surplus population on the Western Coasts. But why was there no money in the country? Why did people not go and spend their money there? It was because of the perpetual agitation which had been carried on during late years, and which had driven every shilling away, and frightened everybody who had money from investing it in the country. He resided in Armagh among a peaceful and prosperous people. The acreage of Armagh was 328,000, its valuation £420,000, and its population 168,000. The neighbouring county—Donegal—had an area of 1,197,000 acres and a population of 260,000. Armagh was thus able to support in comfort, relatively to its size, a population double that of Donegal, whose inhabitants were in a state of chronic poverty. The cause of the difference was that in Armagh the people had ample occupation and ample capital. He considered the state of the country, though better than it was two years ago, was not improving as one would wish to see. There was a great under-current of agitation still in the country. He would like to see the people attending to their industries; but, excepting the North, where the agitation had not gained a footing, the people were not settling down as they ought, but they appeared to be on tiptoe for new legislation in their favour. Going South—say to Cavan—he observed a great change from Armagh and the North generally. The cause that there was no employment for the labourers except what the farmers gave was that there were no resident gentry. In the parish where he resided, for instance—a large one—he was the only person who gave any sort of employment, and he only employed some 16 or 17 men on a farm of 150 acres. The farmers generally relied as much as possible on the labour of their sons. Consequently there was hardly any employment in the country for the surplus population. It appeared to him that the Government was now called upon to depopulate the country in a great measure by emigration; but, on the other hand, he believed that if they could see their way to employ the people permanently either by encouraging manufactures or making railways, and improving the resources of the country, it would tend more to produce peace and quiet than any other Act that could be passed. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) said that the Province of Ulster was no more loyal than the Province of Munster. He emphatically denied that. The Province of Ulster was essentially loyal, and its inhabitants were loyal to the Constitution of this country, and were determined to show their loyalty, and their determination to preserve the Union, no matter what the sacrifice might be.

Mr. R. POWER said, he rose principally to express his deep regret at the speech delivered the previous evening by the Chief Secretary, and also to disagree with some sentiments expressed by hon. Members who had spoken in this debate. Of the three Amendments placed on the Paper in connection with Irish affairs, this he thought was the most important, and he was sorry it had not occupied the first place on the Paper. This debate had had one good effect—it had induced the hon. Member for the County of Waterford (Mr. Blake) to speak the truth in reference to an Irish question. To a certain extent he agreed with the last speaker that capital would not come into their country because of agitation, and he regretted that agitation should exist. But if they wanted to kill agitation they must remove its cause. So long as there were grievances in Ireland, so long would they have agitation. If the people resorted to agitation it was because they had been taught to believe in it by right hon. Gentlemen on the front Treasury Bench. The last recruit to the Liberal Party, Lord Derby, in a recent magazine article, had told the Irish people that anything they had gained up to the present time was by agitation, and that it was not likely they would thank the Government for legislation which their agitation had forced from Parliament. He should not dwell on the danger of teaching such doctrines; but he wished that those who accused the Irish people of agitating would first bring home the charge to the Government. Something had been said during this debate about the Land Act, and he would admit that it had done a great deal for the farmers. But there remained, he was sorry to say, a great deal to be done for them still. The question was by no means settled. His hon. Friend the Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan) had adverted to the question of leases. He was in favour of including leases within the principle of the Land Act. But one thing ought to be remembered. During the period of the Irish Famine, when the landlords were in many cases driven towards bankruptcy, leases at low rents for long terms were offered to tenants in consideration of heavy fines. No records existed of the money paid in that way, and there was great danger, if leases were broken, of the farmers having to pay largely increased rents. However, that was a question for the farmers themselves to consider. His hon. Friend the Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) had referred to the question of fisheries. He quite agreed that money could not be more wisely spent than in encouraging the fisheries on the West Coast. There were, however, certain difficulties in the way. There was an incompetent, negligent, and unpopular body in existence known as the Irish Board of Works. In one case a pier was wanted, and a local contractor offered to do the work for £3,700. The Board thought the estimate too high, and gave the work to a contractor from a distance, who agreed to take the contract at a cheaper rate. But the first storm destroyed the pier, and it was found that the work had been scamped, and all kinds of rubbish used instead of mortar. The hon. Member for Waterford seemed to put faith in the two systems of emigration and consolidation of the holdings. He (Mr. R. Power) maintained that if the people emigrated, it would be the interest of the landlords to consolidate the farms, and there could be no fear of its not taking place. The difficulty he felt with regard to emigration was this—the Canadian or any other Government was prepared to do certain things for able-bodied persons, but not for the infirm or aged. It would be all very well if the people were taken like herrings in a barrel—mixed—but there would be no advantage in having the able-bodied removed and the aged and infirm left to be supported by the rates of Ireland. At the present moment the price of labour had risen in Ireland to an extravagant extent, particularly in Waterford and many parts of Cork and Limerick; and if this beneficent scheme of emigration was carried out, labour would be made scarcer than ever. It might be said that farms should be laid down in grass; but everyone knew that thousands of acres in Ireland were totally unfitted for that purpose. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had pointed out that wholesale emigration would also have a serious effect on recruiting for the Army. For his part, he had always opposed emigration, and he always should; he looked upon it as one of the greatest curses that could be inflicted upon the country. No doubt, in the West, in Mayo and in Galway, there was a congestion of population; but the evil could not be cured by sending the able and strong men away and keeping the aged and infirm at home. The Chief Secretary, in a speech to which he listened with feelings of very great pain, said that in certain parts of Ireland there was always distress. That, no doubt, was true. Ever since the connection of Ireland and England there had been distress in certain parts; but the difficulty now was that there was hardly any part of Ireland free from distress. In his own part of the country the other day 400 or 500 able-bodied men sought from the Board of Guardians, not charity or relief, but work. The Guardians had no power to give them employment; and when the Irish Members came to that House, and asked that these men, and thousands of others, who were able and willing to work, should have employment, the right hon. Gentleman, who was supposed to be a beneficent Chief Secretary, said—"If they want work, let them go into the workhouse, or upon the emigrant ship." That was not the way to grapple with the Irish difficulty. If they wanted to remove the Irish discontent, and, he admitted, the Irish disloyalty, do not let the Chief Secretary speak in that way to a sensitive and high-strung people. They had had bitter experiences of the workhouse; and they distrusted very much Government schemes of emigration. Of the thousands of his countrymen who had gone to America, many had, no doubt, risen to eminence; but hundreds had been lost in iniquity—the great majority, indeed, especially the men who loitered about the cities, had gone to utter ruin. He gave the Chief Secretary credit for the best motives; but if he failed in his efforts to bring peace and quietness to the country, it would be one of the strongest proofs of how utterly impossible it was for any Englishman, however gifted, to administer the affairs of Ireland. Emigration had always been the cure. Lord Carlisle propounded it when he went to Ireland. He was followed shortly afterwards by the Earl of Kimberley, who also advocated it, and said that Ireland ought to be turned into a sheep farm for feeding the manufacturers of England. It was, indeed, a sad thing that after 800 years of connection with England, and after 80 years of their legislation and misrule, Ireland should now be in as great a crisis of distress as could visit any country, and English statesmen should come forward and say—"The only thing we can do is to send you into the workhouse or abroad."

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, that, as an Irish Member, he could not but regret the valuable time that had been wasted during the last 10 days, and that some really practical consideration had not been given to Irish affairs. He agreed that the question was of the greatest possible importance, and should have been discussed before subjects which had wasted the time of the House. There was no doubt that the real difficulty lay in the congested districts of Mayo, Donegal, and the West of Ireland; and how these places were to be relieved was the difficult problem which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) had to solve. As regarded it, he (Mr. T. A. Dickson) had no hesitation in saying that that difficulty would not be surmounted by any system of Poor Law administration in the shape of outdoor temporary relief, nor even by filling all the workhouses of Ireland, while he thought it would be unwise and impossible to force emigration. At the same time, he thought the Government were bound to hold out and give every pssible facility to people who wished to emigrate from the congested districts in order to try their fortunes in a foreign land. With regard to migration, that, he thought, on a certain scale, might be made useful. There was plenty of room in Ulster for 10,000 or 20,000 families;

and such a migration would be of the greatest benefit, if those families were settled satisfactorily around the large manufacturing towns of that Province; and it was only by permanent measures, by judicious migration and emigration, that the people of Ireland could possibly be lifted out of the chronic and hopeless state of distress into which they had fallen. But what was to be done with the miserable holdings from which people were taken? It was said that landlords would consolidate them and make large farms; but he (Mr. T. A. Dickson) thought the probability was rather the other way, as the largest amount of rent was obtained comparatively from small holdings; and, unless the Government put some barrier in the way of the small holdings thus vacated being again occupied, emigration and migration would be no solution of the difficulty. He fully concurred with the suggestions that had been made by the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Corry), as to the granting of loans for the extension of the railway and tramway system of the country. That was a subject that had been pressed on the Treasury by them year after year. He had no hope for Galway until Connaught had been opened up by railways. There was no use in talking about developing fisheries unless they could provide railway accommodation. Fish were around the coast in abundance—in fact, when captured, were lying on the shores; but there was no means of bringing them rapidly to market, and they had to be sold below their value. He knew of no way by which the Government could so quickly civilize the whole of the Western counties as by promoting a system of narrow-gauge railways, and not leaving it to private enterprize. Every shilling of money that was invested would find its way back to the Treasury; but the Government had not encouraged railway extension in Ireland. The Treasury, through the Board of Works, placed all the difficulties they could in the way of the development of Irish industries, and the result was that the Board of Works was one of the most unpopular institutions in the country. Although it was called "Irish Board of Works," it might as well be in London. It was entirely under the control of a few officials at the Treasury, and could neither inaugurate nor carry out any great scheme in connection with Irish enterprize. A proof of that would be found in the Return placed in the hands of hon. Members during the last few days. That Return showed that the entire amount advanced to Irish railways was only about £700,000, and in these figures there was ample proof of the obstruction which had been offered by the Treasury and the Board of Works to the extension of railways in Ireland. He knew of one railway, that from Ballymena to Larne, which had benefited the North of Ireland to an enormous extent, and for which the hon. Member for the County Antrim (Mr. Chaine) deserved credit for expending his capital and incurring an enormous amount of trouble and risk. That hon. Gentleman obtained a loan of £45,000, but at what interest? Five per cent. Last year a deputation waited on the Treasury, and asked them to reduce the interest to 4 per cent; but the Treasury promptly refused; and now the Government were in this position, in connection with this Irish enterprize—that as debenture-holders they were paid 5 per cent, whilst the shareholders were only getting 2 per cent. He certainly thought that the small reduction asked for should have been granted by the Treasury, without hesitation. Other railways in Ireland had money at 4 per cent, and not near so well secured. He was sorry the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) was not in his place, as he was anxious to put to him some questions. The Belfast Central Railway had a loan of £100,000 at 4 per cent. Why was not that loan included in this Return; and why should not the Ballymena and Larne Railway have their loan also at 4 per cent? He knew the strong feeling that existed on both sides of the House as to the rate of interest; and he could only tell the Chief Secretary for Ireland that if this question came before the House in another shape, hon. Members on both sides would, if there was no redress, move the adjournment, and have the matter fully discussed. He was sorry that there was in Ulster the deepest disappointment at the programme of the Government, especially at speeches delivered by a Member of the Government in "another place" to the effect that this Session there was to be no amendment of the Land Act, and no reference to County Boards for Ireland. He must be allowed to express the hope that when the Prime Minister returned, and realized the state of feeling that existed in Ulster and all over Ireland, he would inaugurate legislation upon these questions, and remedy the defects which he himself admitted existed in the Land Act. The Government might rest assured that from the Land Question, while the Land Act remained without amendment, there was no escape. The Act must be amended sooner or later, and the longer it was delayed the House would find that the more extravagant would be the demands. It was impossible that 120,000 leaseholders could be left out as at present. They must be brought within its scope. The working of the Act also was much too slow. When the House passed the Land Act, it had no idea that its benefits would take two, three, four, or five years in reaching the tenants for whom it was passed. For instance, the vast majority of tenants in Ulster would not have its benefits for two or three years more. Out of 6,000 applications in Tyrone, only 1,000 had been decided in the past year. Thus it would take five years to dispose of the balance; and during all that time the people were to pay the old rent, under which they utterly broke down. He wished to correct the statement of the hon. Member for Armagh (Mr. Beresford) that all the capital was going out of Ireland. It was not so. As savings banks and bank returns showed, the capital in Ireland was every year increasing. The hon. Member for Armagh blamed the present condition of the country as the result of the land legislation of the present Government. He (Mr. T. A. Dickson) had only to tell him that the present condition of the country and agitation had been brought about solely and entirely by the misgovernment of the Tory Party and his Friends in the past.

MR. MACFARLANE said, that, in rising to speak to the Amendment, he was conscious that he was at a disadvantage in speaking to a House that was weary with the discussion of Irish questions, many of which ought never to have been raised. The speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), a few nights ago, which occupied about two hours in delivery, would do more mischief than the two years' Irish administration of that right hon Gentleman as Chief Secretary—[*Cries of* "Question!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is now debating a matter which is not before the House.

MR. MACFARLANE said, that, if he had erred, he had simply followed the example of hon. Members who should have known better. He would not pursue the matter further; but he desired to speak of the policy of the Government in general as regarded Ireland. He wished to raise his voice against the policy of suppressing opinions in Ireland, because they were abusive of the Government. While he sympathized with the efforts of the Government to put down crime, he hoped the Chief Secretary for Ireland would not class together ordinary crime and political opinions. Two Members of Parliament were now in prison for expressing their political opinions—[Mr. TREVELYAN dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head. However, the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) was in prison, for opinions expressed by him at a meeting at which he (Mr. Macfarlane) was invited to attend. He had been permitted to address a meeting of his own constituents; but the police and a Government reporter attended, and that was an indignity against which, and the policy it indicated, he protested. It was the policy of suppressing opinions because they involved abuse of the Government. The Chief Secretary for Ireland argued in this roundabout manner—abuse of the Government would bring the Government into contempt, and contempt of the Government would produce excitement, and excitement would produce crime, and therefore it must be stopped. In *The Times*, he (Mr. Macfarlane), warned the Government that seditious opinions were made dangerous by prosecution; and that was illustrated by the unopposed return for Westmeath of Mr. Harrington, who put forward as his only qualification that he had been prosecuted by the Government. Yet the Government, with a perfect absence of decency, sent the prosecutor of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), to oppose his election to that constituency. The House had seen the result. Tall talk was thoroughly well understood in Ireland; it would be forgotten in a day unless the Government put it under a microscope and magnified it. Instead of being a preventive of violent speeches, the presence of police and of a Government reporter at public meetings in Ireland was an incentive to violent speeches, for violent speakers became anxious to show the mob that they did not care a fig for the Government. There were reasons why more violent language might be tolerated in Ireland than in England. The crowd at an Irish meeting might cheer it, but it passed out of their memory almost immediately. Violent speech was the only thing which did, as a fact, influence the Government, either in Ireland or in England. A leader of public opinion in England went into the Cabinet, while a leader of public opinion in Ireland went into a prison. And yet the Government were surprised that there should be agitation and violent language in Ireland. Hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Opposition Benches told the Irish people, as if those people were blind fools who never gained anything by experience, that they must be quiet, or they would get nothing. Why, they had got nothing by silence in the past. He spoke without national prejudice, not being an Irishman; but he could not refrain from saying that there was no enactment on the Statute Book in regard to Ireland which had not been forced from the House by violence. There was only one way of removing agitation in Ireland. When the Government themselves confessed that certain reforms were requisite, and yet would not grant them, what could they expect but popular agitation and violence? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had just refused inquiry into an alleged Scotch grievance until the law had been vindicated. Three of the insurgents started from their homes in Skye to go to Edinburgh—perhaps to make an assault upon Edinburgh Castle—but, however that might be, they allowed themselves to be arrested in Glasgow. That rebel army was arrested by one policeman, who found them drinking toddy in a public-house in Glasgow. More or less violence was necessary, or people with grievances would not be listened to. If Irish questions had lately absorbed the time of the House, it was because they had been for years before neglected, while Irish measures had been ignominiously rejected by the other House. He was afraid it was almost impossible that great agitations could be carried on without more or less of turbulence or crime, in which he did not include the atrocious assassinations that had disgraced Ireland. It was now admitted that the Land Act required amendment; why, then, did not the Government amend it? If all were agreed, it need not take two hours to do it. The English measures to which precedence was to be given were nothing to the Irish people. It was of no use talking to a suitor about other causes; it was his business to get his own cause brought on. If the Land Act was amended by the Government, and two or three things more done, then they would have peace, quietness, and contentment, and they would be able in that way to get at the bottom of crime and outrage.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, I am not one of those who deprecate the length of the debate on the present Amendment; but I think it would not have been without advantage if it had preceded some of the other debates, and if we had been able to approach this very interesting question without the little heat which was raised during the earlier Amendments to the Address. I, at any rate, do not approach this question with the least wish to do anything but what would contribute towards the solution of the very interesting and important questions connected with the present and future welfare and comfort of Ireland. I shall abstain from all political controversies, because I think it much better to agree to discard those considerations, which confuse the real issues, and prevent us judging, as calmly as we could wish, of the practical and economic questions arising out of the proper dealing with distress in the country. Feeling very strongly what I have just said, perhaps I may add this. I am not one of those who would shrink from strong measures for the relief of Irish distress, if I saw my way to such measures being of permanent, and not merely temporary, utility. The great difficulty we have to deal with in this matter—for debates on Irish distress are periodical—is that we so often merely look at the present emergency, and fail to see what ought to be done, and what might be done, to put the social and economic conditions of Ireland on such a footing as would prevent the recurrence of such distress. Therefore, I think that I can speak for myself and for every Member of the Government when I say there is nothing that we shall desire more than to plumb to the bottom of this recurring difficulty of distress, especially local distress, in Ireland, and do the best we can to remove it. Having said that, will the House now further allow me to say a word as to what we have done, and possibly indicate how we might move? I think both sides of the House will recognize that my right hon. Friend and the Irish Government are doing their very utmost to get at the real facts of the case. I have listened to the greater part of this debate, and I must say that there is so much doubt as to the facts, and as to the exact details of the question of distress, that it is not difficult to indicate accurately what should be the first duty of the Irish Government. The first duty of the Irish Government—and a duty which my right hon. Friend and Lord Spencer are most thoroughly discharging—is to ascertain the facts of the present distress, its extent, and its origin. I know, from the perusal of the Papers the Irish Government have collected, that their duty is being thoroughly performed in that respect. The Government in this respect have chosen a good path, and one which will lead to advantage. The next point to consider is, so far as we have gone, how do we agree as to the nature of the present distress? I listened with great attention to the speech of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. R. Power), and I thought he stated very fairly some respects in which the state of Ireland was satisfactory and was unsatisfactory. He made two—I will not call them admissions—but statements on the satisfactory side of the question. In particular, he said that, so far as the grazing and cattle interests of Ireland are concerned, we have been passing through a period of considerable prosperity. He said also one thing which struck me as very important—that there never was a time in which wages were so high in Ireland. To Englishmen that means a great deal, and it is a circumstance which ought to be borne in mind. If the condition of things in Ireland is such that wages are high, you have, at any rate, a very healthy sign; for whenever we were talking in former years about distress, especially agricultural distress, the first question always asked was—What is the condition of the labourers; are wages high or low; and are large numbers unable to find employment? Now, at any rate, we know this—that, speaking of Ireland generally, wages were never so high. I take it fairly to represent the present state of things that throughout the grazing districts generally there is considerable prosperity; and that throughout many of the agricultural parts of Ireland there is also very fair prosperity, although it is true that the latter has suffered from the recent rains. Probably Ireland has not suffered more than England from excessive rains; but, on the other hand, there are again, as there have been in previous years, three or four congested districts, particularly in the West of Ireland, where the population, in a bad year, never has been able to live satisfactorily, but had to fall back upon the rates, or some other method of relief; where the holdings are so extremely small that it is practically impossible for a man, much less for a family, to live upon them. What we are asked to do is to find some satisfactory way of dealing, not for this year, but permanently, with the condition of those districts. I am bound to say, so far as I have heard and read the proposals emanating from different parts of the House, and great authorities outside—and I do not exclude from those the Roman Catholic Bishops of the West who have approached the Government—that there seems to be the greatest possible difference of opinion as to the best method of dealing with this question. We have had, first of all, to set against each other indoor and outdoor relief. So far as I have been able to collect the opinion of the Roman Catholic Bishops, whose authority has been put forward, they are not in favour of returning to a system of outdoor relief. Again, the proposal has been made, and made with great force this day, that we should return to the system of public works, and that, in distressed districts, the Government should initiate and revert to a system which, no doubt, saved many lives in former years, whatever may be its economic advantages. To that, also, I am bound to remind the House that the Bishops are as strongly opposed. They look forward to the introduction of such a system as mischievous. So that on both questions there is great difference of opinion. My hon. Friend the Member for Tyrone (Mr. Dickson) said he thought the English authorities were very much to blame for not making more liberal advances towards the construction of Irish railways. I am much obliged to him for calling our attention to the subject, because it was one in which I took great interest when, 17 years ago, I was Secretary to the Treasury. The greater part of such loans was, I think, granted under a measure which I had the honour to introduce; so that it is a question in which I have no prejudice against the view of my hon. Friend. On the other hand, we must remember two things—one, that, for the good of Ireland, it is most important that, if possible, these advances should be made by private capitalists, instead of by the Government. On that ground the Government are obliged to carefully consider the question of any advance from public money. Again, as to the rate of interest. If the Government has been receiving 5 per cent interest upon particular loans, I must remind the House that railways at the present time are able to raise debentures at 3½ per cent; and it is a serious economic—it is even a political question, whether a state of things might not be brought into Ireland by which capital could be again attracted to that country. I think it would be far more for the benefit of Ireland—I say this most sincerely—if the economic condition of Ireland was such that she could go into the market and borrow, as she could, on debenture stock at 3½ per cent from private individuals, instead of 5 per cent from the Government. We ought to do our best to raise Ireland to such a condition as would enable her to obtain capital from private persons, so that, instead of money flowing from Ireland, it should flow into it. Everyone who has acted as a trustee, or in any other capacity, and had experience of mortgages in Ireland lately, must know that money is flowing from Ireland, and not into it, and that there are many public bodies who will not advance money on Irish security, however ample. I take it that the abolition of that state of things, and the restoration to the more healthy state of things which prevailed a few years ago, is of far more importance and benefit to Ireland than many of the proposals, good as they may be in themselves, which we think would put an end to the Irish grievances. I hope, therefore, hon. Members from Ireland who sit on the other side will do their best to restore commercial confidence in Ireland. I do not believe, from knowledge of a good many years, that there is naturally objection on the part of English capitalists to invest their money in Ireland. I admit also that it is reasonable that, within proper limits, some assistance should be given from the Treasury, when every other power of granting money fails. But others ought not to fail. I should like to say a word or two on the subject of emigration. My right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) pointed out, with considerable force last night, what the advantages of emigration in Ireland were. On the other side, we have heard to-day some of the difficulties with which those who wish to promote emigration in Ireland find themselves met. I have always felt that there is great force in these difficulties. It is undoubtedly true that there is an objection—not an unnatural objection, I may venture to say not an unfounded objection—on the part of those who are responsible for the religious education of the Irish people, to large bodies of people going to distant and foreign parts of the world, where they were apt to fall into temptation, and lose the advantage of their earlier religious teaching. I think, with any system of administration with which the Government might be connected, it is necessary to bear that in mind. But in dealing with the question of emigration, I think the House ought to know what are the real facts in connection with the actual emigration from Ireland which goes on at the present time. This debate has been carried on almost as if there was no emigration from Ireland, as if it was wrong, and something never heard of before; and those who have spoken very strongly on the subject have imputed to the Government some terrible plan—a novelty in Irish history—of deporting to foreign countries vast numbers of Irish subjects. That is not the case at all. I find that the emigration from Ireland, begining in 1856, was at the rate, up to 1860, of over 100,000 persons per annum. Up to 1865, the number was about 140,000 a-year; and up to 1870, about 130,000. These figures referred to statute adults, so that the number would be still larger. In 1875, the number was from 60,000 to 70,000, and since that they have fluctuated until, in 1880, the number of emigrants from Ireland reached 93,000 statute adults, or about 120,000 souls, and in 1881, 76,000, or probably 100,000 souls. The peculiarity of this emigration—and this, I think, is a point to which the attention of the House ought to be called—is that whether to the United States, or to Canada, or other Colonies, it has occurred not because the people had elected those countries rather than others to which to go, but because they had received from their friends and relations already established there the money wherewith to join them. That process has reached such a point that I find, from this last Return, that about £1,500,000 sterling has been remitted from America and elsewhere for emigration, and from friends who had themselves emigrated to that part of the world. The argument I draw from that is this—emigration, so far, has been on such a scale that if it had been applied to those particular districts it would have been ample to relieve the distress. But the emigration has not taken place from those districts, because those congested districts have not already sent a large body of emigrants who could remit money home to take out their friends. It is from other parts of Ireland that the emigration has gone on, and the very fact of certain districts being congested is the reason why they continue congested, because no one leaves them so as to be able to assist friends who may be left behind. What I have said points to this—that if we could more systematize the emigration, so that it should relieve particular districts, we should be able to relieve the condition of these small congested localities, without at all adding to the aggregate amount of emigration, and without being obnoxious to those particular objections raised in the debate. I cannot think that the emigration of 100,000 or 60,000 a-year is at all excessive, and it would be the greatest benefit to the Irish people if it were done upon a system, so that those particular districts would be relieved. Let me add the necessity, so far as I can judge—for I have seen a good many of these most congested districts—the absolute necessity of some system under which, if you have relieved the superfluous population, the district should not lapse back again into its former condition. I would illustrate this by a case I have investigated in a district in Donegal with a very large population, where the land was held in small holdings of an acre or an acre and a-half. Large numbers of emigrants went from this district after the Famine, and it was hoped that the small holdings would be consolidated, and a more satisfactory state of things would result in the future. But it was not so, and I believe the small holdings now are as small as they were then; so that, unless you take some precaution, you would have the same process happening from generation to generation. Therefore, if we are to engage in any plan of this sort, it should be systematized, so as to make it not merely relief for the moment, but for a considerable time to come. There is one other point I should like to touch upon. A good deal has been said about the importance of making advances to small tenants below the line at which, at the present time, such advances are made; and a suggestion has been brought forward in debate that the difficulty in making those advances might be obviated if the small tenants formed themselves into clusters, and became jointly responsible for the repayment. I may be allowed to say, with great deference, that I do not think the question has been studied so fully as it requires to be. I want to remind the House of what we have done, and the difficulties which, in some shape or other, we must overcome. In earlier arrangements for advances to tenants it was made a condition that the tenant to whom the advance was made should obtain the collateral security of others, so that there should be a reasonable security for those who made the advances. The objection was advanced at that time that, if security were demanded, people would not apply for assistance; and that was based on the argument that a man having only a small holding, who had no benefit from the advance, if his brother tenant who had received benefit should fail, would feel himself greatly aggrieved by being called upon to make up his neighbour's deficiency. If that was a sound objection in the one case, is it not a sound objection in the other? If seven or eight small tenants combined together to obtain an advance, and if some of those who had the least benefit, and possibly no benefit, were called upon to make good what had been advanced to their neighbours, shall we not have precisely the same objection that was raised to the former plan of surety, and will not the whole thing end in disastrous failure? I make these suggestions for practical reasons, and not on any mere doctrinaire grounds. I may add that what we want to do is what is most beneficial to the people of Ireland. We want to elicit on such a question as this the opinion of those who are well conversant with the question; and in that, as in other matters, I am bound to say there would be greater advantage to myself as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to the Government, to have practical suggestions in carrying out the details of the Acts of the last two Sessions, so that we might honestly be enabled to give effect to the policy which the Government believe will be, in the end, of great advantage to Ireland. In conclusion, I would express the hope that we may be able to bring this debate to a close before very long, so that there may be no difficulty in the way of getting into Supply.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he quite agreed with much of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) —but he must also say that the speech had evidently been made with the desire of making things pleasant all round—that this question should not be approached in any narrow or Party spirit, but with a sincere desire to help in alleviating the distress now so prevalent in Ireland, and which, he ventured to say, was one of those things the Government was bound to deal with. He had listened attentively to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to capital. There could be no doubt that if capital would only return to Ireland in the way suggested, the position of that country would be a most fortunate one. Ireland would then be on a par with this country, both as regards tranquillity and prosperity, and that was what everyone wished to see in Ireland. But the question now was the distress in the Western parts of Ireland. No man who did not know what that distress was, and who had not seen it, could picture to himself the miserable condition of the people in the Western portion of Ireland. It was his (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) sad fate, during the whole of the first Famine, to be in that part of Ireland; and he would venture to say that from that time to this chronic distress had existed there; and, although from starvation, emigration, and other causes the population had greatly decreased even in those parts, and though great efforts had been made at different times to relieve them, yet, at the present time, they were in precisely the same condition as in 1846, while no great effort had been made by either side of the House to permanently relieve that distress. He was delighted to know that they had in the present Chief Secretary for Ireland a man of few words, who was determined to do that which he held to be in the best interests of Ireland. No one could deny that the condition of things in the West of Ireland, taking Donegal, Mayo, Galway, and even a portion of the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, and Cork, required the utmost attention of the Government, and a determination that such a state of things should no longer exist. His right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer talked as if this was a new question, and said the Government were making inquiries so as to ascertain the best and most permanent remedy. The real condition of things was this—that the Government knew perfectly well that in the West of Ireland existed all those materials which had led to all the disasters that had occurred in the country, and unless the existing state of things was remedied they would have a continuance of those disasters. These were the portions of Ireland which the Government should, if it could, render contented and happy, for they would prevent agitation. Let it be borne in mind, however, that it was not from the poor creatures who were suffering distress that the agitation came; it came from others; but the deplorable condition they were in was the means which gave opportunity for agitation. Until the population in those parts had been dealt with seriously and determinately, no good would have been done for Ireland. He was glad to hear that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had made up his mind to deal with the question; but whether he was going to deal in a right way with it he was not now going to stop to consider. The hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor

Power) said there were three ways of dealing with the question—one was migration, the other emigration, and the third was the workhouse for the able-bodied poor. With regard to migration, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would remark that the hon. Member did not propose, for one moment, that you were to migrate men on to those lands now in good condition, but to migrate on to the 600,000 acres which had gone out of cultivation for want of people to till them. With regard to that proposal, he would only say that if there were lands of that kind not tenanted by the Irish people, and that could be re-occupied again, and made useful, it would, indeed, be a beneficial thing for the people of Ireland, and of England too. If those lands could be again tilled and made to pay, that was the great consideration, even if money were taken from the English Exchequer to lend a helping hand for that purpose; and he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) asserted that the English Exchequer would willingly advance a portion of the money for such an object as that. Then came the question of emigration. That must be dealt with, with a determined hand. Those people must be got rid of. The Government must not blink the question. They must be moved, if the Government wanted Ireland to be peaceful and happy. Year by year the people were being reduced to absolute starvation, and the only way to deal with that was to remove the people in a systematic and judicious way. After that care must be taken that others did not return to these miserable holdings that could not support them. What was wanted was a larger class of holdings, and until a scheme was proposed which should realize that little would have been done to solve this problem. He was opposed to the spending of money on impracticable experimental schemes; but what he maintained was, that if this question were not dealt with determinately, and at once, there would never be peace and quiet in Ireland. Then there was the workhouse test. He differed from a great number of hon. Gentlemen with regard to that test. He believed the Chief Secretary for Ireland was absolutely right, when he said that able-bodied people, when asking outdoor relief from the Union, and from people hardly better able to pay than themselves, should not receive that form of relief. If outdoor relief were granted, the people would be made perpetual paupers, and would never be disposed to earn an honest living. The right hon. Gentleman was therefore right when he said he would not allow outdoor relief to increase in Ireland. It used to be the pride and boast of Ireland in olden days that it could do without outdoor relief, while it was necessary in England; but the condition of things was now altered. Still, he would strenuously oppose the granting of outdoor relief to able-bodied persons in Ireland, believing that it would be most prejudicial to the interests of the nation. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) knew the condition of those places. He had seen them from one end of Ireland to another. He believed if those people were made to feel that they were fairly dealt with by the Government, and a reasonable scheme of migration as well as of emigration was put at their door, the Government would have solved the most difficult problem they had ever had to deal with. But unless that was done it would be for those who came after them to deal with crime and outrage, and besides to feel the disgrace that people were dying of starvation a short distance from our shores.

Mr. O'SHEA said, that he had heard with great pleasure the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His hon. and gallant Friend opposite who had just sat down (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had described that speech as "making things pleasant all round;" but, dealing with a very useful subject which had been referred to in the speech of the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Dickson), with regard to the terms on which funds were to be in future advanced for the construction of Irish railways, he (Mr. O'Shea) intended to bring the matter to a practical test in a few days, when the West Clare Railway, which was in a very advanced state as regarded its share capital, would be brought under the notice of the Treasury. They would then see whether the right hon. Gentleman's speech was merely for the sake of "making things pleasant all round." The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke of the advantage it would be if those lines could be constructed out of money borrowed in the market through the ordinary sources;

but he could assure that right hon. Gentleman that while it was quite possible to raise money in this way on the Great Trunk lines, it would be impossible to get it for the construction of small branch railways. For instance, the 5 per cent debentures of the Waterford and Central Railway, although the line paid a small dividend on its share capital, were not quoted above 104 to 106. There was no doubt, however, that the important subject for immediate discussion was the state of destitution of certain districts of Ireland, and he quite agreed that it was divided into two parts—the temporary and the permanent; but the question which was most important now was the temporary question. They were told that the Government were making the deepest and most serious inquiries into the state of affairs. He thought they were doing quite right; but although he should be the last to maintain the proposition that poverty had any right to the assistance of the State, yet he held that destitution had an absolute right to that assistance. Now, destitution absolutely existed in certain districts of the constituency which he had the honour of representing. This destitution would not wait for statistics. That was perfectly clear, and the consequence was that it was useless to deal with it by the Reports—the very excellent Reports, no doubt—of the Poor Law Inspectors as to the future. The matter must be taken up immediately. The actual state of affairs was this—that in large districts in several of the Unions of the County Clare and another county with which he was well acquainted—the County Mayo—the destitution was such that, although he had no doubt that his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland was perfectly correct in saying that there was no record of any death having occurred by starvation, yet that it was so great that there was a physical and moral weakness coming over the people, that might develop at any moment into serious sickness. And they must look at the matter in another way. If destitution had an absolute right of claim on the State, it was clear that everyone who was destitute had that right, and amongst them there were the children. There was no doubt that in a number of places in the West of Ireland the state of the children was extremely serious, and altogether different from that in which they were in the year 1879-80, when, owing to the charitable organizations, the children were extremely well-fed. There were no charitable distributions at the present moment. It would be answered that in dealing with this destitution the family must be taken as a unit and dealt with as a whole—that the children could not be taken from their parents; but what was the effect of the workhouse test? That directly the families got into the workhouse, they were, to a great extent, divided; and that was one of the greatest difficulties which they had to contend with in inducing the people to go into the workhouse; and if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland could devote a little time to look into the matter of workhouse reform in that way, and to see whether a system of workhouse policy could not be brought in with greater consonance with the feelings of the Irish poor, he would be doing a very good work. With regard to emigration, the Government had over and over again foreshadowed a scheme of emigration; and he believed there would be no difficulty with the Irish people, if such a scheme were elaborated, and if the Government were prepared to make an estimate for it. He might remind the House that one of the most advanced of the Irish Members opposite had, only a few months ago, acknowledged that he could not oppose such a scheme. But at the present moment the emigration was simply haphazard. The matter could not be taken into consideration until the people had first tided over the temporary destitution now prevailing. As the hon. Member for Carnarvon (Mr. Rathbone) had pointed out, it was not so much money that was wanted as a fitting place to which to send the emigrants. Another question was, what would become of the present holdings when deserted by their former occupiers? Thirty tenants would always pay more rent in the aggregate than one tenant for 150 acres of land in the West of Ireland. A further question was, how were the large tracts of land which were formerly in cultivation, and were sown with grass after the Famine, to be treated? They were now rapidly becoming covered with furze and rushes. With regard to the Land Act, he thought its amendment was perfectly safe. Ulster had spoken out. The burning question of the day was that of destitution; and he sincerely hoped that nothing would prevent the Government from dealing with that question, as it was one of death from starvation, or starvation fever, among the people in certain districts in the West of Ireland.

DR. COMMINS said, that every person appeared to admit that they were now face to face with severe destitution in the West of Ireland; and yet, so far, no intimation had been given by the Government as to what course it intended to pursue to meet the distress. They were told that the Government were ascertaining the facts; but what need was there for ascertaining the facts? Were they not patent to every person? Had not the Boards of Guardians throughout the country been calling attention to the matter, and asking the Government to take some steps; and what necessity was there for the Chief Secretary for Ireland's tour in Donegal on an Irish jaunting car? The right hon. Gentleman stated that the Government should refuse to grant the Guardians power to grant outdoor relief. But he (Dr. Commins) was strongly of opinion that relief in some shape was required and should be given, and he thought it was outdoor relief that should be given. Was the right hon. Gentleman aware of the fact that a family in the workhouse would cost three times as much as if there was an allowance made to it in outdoor relief. But though the outdoor relief system was the cheaper, the Chief Secretary for Ireland would insist on the poor people breaking up their homes, and going into the workhouses, and losing the position of respect which they held amongst their neighbours, thereby demoralizing them, as they would ever afterwards be branded with the name of pauper. He agreed that it would be better that the people should emigrate from the congested districts in the West than that they should live on subject to constantly recurring periods of starvation, if the recurrence of those periods could not possibly be avoided. As a matter of fact, however, there was no absolute necessity for the removal of the people to another country. How was it that those poor people came to occupy their present miserable holdings? The reason was that they were driven by a pernicious system from the rich tracts of grazing land in the interior to the wild mountain districts to eke out a miserable existence. That system was now, once and for all, put an end to by the beneficial operation of the Land Act; and he hoped when it came fully into operation that it would enable the poor people to return to their former homes. The speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland last night had not given them any hope to carry home to their constituents. The Guardians of the Unions of Carrick-on-Shannon, Boyle, and Strokestown had all asked to be allowed to relieve the distress in a way that was in harmony with the feelings of the people, and would not deprive them of their self-respect, and they said that they would do so with their own money. But nothing had been done except to send round Inspectors to tell the Local Government Board what the Board already knew as well as the Inspectors. He thought he was not going too far when he said the speech of the right hon. Gentleman would cast a gloom over Ireland; and, looking at the speech, they would say that the Government looked upon the present distress as a Godsend to enable it to expatriate a very considerable number of their countrymen. They had heard of congested districts. The fact was that the density of population in Ireland was less than in Russia, being 153 in the one case and 157 in the other to the square mile. In Roscommon, where there was some of the richest land in Ireland, perhaps in Europe—the plains of Boyle, from which the people had been cleared off to make room for the large sheep farms—you might travel 20 miles without seeing a labouring man's house or a village, and the country seemed as thinly populated as the prairies of America. Two, three, or four weeks of outdoor relief would be quite sufficient to enable the people to tide over the distress. The right hon. Gentleman had promised that nobody should be allowed to die of starvation; but he had not kept his word, because no steps had been taken, and verdicts of death by starvation had been returned. He implored the Government to do something to prevent the wholesale misery and almost despair which were likely to come upon the people of Ireland. If they really desired to relieve the distress, they must at once take steps to meet the difficulty with which they were now face to face.

Mr. CALLAN said, he very much regretted that at the opening of the House the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) had not, in answer to his (Mr. Callan's) request, made for the information of hon. Members, placed upon the Table the Memorial presented by a deputation of the Irish Bishops. The Bishops of Ireland during late years had kept outside the arena of politics; but urged by a clear sense of duty, arising out of the great distress existing in their dioceses, they felt it necessary to wait on the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the guise of humble suppliants, and press upon him the necessity of taking some steps to relieve the distress existing in the country at the present time. Their suggestions, however, were disregarded; and he (Mr. Callan) trusted, therefore, that it would be the last time that the Irish Episcopacy would be found going as suppliants to any English Minister in Dublin Castle. He did not believe that any hon. Member of the House heard the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland last night with deeper sorrow and disappointment than he had done. Had the right hon. Gentleman read the letter of the Rev. Father Gallagher, who accompanied him on his tour through Donegal, and who was spending all he had in the world to save his starving people? Silence gave consent. He supposed he had the letter, or else he would have contradicted it. Well, what did that letter state? It stated that in all the cabins the right hon. Gentleman visited there was not a scrap of food to be found, except in one, where they found the family eating seaweed; and he stated also that the people said that they would rather die in their cabins than go into the workhouse. Well, what was the right hon. Gentleman's answer to that? "You may die there," was what his speech last night said. At the time, however, the right hon. Gentleman said that what he saw exceeded in misery all that he had read of concerning the distress in Donegal, thereby endorsing the writings of the special correspondent of *The Freeman's Journal*, who was calling attention to the dreadful destitution amongst the people in the columns of that journal. When he got back to Dublin Castle, however, all was changed. The iron appeared to enter the spirit of the right hon. Gentleman the moment he entered that building, and he came forward now there in the House of Commons, the exponent of a cold-blooded policy towards Ireland. He was bringing back to the memory again the evil memories of 1848, when another of his name was a cruel and remorseless administrator in Ireland. He (Mr. Callan) must say he was surprised that one of the Members for Donegal (Dr. Kinnear), a brother clergyman with the Rev. Father Gallagher, and belonging to the same town, had been dumb upon the question. He supposed the rev. Gentleman thought he owed allegiance to the Government rather than to those who sent him to the House, and who had sent him for the last time. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He heard a Scotch Member (Mr. Buchanan) say "Divide!" He supposed the hon Gentleman did it at the instance of the Government, as he was the Member who seconded the Address to the Crown, and represented a city with no sympathy for Ireland. He (Mr. Callan) demanded to know why the Memorial of the Irish Bishops was to be suppressed. Until the cruel and heartless speech of the right hon. Gentleman on the previous evening, in which he stated that he was determined to carry out a harsh policy, the Irish Representatives had accorded him every indulgence, because they believed he would rise superior to the traditions of Dublin Castle; but in this they had been greatly mistaken. He would ask him whether during his four days' visit to Donegal, he did not see exceptional distress there, and challenged him to deny the truth of the Rev. Mr. Gallagher's letter.

And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORDER OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he regretted that there had been no disposition to pay any attention to the appeal which he ventured to make, not in the interests of the Government, but of the progress of Public Business, and the convenience of the House itself, the debate on the Address might, if possible, be concluded to-day. That course was now impossible; the debate must be adjourned. He wished, however, to give Notice that it was proposed, with the permission of the House, to proceed at once, after the close of the debate, to take the next stage of Report. It would be impossible, as he had hoped, that Committee of Supply could be set up for to-morrow, and that must be deferred in any circumstances until Friday. In case the Report on the Address was concluded at a reasonable time to-morrow evening, the Government would propose to proceed with the Bills which stood on the Paper for to-morrow, in the order in which they now stood — namely, the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, the Criminal Code (Indictable Offences Procedure) Bill, and the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill.

PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT (1874) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Reid, Bill to amend "The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Reid, Mr. Albert Grey, and Mr. Stuart Wortley.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 109.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 1*st March*, 1883.

Their Lordships met;—And having gone through the Business on the Paper, without debate—

House adjourned at half past Four o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 1*st March*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—New Writs Issued—*For* Wycombe Borough, *v.* Lieutenant Colonel William Henry Peregrine Carington, commonly called the hon. William Henry Peregrine Carington, Manor of Northstead; *for* Chester County (Mid Division), *v.* Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, called up to the House of Peers.

New Member Sworn—Edward Robert King-Harman, esquire, *for* the County of Dublin.

Select Committee—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons), Mr. Guest and Sir Henry Wolff *discharged*, Mr. Armitstead and Mr. Thornhill *added*.

Private Bill (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Thames Navigation.

Public Bill — *Second Reading*—Consolidated Fund, &c. (Permanent Charges Redemption) Act (1873) Amendment* [107].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

THAMES NAVIGATION BILL

(*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Sir SYDNEY WATERLOW said, that, on seeing the Notice of this Bill on the Paper, he had intimated his intention of moving that it be read a second time that day six months. The title of the measure, however, was misleading. Instead of referring to the navigation of the Thames generally, its object was merely to regulate the steam launches above Kew; there being also a provision in it for granting remuneration to the officers who fulfilled the duty. Under the circumstances, he would not persevere with his opposition.

Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE said, that one object of the Bill was to raise the amount awarded to the Conservators. He did not object to that, nor to the Bill. The clause which dealt with the management of this remuneration, however, he took some objection to; but that the promoters had engaged should be amended in Committee. On that understanding he now withdrew his opposition.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I must say I was surprised to see in the Bill the clause to which the hon. Member has drawn attention. No doubt, the main object of the measure is one of great public utility. It is to provide regulations necessary to remove a nuisance that has become dangerous to the public on the River Thames. But there is an addition to that, in the shape of the 15th section, which seems to have no connection whatever with this object of great public utility. I cannot myself see why, when all these duties are performed by officers of the Thames Conservancy, the members of the Board of

Conservancy should have this £1,000 a-year to be divided amongst them at the discretion of the Treasury and the Board of Trade. There are gentlemen who discharge public duties on the river between Yankee Creek and Lechlade of equal importance to the public as those discharged individually by members of the Thames Conservators, and I have never heard that they have set up a claim to be paid out of the public funds for the services they discharge. Some of these Conservators, I believe, are connected with the Common Council of the City of London, who themselves are unpaid for the services they discharge. I am quite at a loss to know why it is proposed to allow the Conservators to use themselves £1,000 a-year out of the funds they administer. I wish to speak in terms of the greatest possible respect of this body of gentlemen. Undoubtedly, they are worthy of all respect; but I will undertake to say that there is probably no body that has been more unsuccessful in discharging one portion of its duties—that is, the dealing with floods along the course of the River from Teddington to Lechlade in the county of Wilts. We are told that one of the things which prevents them from discharging their duties is want of funds; and yet we have a proposal to allocate £1,000 a-year out of their resources for personal remuneration—£1,000 a-year from funds which, according to their own allegation, are insufficient for their present purposes. This failure to discharge their duties is a great public evil. Thousands of acres of land on the Thames are being thrown out of cultivation or seriously damaged. This is effected, in a great measure, by the floods which are allowed to remain on the land; and yet we have this proposal to give £1,000 a-year—the interest on £33,000—which will go very far indeed towards relieving a considerable portion of the landowners on the Thames from the evils which they suffer. Having in view that this Bill has a public object, so far as the regulation of steam launches is concerned, I shall not oppose the second reading; but I give fair Notice that if this clause comes back in the Bill I shall oppose it, and, if necessary, the measure itself on Report. I trust the good sense of the Committee to which this Bill will be referred will induce them to strike out the provision in question, which has no relation to any other part of the Bill, which is not necessary to it, and which certainly would not have been inserted had it not been for the great skill of the draftsman or Parliamentary agent who has charge of the Bill, and who is exceedingly well able to take care of his clients when they want to be well served in this respect. I, therefore, do not propose to oppose the second reading.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he was glad to hear that the Bill was not to be opposed, so far as regarded the provisions in it relating to the regulation of steam launches. As to the clause dealing with remuneration, he was at a loss to understand his right hon. Friend. Did the right hon. Gentleman suppose that this was the first time payment had been made to the Conservators? If he did, the supposition was incorrect. It would be found in this very section that this sum—which, by the way, was not £1,000 a-year, but "was not to exceed £1,000 a-year" was only to be paid—"in addition" to money already required to be set apart for the Conservators. Well, if the Conservators had additional work put upon them, it certainly was not an improper thing that they should receive additional pay. The sum fixed in the Bill—£1,000 a-year—would be the maximum, and would only be in addition to the sum they now received.

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

ARMY—THE ENNISKILLEN DRAGOONS.

Colonel COLTHURST asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would explain why the soldiers' families of the Enniskillen Dragoons have not yet been allowed to proceed to Natal, the regiment having been there now for more than two years?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The families of the soldiers of the Enniskillen Dragoons have not been sent out to Natal, not only because accommodation for the families of soldiers is deficient, but primarily because of the great uncertainty which has existed as to the length of time during which it might be requisite to keep the regiment in the

Colony. I trust it will not be necessary to keep the regiment there much longer.

ARMY—STAFF APPOINTMENTS—LIEUTENANT GENERAL GAGE, C.B.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that Lieutenant General the Hon. E. T. Gage, C.B. is to be removed from the command at Woolwich on the 31st of this month, although it is a five years' appointment, and he has not held it for two years; whether the reason of this decision is that, owing to his distinguished service in the Crimea and India, he obtained his promotion to the rank of Lieutenant General more rapidly than if he had not rendered such distinguished service; and, whether, under these special circumstances, and considering the heavy expenses necessarily incurred by Lieutenant General Gage in taking up the command, an exception could be made in his case so as to admit of his continuinug to hold his Staff appointment, as was done in the case of Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Campbell, Director of Artillery and Stores at the War Office, and Lieutenant General Radcliffe, Inspector General of Artillery?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Lieutenant General Gage having been promoted from the rank of Major General, is required by the Royal Warrant to vacate his appointment of Major General on the Staff at the end of the financial year in which he was promoted. Lieutenant General Gage's early brevet promotion for service in the field has doubtless brought him earlier to the rank of Lieutenant General; but the early promotion carries various advantages. The officers in the cases quoted did not exceed the tenures allowed by the Royal Warrant.

ARABI PASHA—CONDITIONS OF DETENTION AT CEYLON.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is aware that when Arabi and his fellow prisoners now in Ceylon agreed to plead guilty of rebellion, and to assent to the confiscation of their property, it was in consequence of a distinct assurance that they should receive from the Egyptian Government adequate support in their place of exile; whether they do receive such support, and to what extent; and, whether he is aware that there is no Egyption law by which a person condemned to death can be legally deprived of the title of Pacha?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In reply to the first portion of my hon. Friend's Question, I may refer him to page 88 of the Correspondence respecting the affairs of Egypt, No. 1, which was laid before Parliament at the commencement of its present Session. It appears that the Egyptian Government have allowed £30 a-month to each of the exiles for their maintenance, and have expressed their willingness to increase this allowance should it not be sufficient. In reply to the last portion of my hon. Friend's Question, no information has been received at the Office as to the law under which Arabi was deprived by the Egyptian Government of the title of Pasha, and I am not, therefore, able to answer my hon. Friend on this point.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked whether any communications had taken place with the Government of Ceylon, or otherwise, to ascertain whether the allowance was sufficient or not?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE asked the hon. Member to repeat the Question on Monday.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—BOW CEMETERY.

MR. BRYCE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has yet received the Report of the Inspector appointed to inquire into the alleged over-filling of the Cemetery at Bow, East London, and into other matters connected therewith; and, whether, in case the Report has been received, he can state what action the Home Office proposes to take upon it?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had received the Report to which his hon. Friend referred, and it was proposed to issue an Order in Council with the view to correct the evil.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—MR. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that Mr. Timothy Harrington, on the very day of his unopposed return, in the town of Mullingar, to represent the county of Westmeath in this House of Commons, was not commanded by the officials of Mullingar Gaol to remove a bucket of prison slops from one part of the prison to another; whether he did refuse to submit to such indignity; and, whether, for such refusal, he has been subjected by the Governor of the Gaol to special punishment?

MR. TREVELYAN: Mr. Harrington, having been committed as an ordinary convicted prisoner, was subject to the regular Prison Regulations. Under these Regulations, prisoners are required to cleanse their own cells and utensils. Mr. Harrington refused to do so, and was adjudged by the Governor of Mullingar Prison to forfeit his exercise on the days on which he refused to obey the Regulations. Since then the Lord Lieutenant has directed the removal of Mr. Harrington to Galway Gaol, where the accommodation for prisoners is better than at Mullingar, and has instructed the prison authorities that such relaxation of the Prison Rules may be made as is consistent with the maintenance of prison discipline, and as the law will permit.

MERCANTILE MARINE—TRANSPORTS.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the President of the Board of Trade, If the attention of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade has been drawn, by the editor of the "British Merchant Service Journal," in a letter dated 12th February 1883, to the condition and nature of repairs being made to certain steam vessels now in the Port of London; and, if so, what steps, if any, have been taken to ensure that these vessels, which have been specially selected by the Admiralty for the transport of troops, shall not proceed to sea until they have been made thoroughly seaworthy?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The attention of the Department was drawn by the editor of *The British Merchant Service Journal* to the condition of certain steam vessels now in the Port of London. I have also to say that the matter was previously under the consideration of the Surveyor of the Board of Trade and of the Department; and I have now to assure my hon. and gallant Friend that the vessels in question will not be permitted to leave, either with passengers or without ,until such repairs have been made as will render them perfectly seaworthy.

THE SWISS REPUBLIC—THE SALVATION ARMY.

SIR JOHN HAY (for Mr. R. N. FOWLER) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, in view of the fact, as stated in the "Times," of British subjects being exposed to insults, and expelled without trial from the territory of the Republic of Switzerland, Her Majesty's Government will instruct Her Representative at Berne to obtain an explanation of the action of the authorities at Geneva?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The question whether there is ground for diplomatic intervention in relation to the occurrences in Switzerland referred to by the hon. Member has been submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown for their opinion, and pending their Report Her Majesty's Government do not propose to take any official action. But Her Majesty's Representative at Berne has unofficially represented to the Federal Government the complaints of certain British subjects against the authorities at Geneva, and it is understood that the latter have been invited to furnish a Report thereon.

METROPOLITAN AND METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAYS.

SIR HENRY PEEK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Government contemplate taking any measures to terminate or mitigate the loss and inconvenience which the owners and occupiers of property in the City of London, situate in the direction of the proposed extension of the Metropolitan and Metropolitan District Railways, for the completion of the Inner Circle Line of Railway, have, for nearly twenty years, experienced, consequent on the numerous applications to Parliament in relation to the subject, including repeated applications for extension of time limited by Parliament; and, whether the Government intend to oppose the Bill introduced in the present Session of Parliament, for further extension of the time for acquiring land and completing the works, and will thus relieve the owners and occupiers from having again to incur the serious expense consequent on opposing such Bill in Committee?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he thought the question raised by the hon. Baronet was one which was essentially for the decision of a Select Committee of the House of Commons. It was altogether unusual, and he thought improper, for any Government Department to interfere to oppose an application to the House for an extension of time for the completion of works which were in course of construction.

ARMY MEDICAL AND TRANSPORT DEPARTMENTS—REPORT OF DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Departmental Committee, appointed to inquire into certain matters connected with the Army Medical and Transport Departments, during the late Egyptian campaign, have made their Report; and, if so, whether the Report will be laid upon the Table of the House?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The Committee have not reported yet; but I understand from the Chairman (Lord Morley) that the Report will probably be made within a week or two. When I receive the Report I will consider the question of its presentation to Parliament; but I do not apprehend that there will be anything to prevent its being laid on the Table. I may add that the labours of this Committee have been very arduous, and the evidence is voluminous.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION—GRAVES OF SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

SIR HENRY WILMOT asked the Secretary of State for War, If any steps are being taken to protect the graves of our soldiers and sailors who died in Egypt during the late war?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The remains of those who fell at Kassassin and Tel-el-Kebir will be interred in one cemetery at the latter place. The Egyptian Government has undertaken to carry out the necessary works, under the direction of the British officer commanding the Royal Engineers, such as building an enclosing wall, planting trees, &c. It has also agreed to afford efficient protection to the cemetery.

INDIA—BEHAR AND ASSAM.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware that in large and populous districts of India grave questions of employment and labour are continually arising between Natives of India and European manufacturers and speculators, and that against European offenders the Natives are entirely unprovided with any magistrates of their own race to supervise or protect their interests; whether throughout Behar the indigo planting interest is entirely in the hands of Europeans, whose treatment of their labourers and tenants has been the object of numerous complaints and the cause of wide spread disaffection, and that in Behar the magistrates and officials are often closely allied with indigo planting classes and families; whether it is true that in Assam the tea planting interest is in European hands, that much of the capital is supplied by persons in the employment of the Government of India, that the complaints of the excessive mortality among the labourers in the tea plantations have been admitted to be well-founded in Parliament, that a recent Act indenturing Native labourers to service for a minimum of five years has been denounced in the Native Indian Press as the Assam Slave Act, and that no magistrate of their own race possesses any power to protect the Native Indian labourers from the excesses of their European employers; whether complaints have reached him that European officials who have opposed the influential European interest have been subjected to removal and punishment; and whether he will lay upon the Table of the House all the Papers relating to the removal of the European Chief Magistrate of Sewan, the European Assistant Magistrate of Sewan, and the European Police Superintendent of Sewan who had reported upon the ill-treatment of the native population in parts of Behar?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The hon. Member asks me five Questions. To the first I reply that questions of labour and employment naturally arise in India. There are hundreds of Native Judges and magistrates who in certain civil cases exercise jurisdiction over European and Natives alike, but who in criminal matters have jurisdiction over Natives only. Secondly, the indigo interest in Behar, though mainly, is not exclusively, in European hands. The whole subject of the treatment of the Natives by planters has of late years occupied the attention of the Government of India, and a great deal has been done to rectify the faults of the system. I have no reason to believe that any disaffection or even discontent exists. Concerning the relationship between planters and magistrates, I have no information. Thirdly, tea-planting in Assam is generally carried on by European Companies, whose shareholders are no doubt duly registered. As regards the mortality and the Inland Immigration Act, I must refer the hon. Member to the answer of the noble Marquess the late Secretary of State of the 3rd of April last. I do not know what the denunciations of the Native Press may be. In Assam, as throughout India, there are many Native magistrates exercising the powers I have already mentioned. Fourthly, I know of no instance in which a European official has been removed or punished for opposing influential European interests. Fifthly, in 1879 the magistrate and collector of the district of Sarun, and the joint magistrate and collector of Sewan, a subdivision of that district, were transferred by the officiating Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, because it was considered advisable in the public interest. The transfer of officers from one district to another, being left entirely to the local governments, who are responsible for the administration of their Provinces, it is not proposed to lay on the Table any Papers relating to these transfers.

EGYPT—THE MOUKABALAH.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Her Majesty's Government, with a view to promote peace and contentment in Egypt, will take any steps to negotiate with the European Powers to obtain an arrangement whereby the cultivators in Egypt may receive adequate compensation for their advances of a sum amounting to £17,000,000 under the law of Moukabalah; if it is a fact that the annual sum of £150,000, provided by the Law of Liquidation of 1880, does not amount to even one per cent. interest upon the capital sum of £17,000,000, and fails altogether to repay the principal; and, if it is a fact that this sum of £17,000,000 was advanced under solemn contract with the Egyptian Government, and as purchase money for a fifty per cent. reduction of Land Tax, which has not been granted?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Full information with regard to the question of the Moukabalah is contained in the second Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the finance of Egypt (Egypt, No. 5, 1879). It will be seen from Sir C. Rivers Wilson's Report on the Law of Liquidation (Egypt, No. 1, 1881), that a large portion of the £17,000,000 was considered to have been fictitious payments, and the annuity of £150,000 was what, in view of the various financial circumstances, the Liquidation Court determined should be devoted to compensating the Moukabalah landowners.

EGYPT—FOREIGN AND EUROPEAN EMPLOYES.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Return of "Foreigners having Special Contracts with the Egyptian Government," ordered by Lord Granville, on the 1st March 1882, to be forwarded for presentation to Parliament, and which the British Acting Consul General reported, on the 13th of March 1882, he "had not been able as yet to procure," has now been procured; if it has been procured, if it will now be presented to Parliament; if it has not been procured, what steps he intends to take to cause the order of Lord Granville to be obeyed?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The precise Returns to which the hon. Member refers have not been received, and Sir Edward Malet's attention will be called to the matter; but a Parliamentary Paper (Egypt, No. 6, 1882) of a subsequent date to that from which he quotes contains full information with regard to the Europeans in the service of the Egyptian Government.

MERCANTILE MARINE—THE FOLKESTONE AND DOVER PACKETS.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been drawn to the very inadequate precautions taken by the passenger steamboats plying between Folkestone and

Dover and the French Coast, for the protection of life in case of accident; and, if it is a fact that these steamers carry some hundreds of passengers in a single voyage, and with only four small boats for saving life in the event of accident by collision or otherwise?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, that he had answered a Question with reference to this subject in the course of last Session. He then stated that the number and size of the small boats to be provided by these steamers was settled by statute in accordance with the tonnage of the ships, and that the owners of the steamers in every case had complied with the letter of the law. He had also stated that he had communicated with the proprietors of these steamers urging them to make provision for buoyant seats and other fittings to be used in case of accident. He now intended, on the occasion of the next survey of these steamers, to request the Surveyor of the Board of Trade to report how far his suggestions had been carried out.

INDIA (MADRAS)—MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether during the acting Governorship of Mr. W. Hudleston in 1881, the Government of Madras passed a Resolution that relations of "Members of Council" should not hold land; whether this prohibition applied to land within the Madras Presidency only; whether this order received the sanction of the Viceroy and also of the Secretary of State; and, what was the date of the Resolution?

MR. J. K. CROSS: There is no knowledge at the India Office on the subject, and I cannot find that any such Resolution has been passed.

MR. O'DONNELL: May I ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he will make inquiries on the point?

MR. J. K. CROSS: If the hon. Member will make some definite statement, I will inquire into the truth of it; but I may take this opportunity of saying that it is not desirable that we should be sending telegrams to India, which would be charged to the Government of that country, without some very good reason for so doing. I should not like to do so without the authority of the House.

SOUTH AFRICA—PONDOLAND.

MR. CROPPER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any official information confirming the published reports of the hostilities which are said to have broken out in Pondoland; whether requests have been repeatedly made by Umquikela, Paramount Chief of Pondoland, for inquiry into, and redress of, the grievances which the Pondos allege they have sustained at the hands of the Cape Government; whether, in particular, any reply has been made by the High Commissioner to a Despatch, reported to have been written in November 1881, containing a full statement of his complaints against the Government of the Colony; and, whether any steps have been taken to inquire into or redress these grievances?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: We have no official information as to the reported hostilities in Pondoland. Full information as to the grievances which the Pondos allege will be found in a Blue Book presented last March; but I may say that their principle grievance is, that the Cape Government have extended a protectorate over the Amaxesibes, who occupy a part of Pondoland, and the hostilities now going on are directed against this tribe by Umquikela. I can find no record of any reply being given to the despatch mentioned which was handed by the High Commissioner to the Cape Ministers to deal with; but the Secretary for Native Affairs had an interview with the Pondo Chiefs very shortly after. Nothing further has been done in the matter as far as we know. No doubt, the Basuto troubles have meanwhile occupied the whole attention of the Cape Government.

GOLD MINING COMPANIES (INDIA).

MR. O'KELLY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the manner in which a large number of investors in the City of London have been induced to purchase the shares of Indian Gold Mining Companies which have turned out to be worthless; and, whether he will cause an investigation to be made into the promotion of such undertakings by Indian Government officials?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: All the information we have on this subject is contained in the Papers presented.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. SALT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he proposes to make the Financial Statement before Easter; and, if before Easter, on what day?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): No, Sir; I have no intention to make the annual Financial Statement before Easter. It would be premature now to fix a day after Easter.

PATENTS AND TRADE MARKS—CONSOLIDATION OF THE LAW.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY asked the President of the Board of Trade, When the Government Bill for the Amendment of the Patent Laws will be in the hands of Members; and, whether the subject of Trade Marks will be dealt with in the same Bill?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The Bill which has been introduced is a Bill for the Amendment and Consolidation of the Law relating to Patents, and also with respect to Trade Marks and the Registration of Designs. The Bill is in the hands of the printers, and it may be expected in the course of a week.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: As the Bill is an amendment Bill, will the right hon. Gentleman direct that a Memorandum be printed, showing what is new in the proposed measure?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not know whether that is usual; but if it can be done without much delay, I shall be very glad to do it.

EGYPT (INDIAN CONTINGENT)—EXPENSES.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exechequer, Whether the decision of her Majesty's Government to contribute £500,000 towards the cost of the Indian Expedition to Egypt "during the current financial year" is a final settlement of the matter, and leaves nothing open for future discussion?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Yes, Sir; Her Majesty's Government have decided not to propose to Parliament to contribute more than £500,000 towards the cost of the Egyptian Expedition defrayed by India; leaving rather more than £600,000 out of £4,500,000 as a charge on the Indian Exchequer.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: I suppose we may understand that the Government of India have accepted that offer?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Yes.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND AND PONDOLAND.

Mr. DILLWYN asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, with reference to the charges against the Bishop of Natal of undue interference with the affairs of Zululand, made in Sir Henry Bulwer's Despatches of June 30th, August 1st, and November 7th 1882, Whether the Governor in communicating these allegations to Her Majesty's Government, at the same time gave the Bishop the opportunity of rebutting them, or of making such explanations as he might consider necessary?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: I am unable to answer the Question of the hon. Member. We have given all the Papers respecting Zululand.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can give the House any information as to the disturbed state of Zululand and of the Pondo tribes?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: We have no official information as to the disturbances in Pondoland, and no information at all as to any disturbances in Zululand.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEER UNIFORMS.

Earl PERCY asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether Adjutants of Volunteer Infantry Regiments (which have elected to be styled Volunteer Battalions of their Territorial Regiments), are permitted to wear the uniform of the Line Regiments to which they belong, as has always been allowed to Adjutants of Artillery and Engineer Volunteers?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that the Volunteer officers wore the uniform of the brigade to which they belonged. He would make further inquiries into the matter, and would then give further information.

EGYPT (INDIAN CONTINGENT)—EXPENSES.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can lay upon the Table of the House the Telegram and Despatch from the Viceroy of India in Council, which were alluded to by the Noble Lord in this House, on the 31st of July last, in the following words:

> "I should not be dealing frankly with the House if I were not to state that the Government of India have informed me by telegraph that they object to India bearing the charge of her contingent, and that they are sending home a Despatch upon the subject;"

and, again, on the 26th of October last, in answer to a question—

> "Papers will certainly be presented, but the Correspondence with the Indian Government in regard to the employment of the Indian Contingent is as yet necessarily incomplete, and I do not think it desirable to print it in its present state;"

and, again, on the same subject in answer to a question on November 2nd, the Noble Lord said—

> "The Papers that will be presented will give the House as full an idea as possible of what has taken place;"

and, whether these Papers will be presented before the Supplementary Estimate for payment of the troops employed in Egypt is moved?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that I believe the hon. Member has accurately repeated the statements which I made on those occasions. At that time I was of opinion that it would be necessary to lay upon the Table the greater part of the Correspondence between the Home Government and India on the subject. I was then under the impression that it would be impossible to come to an agreement; but since that time Her Majesty's Government have made a proposal which has been accepted by the Indian Government, and since we have arrived at a satisfactory agreement, I think there would be no good in making public a Correspondence which, in its earlier stages, was somewhat of a controversial character.

SPAIN—INTERNATIONAL LAW—SURRENDER OF CUBAN REFUGEES—GENERAL MACEO.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which I have not been able to give him private Notice—Whether the Foreign Office has received any intelligence as to the very rigorous manner in which General Maceo has been treated by the Spanish Government; whether any representations have been made on the subject; and when we are likely to have the Papers that are promised?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have communicated with the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross), who put to me a Question on the subject, and the cause of whose absence we all regret. I hope to present these Papers in a few days. In regard to the further Question, the Foreign Office, to the best of my knowledge, has not received any information such as that the hon. Member asks for; but I would add that full information of everything that has passed will be contained in the Papers which I hope in a very few days to present to the House.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: As the Question with regard to General Maceo is very urgent, and as he and wife are ill, and he has been treated with great rigour, I shall call the attention of the House to the subject on the Report of the Address.

EGYPT—EARL GRANVILLE'S CIRCULAR.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any reply has been received from the Government of the French Republic to Lord Granville's Circular regarding Egypt; and, if so, what is the nature of that reply?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; no answer has been received.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked if the noble Marquess could give the House any information as to whether it was intended, if the debate on the Address was finished to-night, to proceed with any of the Bills on the Paper; and also if he could state after what hour he proposed not to take them? He asked that Question specially with reference to the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, and he should also like to know the course of Business to-morrow?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I stated yesterday that, in the event of the debate on the Address being concluded in time, we proposed to proceed with the measures in the order in which they stand on the Paper—that is to say, the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, the Criminal Code (Indictable Offences Procedure) Bill, and the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill. I do not know whether my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General will state a reasonable hour for proceeding with the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill; but I should think that it would be no use attempting to proceed with it after midnight. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: After 11 o'clock.] With regard to the Business to-morrow, we shall hope to proceed with the Supplementary Estimates in Committee of Supply.

In reply to a Question,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, the first Supplementary Estimate would be the one for the Egyptian Expedition.

MR. RAIKES: Did what the noble Marquess stated about the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill apply to all the other Bills?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON believed there was not likely to be a great discussion upon the two first Orders, and he thought his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General would endeavour to proceed with them at any hour before half-past 12.

MR. RAIKES asked whether, in the event of any of the Bills being read a second time that night, the Motion to refer to a Grand Committee would be deferred?

[No reply was given.]

EGYPT—THE EARL OF DUFFERIN'S LETTER.

MR. BOURKE: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is now in a position to state when Lord Duffrin's letter, which has been so often alluded to during the last fortnight, will be produced?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot, at present, give any precise information on this question. As my right hon. Friend is aware, it is usual in these cases—especially in cases of this importance—to allow the writer of an important despatch of this kind to see it before it takes its final form in print; and, out of ordinary fairness to Lord Dufferin, no exception can possibly be made in this case. The earliest opportunity was taken to return the despatch back to Lord Dufferin; and as soon as it is returned, and it can consistently with the interest of the Public Service be reproduced, it shall be presented to the House. There are two other most important despatches of Lord Dufferin on the re-organization of Egypt in the Blue Book which I presented a very few days ago—namely, on the 16th of February. They covered eight or nine pages of print; and I cannot conceive that my right hon. Friend could possibly be better employed in preparing himself for reading Lord Dufferin's most important despatch, than by marking and inwardly digesting the two despatches which are contained in that Blue Book.

MR. BOURKE: Considering the very extraordinary character of the answer I have just received, entering as it does into most controversial matter, not only with respect to the despatch I have asked for, but with respect to other despatches, I will take the earliest opportunity which the Forms of this House will allow—probably this evening—of bringing the whole subject before the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I wish to ask if the Government referred to Lord Dufferin by telegraph?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; I said the despatch had been referred back to Lord Dufferin, in order to allow him to read it over in print before it was presented to the House. My right hon. Friend, who has occupied the Office which I have the honour to hold, knows that that is the usual course, and must be aware that it would be unfair to Lord Dufferin if an exception were made in this case.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I would ask the noble Lord whether it would not be possible to instruct Lord Dufferin to make any correction he may wish to make by telegraph? That course has been pursued before.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir; no doubt it would be possible; but Her Majesty's Government naturally desire not to press Lord Dufferin unduly, but to give him the ordinary freedom and latitude of time which is allowed to all members of the Diplomatic Service, especially to those who, like Lord Dufferin, hold a most difficult post at a most arduous and critical time.

MR. BOURKE: I would ask whether Lord Dufferin has evinced the slightest disposition to make any alteration in the despatch; or whether it has been suggested by Her Majesty's Government that such alterations should be made?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I must say, Sir, that I am perfectly astonished at a question of such sort being put. I have just now reminded the House that the right hon. Gentleman has held the Office which I now hold, and he knows perfectly well— [MR. BOURKE: No, I do not]—that we are simply pursuing the ordinary course; and it would be a most exceptional act on the part of Her Majesty's Government, in the case of a most interesting and important despatch, if we did not give to Lord Dufferin the same opportunity which the right hon. Gentleman and Lord Beaconsfield's Government almost invariably gave in regard to every despatch, certainly with regard to every important despatch—to those who, a few years ago, at an equally difficult time, and under equally difficult circumstances, represented this country abroad.

MR. GORST: Will the noble Lord answer categorically the question put to him by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for King's Lynn—namely, whether Her Majesty's Government had or had not suggested to Lord Dufferin certain alterations in that despatch?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I rather thought my right hon. Friend would prefer, on reflection, not to press that question. But, as I am pressed, I beg most categorically and most clearly to say to the right hon. Gentleman and to the House, that Her Majesty's Government do not deal in secret instructions, or anything of that kind.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked whether the despatch would be presented to the House as soon as it came back from Egypt and was printed? He asked the question because the noble Lord said that he would produce it as soon as it was consistent with the Public Service; but that was different from the statement which he first made.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think the question which my hon. Friend has asked me is a very fair one, and contrasts in some way with the question of the right hon. Gentleman. I just wish to recall the exact words which I used in speaking in reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). I said—

> "I thought it would be soon in my power to produce other Papers, and amongst others a despatch of great importance from Lord Dufferin."

I do not go back on one word of what I said; but I cannot altogether accept every interpretation that has since been put by some of my hon. Friends upon those words.

MR. PULESTON: The noble Lord has not replied to the question.

MR. BOURKE: In consequence of the answer to the questions given by the noble Lord, I beg to give Notice that I shall this evening, or whenever we reach the Report on the Address, ask certain questions and make some observations on the following subjects:—Lord Dufferin's despatch; the condition of political prisoners in Egypt; the progress of the International Commission now sitting to inquire into the indemnity claims arising out of the massacres of the 11th of June; the condition of affairs in the Soudan; and the attitude of the Foreign Powers as to the position we now hold in Egypt.

THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE—THE KILIA MOUTH.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I wish to ask the noble Lord, Whether the Danubian Conference is still sitting; and whether he can inform the House if the question relating to the Kilia mouth of the Danube will be decided at that Conference; or whether the House will be consulted in any way?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In reply to the first Question, the Conference is still sitting, and, as I stated the other day, I hope to be able in a very short time to give a definite answer to any Question or Questions that may be asked in respect to a matter of such great interest to English commerce. In reply to the particular Question of the hon. Member as to the Kilia mouth, no doubt that, like all the other questions, will be decided in the Conference; and immediately it is decided I hope to be able to inform the House, and also to lay the Papers on the Table.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: Then it will be decided in the Conference without reference to the House in the first instance?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes.

EGYPT (INDIAN CONTINGENT)—EXPENSES.

MR. ONSLOW: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, or, if he cannot answer, I will give Notice that I will ask the Prime Minister on Monday, What is the reason, after he has pledged himself to the production of Papers with regard to the payment by this country or by India of the cost of the Indian Expedition to Egypt, that he has changed his mind?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I thought I had stated the reason. I said I fully expected the publication of this Correspondence would be necessary. As long as there was a difference of opinion, it might be necessary for the House to decide between the Government of India and Her Majesty's Government at home; but, having arrived at a decision on that subject, we thought there would be a disadvantage to India from the publication of the Correspondence, which I admit was in its earlier stages of a rather controversial character. I do not say that was a good reason; but that is the reason.

MR. ONSLOW asked whether the Papers to be produced would give the House as fully as possible an idea of what were the controversial points?

[No reply was given.]

THE IRISH FAMINE OF 1847—PAYMENT OF THE DEBT RESULTING.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER desired to put a question to the Chief Secretary for Ireland or the Chancellor of the Exchequer with reference to a statement made by the Chief Secretary in the course of the debate on Tuesday evening—namely, Whether, when the Irish famine debt, amounting to a sum of £260,000 annually in the shape of Consolidated Annuities, and which in one sum the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary estimated to amount to £10,000,000 sterling, was written off, new taxes were not imposed upon Ireland which had inflicted upon her financial loss greater than the remission to which the right hon. Gentleman referred; and, whether, in the year 1853, the late Mr. Maguire, the Member for the City of Cork, did not, on that occasion, in the name of the Irish Members, protest against the bargain that had been made?

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Question obviously required Notice. He rose only to say, therefore, that the hon. Member had misconceived him. He mentioned the sum as a debt, and a very important one, that had been remitted to Ireland; but the £10,000,000 he referred to included that debt, which was composed of a considerable number of other items.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER asked, Whether the right hon Gentleman would state at what period that indebtedness was contracted; within what space of time did he allege that the £10,000,000 was incurred; and was the right hon. Gentleman prepared to contest the proposition he had just made with reference to the increase of taxation which was imposed upon Ireland, and was partly consequential upon the remission of that annual sum?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he would answer the Question of the hon. and learned Member on Monday. There were a considerable number of important issues raised in it. No doubt, the hon. Member would recognize the object for which he (Mr. Trevelyan) rose at that moment.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—REFERENCE OF BILLS TO THE GRAND COMMITTEES.

MR. RAIKES asked the noble Marquess, Whether he would state after what hour he would not make a Motion to refer any Bills to any of the Standing Committees in the event of one of those Bills being read a second time?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I understand it has been already ruled by the Chair that it would not be possible to refer a Bill to a Committee that has not yet been appointed. It will, therefore, not be possible to-night to ask the House to refer Bills to the Standing Committees.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [ELEVENTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [27th February] proposed to Main Question [15th February]—[See page 98.]

And which Amendment was,

To insert, at the end of the 10th paragraph, after the word "Executive," the words:—"Humbly to assure Her Majesty, that the state of distress among the population of many parts of Ireland; the inadequate machinery of the Land Act, and its partial and imperfect character, especially with regard to leaseholders, the right of tenants to their improvements, the purchase system, and the condition of the agricultural labourers; the unsatisfactory operation of the Arrears Act; the state of the Law of Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises in Ireland; and the condition of Local Government in that Country, are all questions demanding the urgent attention of the Legislature and the Government; and that the absence of any undertaking to legislate on any of these questions, or on any question affecting the welfare of the Irish People must tend to promote discontent and intensify disaffection in Ireland."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that many things had been urged by the Irish Members in this debate which deserved the notice of the House. He would only deal with one. The view which seemed to have been entertained by several Gentlemen, and even by Her Majesty's Government, was that Ireland was really a favoured nation, and favoured by England, inasmuch as time and money had been devoted to her, and that the present request, if granted, would amount to injustice to the British taxpayers. There never was a more monstrous delusion than the belief that Ireland was financially a favoured nation by England. On the 18th of April last, when he moved for a Committee to inquire into the facts he then brought forward, he placed the true state of the case before the House. Those facts had never been controverted. He did not propose to go fully into the question at this time, but would take another opportunity of renewing his Motion for a Select Committee. He believed that if the injustice which had been done to Ireland under English rule had taken place between any two foreign countries—between Turkey and Egypt, for instance—the English people would have protested against it with great indignation; but because it was purely Irish they were apathetic. He had nothing to do with historic matters in reference to the treatment of Ireland; the injustice which he condemned had occurred in his own time. In 1853 a new departure was taken in the system of taxation of Ireland. Consolidated Annuities, as they were called, to the amount of £260,000 a-year, were compounded for and got rid of, and the class which had been liable was relieved from the tax, a relief concerning which he was not disposed to complain; but the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, now Prime Minister said the object was to make taxation in that country identical with English taxation as far and as quickly as possible; but the right hon. Gentleman mistook identity of impost for equality of taxation. Since this new departure in 1853 the taxation of Ireland had been increased by £3,000,000 sterling a-year, although the population had been reduced by 2,000,000 or 3,000,000. Taking only one item of this "indentical taxation," they found that while the tax on the English popular beverage, beer, had been reduced since 1851 from 2*s.* 8½*d.* per bushel of malt to 6*d.*, the duty upon the Irish and Scotch national beverage, whiskey, had been increased, and in the case of Ireland that increase was from 2*s.* 8*d.* to 10*s.* per gallon. The result was that the taxation of Ireland on that drink had been increased from £900,000 in 1851 to £2,400,000 odd in 1871. He wished the House to reflect upon the effect of that taxation upon a poor country like Ireland, and he asked if it were any wonder, under such circumstances, that the people were impoverished? It was all very well to say that Ireland might avoid the tax by giving up whiskey drinking; but their consumption of alcohol was not excessive, and it was impossible to effect a violent change in the habits of a people in such a matter. The inequality in the respective taxation of England and Ireland was proved by the fact that an Income Tax of 2*s.* 6½*d.* in the pound would produce a revenue equal to that derived from all taxes now levied in the former country, while it would require an Income Tax of 5*s.* 3*d.* in the pound to equal that levied by the present mode of taxation in the latter country. The duty now levied upon the alcohol in beer was only equivalent to a tax of 1*s.* 10*d.* per gallon of proof spirit, compared to a taxtion of 10*s.* a gallon on spirit in the popular beverage of Ireland. He was almost disheartened by the result of his endeavours to draw the attention of the House to this subject, because on a former occasion, when he had happily and entirely demolished and pulverized and smashed every argument of every Chancellor of the Exchequer who had spoken on previous occasions with regard to it, the House had been suddenly counted out. The result of the calculations he had submitted showed that Ireland was paying, having regard to the condition of the two countries, twice as much Imperial taxation as England. If Ireland had a federal arrangement she would be asked to contribute only her fair share towards the Imperial Expenditure—that would be one great advantage of Home Rule. He admitted that by any system of identical imposts the incidence of taxation might press more severely on one country than on another; as, for instance, a tax on cheese would press heavily in England, but would not be felt at all in Ireland, where it was not consumed. But where the incidence of identical taxation pressed with greater severity on one country than on the other, there should be an effort made to return the excess in some way to that country. Ireland was not treated in that manner. All that Ireland asked for was that she should bear her fair share of the Imperial burdens. If Ireland were taxed for Imperial purposes according to her means, her contribution to the Exchequer would be not £7,000,000, but about £3,500,000, or at most £4,000,000, which was all she was paying in 1851.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, that the House had listened for months and years to long and eloquent speeches from hon. Members on this Irish Question, and they had listened with feelings of disappointment, and almost of despair, for practical proposals. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made yesterday a sort of appeal to private Members to bring forward such proposals with regard to Ireland. The hon. and learned Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power), on Tuesday last, complained of the silence of the Opposition side of the House with regard to any such proposals; but there was a good reason for that. For hon. Members on that side did not approve the management of Ireland by the present Government, and therefore they did not feel called upon to make proposals for remedying the state of things they had produced. But if the hon. and learned Member for Mayo would bring before the House in a distinct form his plans which he had sketched out for migration and emigration, he should not find himself without support on the Opposition Benches, and, indeed, he himself would second the Motion.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he should be glad to have the opportunity of doing so.

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he was glad to hear the Chief Secretary the other night speak of the necessity of not destroying the self-reliance of the Irish people. They were a people with very good qualities and some bad ones, not having that thrift, industry, and self-reliance which go to make the wealth of nations. If, instead of encouraging these qualities, anything should be done to, by holding out impossible hopes, impair whatever thrift, industry, and self-reliance the Irish people possessed, they would make a second Poland of Ireland in reality and not in imagination. The condition of Ireland was not to be changed by violent political or social changes, but rather by industrial development and the maintenance of law and order. What she really wanted was a period of repose, of peace, and quietness. He did not complain of the appeal made by the Government that private Members should bring forward practical proposals; but it was somewhat of an anomaly for a strong Government, having taken up almost two whole Sessions with Irish legislation, to appeal to private Members now to make some practical proposals for the settlement of the Irish Question, instead of bringing forward some well-considered measure themselves.

Mr. LEAMY said, he was glad to have heard the speech of the hon. Baronet who had just sat down, and the undertaking which he had given. He fully agreed with the hon. Baronet, that it was a matter of reproach to Her Majesty's Government that, having had Ireland in their hands for the last three years, they should now come forward and say they should be glad to hear of some proposal from private Members to assist the Irish people. The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant said the other night that the policy of the Irish Executive might appear to some cruel. It would appear to hundreds of thousands of the Irish people a cruel and heartless policy. They often heard in Ireland of what was called "a touch of Cromwell's policy." But the Irish people would hear with still more bitter feelings what might be called "the pinch of hunger policy" of the right hon. Gentleman. Some 300 years ago "the gentle Spenser" recommended that the "mere Irishry" should be starved out, and should be forced to devour one another. It so happened, however, that it was the lot of that great poet to die in the capital of the country which he had enriched with one of the greatest creations of human genius for want of bread, while the descendants of the mere Irishry whom he would have starved out, were a source of difficulty to those who succeeded him in Office. The policy of the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary was twofold—to assist those who were willing to emigrate, and to offer the shelter of the workhouse to those who remained. What class of people was to be assisted to emigrate? Those whose strength and industry could contribute wealth to a new Continent were to be emigrated; but for the old people there was to be no outdoor relief, nothing but the workhouse test, and, said the right hon. Gentleman—

> "When they feel the pinch of hunger their indisposition to enter the workhouse, never very serious, will disappear."

If anything could show the right hon. Gentleman's ignorance of the character of the Irish people, it was that assertion. Would the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) endorse it? If there was anything the unfortunate Irishman looked forward to with a greater dread, it was that he might be compelled to go into the workhouse, where husband was separated from wife, and where the children were exposed to degrading association with the vagabond and the prostitute; and yet the right hon. Gentleman had the courage to say that this feeling on the part of the Irish people was never serious, and that, whether it was or not, it would be overcome by "the pinch of hunger." That phrase would earn for the right hon. Gentlman an unpleasant memory in Ireland—it would be remembered there in connection with him when his name had been forgotten by his own countrymen. The right hon. Gentleman put aside with a waive of his hand for various reasons the thought of public works or other forms of outdoor relief. The Chief Secretary said that the present miserable condition of the people of Ireland was due to the painful efforts they had made to obtain the benefit of the Arrears Act, which enabled the landlords to get two years' rent. Why did they make those efforts? Was it not in the hope that they would be able to wipe off old scores, stick on to the old farms, and get the benefit of the Land Act, which would reduce their rent from 20 to 30 per cent? Was it not in the hope that with a clean slate and a reduced rent they might continue to live in their own country? Did the right hon. Gentleman think that those painful efforts would have been made by the unfortunate people last year if they had thought that in the first months of this year they would be told that their efforts were useless, that Providence had been unkind to them, that they must leave their land, that there was no remedy for their distress, and no help for them at all except exile or the poorhouse? The right hon. Gentleman was supported by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who said that the Bishops of Ireland had expressed a decided opinion against outdoor relief, and also against relief by means of public works. He (Mr. Leamy) was not going to say he approved of indiscriminate outdoor relief. Most Irish Members desired that the people should be helped, but not by means of outdoor relief, except for a short season, so as to tide them over the immediate difficulty. What they desired was, that the relief should be by way of reproductive public works which would give the people employment involving no loss of self-respect. The employment would doubtless in some cases prove of such a character as to enable them by-and-bye to face the recurrence of distress. But while the Chancellor of the Exchequer quoted the opinions of the Irish Bishops as against these two systems of helping the people, he completely ignored the recommendations of the Bishops—indeed, he had often noticed that the opinions of Irish Bishops were regarded as of great weight by Ministers, so long as those opinions coincided with the Ministerial policy; but whenever they were adverse they were totally disregarded. An Irish Bishop knew every fibre of the Irish heart. He had grown up amongst the people, and as curate, priest, or Bishop, had been brought into the most intimate relation with the community. The opinion of such men deserved to be well considered. He (Mr. Leamy) was not sorry, however, to find with respect to the Memorial to the Chief Secretary presented by the Bishops, and published in *The Freeman's Journal* and *Irish Times*, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, while utilizing their objections, had ignored their recommendations. He hoped that that would bring the conviction to the minds of the Irish Bishops that the time had gone by when they should go to Dublin Castle, and that if they were to gain anything for their country, it would not be by doffing the mitre to an English official, but by going into the ranks of the people. The time had been when it was common to find a Papist's head on the top of a pike outside Dublin Castle rather than under its roof doing homage to an English official. He thought he discerned some gleam of hope in the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he asked that a scheme should be laid before him; but time was pressing, and it would be too late by-and-bye to prepare any scheme. The Government was the party that ought to devise the scheme. They did not question the existence of the distress, which was admitted on all hands, and it was the Government, and not the private Members, who should propound the plan. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) the other night pointed out one defect in the speech of the Chief Secretary. He referred to his omission to give any estimate of the distress which was likely to exist between now and the harvest. Hon. Members knew what had been the condition of England during the past few months owing to the floods. In Ireland it was the same. Parts which had hitherto escaped were now in great extremity, and they must be prepared to face the distress which would inevitably arise between now and the next harvest. How was it to be met? By the workhouse test or emigration. Passing from that point, he wished to say one word with regard to the Land Act. An amendment of that measure was necessary, and it was desirable that its administration should be facilitated in every possible way. He wished to read to the House a quotation from a remarkable statement made at a meeting held at Borris by Professor Baldwin, one of the most experienced of the Land Commissioners. He said—

> "I wish the Press were here to take down my words when I state that if the farmers were obliged to pay for the labour expended on their lands, there would be no margin for rent, but as they and their sons and daughters do the labour they manage to pay the rent. If the next fifteen years were to be like the last five, the rentals fixed by the Sub-Commissioners' Courts could not possibly be paid, as in fixing those rentals the Sub-Commissioners were not influenced by the recent distress."

This was the opinion of one who had more experience in the matter than nine-tenths of the Commissioners, and surely it was a most startling statement. If true, it showed that those whose rents had been reduced would find it difficult to pay. How much more difficult, then, would it be for those whose rents had not been reduced? He submitted that it was only fair and just that those whose rents had not yet been reduced should have every facility given them to have their cases considered. If, therefore, the Government wished those tenants to perform their contracts, it was absolutely necessary that they should at once increase the number of Sub-Commissioners so as to enable a larger number of cases to be disposed of. He regretted that while the Government had showed their intention to do nothing for the distress, they were silent as to whether they proposed to afford facilities for the adminstration of the Land Act.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT said, he did not rise for the purpose of criticizing the conduct of the Government in regard to the administration of Ireland. He considered that latterly, at all events, the measures which they had found it necessary to introduce and adopt, in the disordered condition of that country, entitled the Government to approval and support. But he rose to urge upon them what he imagined they were fully sensible of already—namely, that measures of severity and coercion must be only preliminary to those of a remedial character, for it was the saying of one of the greatest statesmen who ever spoke in that House, that coercion could never raise or improve the condition of any country; in fact, that it tended to demoralize and degrade it. That great distress existed at the present time in many parts of Ireland it was impossible to deny; and how were they to meet and remedy that distress? Now, there were, according to the principles of political economy, only two possible ways of giving relief, except what was merely casual and temporary—one by increasing production, the other by diminishing the population, and thereby reducing the demand for it. Of these two modes of meeting the difficulty, he considered the first obviously the best. Emigration might be desirable at the present moment, when the urgency was pressing, but he always objected to it as unlikely to give permanent relief. He had always been taught to consider the labour of any country as its blessing and its wealth, and he likened emigration to tapping for the dropsy, which might give ease for the moment, but by which, in nine cases out of ten, the malady returned with redoubled force. How, then, could the unemployed Irish labourer be employed? He had more than once in that House dwelt on the expediency of reclaiming the waste lands, which, according to the late Sir Richard Griffith, no mean authority, comprised at least 1,500,000 acres of soil well capable of cultivation, while more than 2,000,000 acres would still remain irreclaimable. Lord Russell, when Prime Minister in 1846, had proposed a scheme of reclamation. Even if they were unable to set about the work of reclamation, there was behind it a system of arterial drainage, which would furnish employment and wages for thousands of labourers; and he had been glad to see that a deputation on this question of drainage had only a few days before waited on the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and had been courteously received by him. He (Sir Eardley Wilmot) told the Irish Members that he firmly believed the Chief Secretary had at heart the best interests of the country; and he confidently expected that this general plan of arterial drainage, which had also been strongly recommended by Sir Richard Griffith and other authorities on Irish agriculture, would receive the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary's best attention. Then, where lands were incapable of being reclaimed, they had the plan lately proposed—which appeared most feasible—by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons), of planting them again with forest trees, as appeared to be their former condition. Many trees would grow and flourish with scarcely any amount of subsoil, and the re-afforesting of the country would dry up the marshy districts and improve the climate of Ireland generally. Passing from land to water, Ireland had magnificent water power which had never been developed or turned to commercial purposes. They in England had no river equal to the Shannon, which ran like a vast artery from North to South, and, if made properly navigable throughout, should convey the produce of the North of Ireland to Limerick and the South. The subject of the Shannon had often been before Parliament, but no improvements on an extensive scale had taken place. Then there was the question of fisheries, which might be made a much more abundant and lucrative element of food for the population and of commerce than at present. How often had pressing appeals been made by friends of Ireland to the Government, not only on behalf of greater encouragement to the fisheries, but also for the construction and improvement of piers and harbours, at comparatively small outlay, around the coast, within which the fishermen's craft might find refuge and security in stormy weather. The subject of the Irish railways had more than once been submitted to that House, and schemes proposed for completing them, where imperfect, had been brought forward by those most cognizant of the wants of Ireland. In other places, wherever railways were made, the material condition of the adjacent country showed an improvement in the most striking manner; but in Ireland, where markets for agricultural produce were most requisite, the railway system, except with one or two exceptions of the principal lines, was incomplete, and the chain of communication broken and fragmentary. Assistance and encouragement in this direction would not only add to the existing markets for agricultural and other products, and employ labour, but would prove to the inhabitants that we were desirous of rendering them substantial assistance. Last of all, he could not help echoing the wish expressed by the same eminent statesman whom he had already quoted—the late Sir Robert Peel—who, in the speech delivered in that House on his resignation of the Office of Prime Minister, in 1846, a resignation brought about by a similar Coercion Act to that which the present Government had found it necessary to introduce, said that it was near to his heart that the municipal, civil, and political institutions of Ireland should be identified with those of Great Britain, not literally, Sir Robert Peel added, for that would not be possible with the differences in the two countries, but in the spirit, if not in the letter. That had also been always his own wish and desire. He would repeat what he had already said in that House—

> "Paribus se legibus ambo
> Æterna in fœdera jungant."

It should be understood that there were two sections of the Irish nation—one, lawless, disloyal, turbulent, and driven too and fro by every wind of agitation; the other, and he believed the much larger section, loyal, law-abiding, industrious, and open to all the noble and generous impulses and influences of our nature. While the first justly received the punishment due to their hateful crimes, the other deserved every consideration at the hands of the Government, and for these he asked for remedial legislation. He would, therefore, entreat the Government, so soon as peace and order should be re-established in Ireland, to devise measures for the development of those material resources which she possessed, and which had been too long neglected. Surely it was a noble ambition, and none nobler, for Gentlemen who now occupied the Treasury Bench, no less than for those who sat on the Front Bench of the Opposition, to strive to the utmost, and resort to every expedient which was just and worthy of a true lover of his country, to endeavour to raise Ireland to the same condition of wealth, prosperity, and happiness as we ourselves enjoyed in England and Scotland.

Colonel O'BEIRNE said, he must express his regret that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had no help to offer to starving families in Ireland but the poorhouse. The existence of distress being admitted, he thought it most unfortunate that no effort was made to afford facilities for the raising of money for the execution of public works which would give employment to the poor. He did not think that any wholesale system of emigration would be practicable. Some districts were, no doubt, over-populated, but he did not see how they were going to get the people to go away. They might very well promote migration to districts where land was unreclaimed. He should be glad if an addition could be made to the Land Act to prevent the occupation of any holding of less than 20 acres. He thoroughly assented to all the observations which the Chief Secretary had made with regard to the granting of outdoor relief, which would only lead to the pauperization of the people. The right hon. Gentleman had torn to shreds the statements of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). The facts and figures contained in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman could not be contradicted, but he wished the right hon. Gentleman would hold out some hope that the distress would be relieved in some other way. It was a cruel thing to offer these poor people no alternative but the poorhouse. He should oppose any amendment of the Land Act. He considered that under the present Act as it stood the Irish people enjoyed a tenure of land such as was held by no other people in Europe, and not even by the tenantry of the United States of America. By the Land Act the landlords, as everybody knew, had been deprived of one-fourth of the value of their property, and he would therefore oppose any amendment of the Land Act unless some compensation were given to the landlords.

Mr. KENNY said, he must express his regret that the Chief Secretary had not seen his way to speaking more favourably of measures for the relief of distress. If asked to choose between the suggestions made in the speech of the Chief Secretary, and those in the speech of the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), he would infinitely prefer the latter of the two utterances, for it showed that whatever a man's politics might be, an Irishman was the only man who could speak with effect on the affairs of his country, and he should not be sorry if that right hon. and learned Gentleman had the direction of the affairs of the country at the present time. He took it for granted that there was no necessity on his part to attempt to prove that distress existed in Ireland. That was admitted by the Chief Secretary himself, who stated that the distress was even greater than what had been stated in the newspapers; and the burden of every speech in this debate was to the effect that from Donegal to Cork there was one wail of want. It had been stated by the hon. Member for Tralee (The O'Donoghue) that the cause of the distress was the want of employment; but he thought that if they wanted a substantive reason for Irish distress they should go a little deeper. Irish distress, in his (Mr. Kenny's) opinion, arose from the physical condition of the country. In consequence of the systematic manner in which its interests were neglected by each successive Government, the country had, in a great measure, relapsed into a state of nature. Instead of the country being properly drained and properly reclaimed, it was, on the contrary, almost perpetually waterlogged. Therefore, in his opinion, the first remedy to apply to the distress was the establishment of a system of arterial drainage. If Ireland were properly drained, the wheat crop, which was frequently a complete or partial failure, could be successfully ripened, and the potato crop, which almost every second year was a failure, would not be a failure at all. The Shannon, for instance, were it only properly excavated and levelled between Killaloe and Limerick, would drain whole districts of the country at present flooded with water, and enable those districts to be properly reclaimed and rendered valuable. Other remedies applicable to the existing distress were the reclamation of waste lands, and the encouragement of the fisheries. There was plenty of fish on the Irish Coasts, but there was no proper fishing gear, no suitable boats, and even where these requirements could be provided there were no proper places of refuge. The development of the Irish railway system also ought to be encouraged. A very useful line was now being promoted in West Clare, from Ennis to Miltown Malbay, and he hoped the Government would give it their assistance. He did not accept the theory that Ireland was over-populated. It was said to be over-populated in the time of Dean Swift, when the inhabitants numbered only 2,000,000. The Dean also, in a well-known essay, as a remedy for over-population, suggested the cooking of Irish babies as a splendid article of food for the Irish aristocracy, who were anxious to get rid of the people. But some authorities had stated that Ireland would support a much larger population than the Island had ever contained. Sir Robert Kane, for example, had expressed the opinion that Ireland could maintain 20,000,000 of people. Belgium, with fewer natural advantages than Ireland, was able to maintain a population of 400 to the square mile, whereas in Ireland there were only 160. Switzerland, too, maintained as many inhabitants to the square mile, although the country was almost wholly mountain and water. In no other country than Ireland had such a remedy for social evils as emigration ever been suggested. He was altogether opposed to the State system of emigration, which would only serve to denude Ireland of the best of her children. In the United States it was calculated that each adult immigrant was worth $2,000 to the State by way of taxation alone. He did not see why the British Government should not, by real remedies for the evils of Ireland, reap the advantage which now went to the United States and other countries. The next proposal of the Government was that the workhouse system should exclusively be employed for the relief of the distressed. The Irish people were bitterly opposed to that system, and the workhouses had never been more than half filled. The Government ought to give power to Boards of Guardians to grant outdoor relief. It was a cruel thing to compel the poor to enter the workhouse. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a great deal of the high wages which were supposed to be now paid in Ireland. But what were those wages? They were generally from 7*s.* to 9*s.* a-week, and in Waterford and other counties, where better wages were paid, about 10*s.* a-week, with a house rent free. In England from 18*s.* to 20*s.* was paid. Then the right hon. Gentleman had said that sheep and cattle fetched very high prices. But there were fewer cattle and sheep in the country at the present time than there were 10 years ago. In 1873 the number of cattle was 4,147,000; whereas in 1882 it was only 3,924,000. Reckoning the price at £11 14*s*., the diminished number represented a loss of £2,600,000. Of sheep, in 1873 there were 4,494,000, and in 1882 only 3,071,000—a diminution in number of nearly 1,500,000, and a loss of nearly £3,000,000. Another important question was that of the leaseholders, of whom there were 135,000 in Ireland. There had been 3,000 applications for breaking leases, but only 105 had been granted. The Land Act was working very slowly. In County Clare, out of 3,000 applications, only 600 cases had been settled, and three or four more years would be required before all the cases could be heard. He regretted that the Government had made up its mind to refuse the reasonable demands of the Irish people; but at the next Election they might show their appreciation of such treatment in a manner which the Government would not like.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he intended, before he concluded his remarks, to make, at least, one practical suggestion which would show that the Irish people were endowed with the spirit of self-reliance of which the Chief Secretary for Ireland had spoken. He confessed that he was not disappointed by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, because he had expected very little from him, not owing to any personal shortcomings on the right hon. Gentleman's part, but because he was an official of the British Government and an administrator of its policy. The right hon. Gentleman admitted the existence of severe distress in some parts of the country. He had told them that the people were living in a condition which it was impossible to realize in England, and in a condition more deplorable, perhaps, than any people living in any part of civilized Europe. Why was it that the Irish people, who had lived so long under British rule, were now in such a condition? The Chief Secretary went on to say, a great many of the people were living in a single room, in which their pigs and their cattle were kept; whilst their children were clothed in a way which was only a name and a pretence for saying that they were dressed. The Chief Secretary said that in 1847, when the people began to feel the pinch of starvation, they went readily to the workhouse, and that he believed they would do the same now if they were not persuaded to do otherwise. After so many years of British rule, was not that description of the state of things the Chief Secretary found in Ireland a condemnation of the Government which existed, and should it not carry conviction as to the mismanagement and misrule which had taken place? A stranger in these districts would naturally ask—"Who rules this people? What sort of a Government had they, if they had any Government at all?" The facts themselves should convict the Government of misruling and oppressing the Irish people. They were told that the distress existed only in the congested districts. That it did exist must be admitted on all hands. Then, what was the remedy? The remedy was that in times of extreme distress and want amongst the people some public employment should be opened—some reproductive employment, not in the nature of gifts or of a distribution of charity, but loans to public works, money which would be paid back to the Imperial Exchequer. "No," said the right hon. Gentleman, "public works are demoralizing." He always thought idleness, and not labour, was demoralizing. He always considered it a noble thing to do an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. No doubt, money might be expended in a way that would be demoralizing—it might be squandered and misapplied, and in that way it would demoralize the people; but sums wisely and carefully expended would, by-and-bye, well repay the Exchequer. It was said that the workhouse and emigration were open to the people. Was there nothing demoralizing in either of those? Everyone knew that there was nothing more demoralizing to boys and girls than the workhouse; and the House was asked to sanction the cultivation of the virtue of self-reliance, not by honest employment, but by turning people into the workhouse. Then as to emigration. Was there nothing demoralizing in wholesale emigration? Hundreds of thousands had been forced to fly from Ireland to the seaboard cities of America, and very serious demoralization indeed had been the consequence. They were told that the British taxpayer should not be called upon to contribute to the relief of Irish distress; but they never heard a word about the British tax-gatherer, who was well known in Ireland; and he challenged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say, on a fair balancing of accounts between the two countries, whether England did not reap a good financial profit out of Ireland? It was said that the distress existed in the congested districts; but how did those districts become congested? Who congested them? Who hunted the people of three provinces of Ireland across the Shannon, planting a line of disbanded British soldiers all along that river in order to perpetuate that banishment of the inhabitants to the West, the evil results of which now confronted the Government? The rulers of England did that. And now it was demanded that the people should go still further West, across the ocean, and out of the country altogether. Irishmen, in former times, had been exiled by force of arms, and sent as slaves to Barbadoes. The same policy which operated hundreds of years ago was still at work, and it seemed that Irishmen had a right to be anywhere except in Ireland. The Government were face to face with the same state of things that existed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. They who represented the people of Ireland would be ashamed to stand before that House perpetually pleading with regard to distress and famine in Ireland if they had anything to do with, or were responsible for, the government of Ireland; but they were not allowed to touch its affairs with their fingers. It was others who managed things, aliens who had no sympathy with the sufferings of the people. This was why it was the old story again and again, and why they were compelled to stand there and state the case of Ireland and claim from them relief, but not as charity. His practical suggestion was "Hands off." If they allowed them to have the control over their own affairs and develop their own resources, they would hear no cry of famine and want from Ireland. Whatever destitution there was would be met out of their own resources. To teach people self-reliance, the way was to let them rely upon themselves, and they were ready and willing to take up the management of their own affairs. The remedial measures passed were but a slight reparation of the wrong done, a small instalment of a very large debt of justice. They did not touch more than the fringe of the question. This latest attempt of the Government to banish from Ireland some additional thousands would no more cure the evil than the previous banishment; the operation might be repeated again and again and would do no good. The only way to get peace for Ireland and England was, as he had already said, "Hands off;" and then, and then only, would they see the dawn of peace and prosperity in Ireland.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he regretted that the noble Lord the Leader of the House had prevented the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) from moving his Amendment. It showed the noble Lord's antagonism to the Irish Party. He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had just returned to the Treasury Bench from his temporary seat on the Front Opposition Bench. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman might well have remained where he was, for he was more Tory, in the Irish point of view, than any Conservative Chief Secretary who had ever tried to govern Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman added the varnish of Liberalism to principles which were most opposed to the interests of the Irish people. The proposal to utilize the distress to promote the emigration of the miserable Irish people was the beginning, middle, and conclusion of the speech of the Chief Secretary—a speech containing as odious and detestable a set of propositions with regard to Irish government as ever fell from an incompetent English official sent over to misgovern Ireland. He (Mr. O'Donnell) had been reading the eulogium of Harriet Martineau on a number of poor Scottish workmen who, in a period of distress, refused alms, and insisted upon doing some kind of honest work rather than stoop to touch even public aid, and that was the attitude of the Irish people today. They asked an opportunity of honest work, and the answer of the right hon. Gentleman was a refusal to allow them an opportunity, and an expression of his determination to drive them into the demoralization of the workhouse—that moral hell—rather than allow them to maintain the dignity of manhood and the chance of revival, when the present crisis of misery had passed. How different the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) from that of the Chief Secretary! The former did not lay claim to infallibility in considering the state of Ireland. On the contrary, he declared his willingness to listen to the arguments of the Irish Representatives, and his desire to be supplied with further information upon all important questions of the day. It was different with the cock-sure essay-writer, who came down with his infallible opinions written out on pages of paper, confident in the all-embracing accuracy of the views he had taken up on every possible aspect of the Irish Question. There was a line of Pope about a certain class of innocent people who were ready to rush in where beings of superior organization would fear even to tread. He confessed he was reminded of that line when he compared the attitude of the Chief Secretary and the attitude of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, even as an Irish statesman, had the advantage at every point over the titular functionary, who held the Office of Chief Secretary. The Chief Secretary had one idea in the elaborate essay which he read to the House. That idea was that to the restriction of the outdoor relief was due every improvement in the condition of the poor of Great Britain, and the decided march which the British nation had taken in the general progress of the world. He made no reference to the improvement of trade and commerce, no reference to the success of the British policy at home and abroad; and as the Chief Secretary was prophecying that the prohibition of outdoor relief would be advantageous in Ireland, he ascribed all the progress and prosperity of the British Empire to that cause. These men only became dangerous when they were placed in a position in which they could carry their narrowness of view into effect; and, unfortunately, it was in the power of the Chief Secretary to impose most serious obstacles, not only to the progress of Ireland, but to the relief of distress among the starving and dying population of the country. He (Mr. O'Donnell) denied the statement that there was over-congestion or over-population in Ireland, as there were thousands and thousands of acres of waste land calling for the application of human labour to restore them to fertility. There was not a congested parish in the West or North of Ireland that had not, within a few miles, other parishes in which a beneficent and humane Government would have an opportunity of acquiring abundance of land at a cheap rate, and planting upon that land such families as it might be reasonable to withdraw from the alleged congested districts. But the enterprize, the statesmanship, and the humanity of the Chief Secretary, which shrank from the operation of removing the surplus population a distance of 10 or 15 miles to neighbouring lands, was equal to the enterprize of tearing those Irish families from their native land, transporting them over thousands of miles of ocean, and casting them despairing upon a foreign and unknown shore. That was the statesmanship and humanity of the Chief Secretary. The Chief Secretary had told them of his visit to one of the distressed districts in company with the good priest, Father Gallagher, where he saw the seaweed meals of the starving children; but the right hon. Gentleman did not speak of the contrast which was drawn between the right hon. Gentleman's lunch basket and the seaweed food of the families he went to commiserate, but not to aid. The right hon. Gentleman evidently thought that by a recourse to a resolute refusal of outdoor relief the misery of the children might so influence the parents that they might be driven to the workhouse, and from the workhouse to emigration. He (Mr. O'Donnell) thought that if Father Gallagher knew that the official who was accompanying him only intended to gaze on that misery and starvation merely for the purpose of pointing a moral of compulsory emigration, he would have preferred to have left him to go on his tour alone. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the British taxpayer and the sacrifices imposed upon him for Ireland; but he had forgotten that during this century alone something between £400,000,000 and £500,000,000 had been abstracted from Ireland, and had, for the most part, gone into the pockets of the British taxpayer. Let the British taxpayer show an equivalent for that! He had not been able to reply at once to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to Donegal. He felt that if he related his own experience it might not have so much effect on the right hon. Gentleman as the experience of one of the Liberal Members, one of the legal Representatives of Donegal in that House. If the right hon. Gentleman had consulted the hon. and rev. Member for Donegal (Dr. Kinnear), and ascertained his experience, he would not, perhaps, have delivered his recent remarkable oration. At a meeting of farmers of Donegal, held in the presence of the hon. and reverend Member, the hon. and rev. Gentleman said—

> "In Donegal the rental, in 1800, amounted to only £47,000. In 1880 it was £367,681, so that in Donegal within this century tenants' improvements have been taxed to the extent of over £320,000."

Every penny of that amount had been taken from the poor peasants of Donegal, and was undoubtedly the permanent cause of the present misery. Why did not facts of that kind appear in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman? Why did he not inquire into the actual working of the Land Act in Donegal? He would have then learnt, not only that for the last four-fifths of the century had these vast confiscations been going on in Donegal, but, in the words of his own supporter, the Land Act was a mere mockery and a sham. If the hon. and rev. Gentleman did not, like the Ulster Members, tell the whole truth in that House, he did so when addressing his constituents; and if the Chief Secretary had read his speeches, he would have learned the real state of the case. Those speeches would have supplied the right hon. Gentleman with matter for coming to a conclusion of a different kind than that the prohibition of outdoor relief was all that was necessary to restore a golden age to Ireland. Among all the addresses and speeches which had been made by English officials appointed to administer English rule in Ireland, there had not been one since the Union more full of detestable and ruinous doctrines, more full of coarse and callous inhumanity, more calculated to drive people from misery to despair, and which was more calculated to stimulate the passions and prejudices of a starving population, than that of the present Chief Secretary. Let the right hon. Gentleman appoint any meeting-place in Munster, Connaught, or Leinster; let him bring his military guards and surround himself with all the protection he could; and if he attempted to lay down before a meeting of 10,000 Irishmen such doctrines as he had propounded in his speech in that House, nothing would save him, even in loyal Ulster, from being hissed and hooted off the platform. The right hon. Gentleman was not only the successor, but the outdoer of his Predecessor, the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). For partizan purposes the Members of the Opposition might encourage the right hon. Gentleman along his path of ruin with an occasional cheer; but their scoffing comment was—"How do you like the right hon. Gentleman for the Border Burghs after the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford?" He was satisfied no Irish ultra-Tory could possibly have hit upon the plans which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs had hit upon; and between them the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford and the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had thoroughly succeeded in damning the reputation of Liberalism in Ireland. They had heard very little from the present Chief Secretary of any practical reforms in which the people might now be employed. There were many practical reforms which any ultra-Tory Secretary might introduce. Among such would be the building of piers and harbours, and the laying out of money in obtaining boats and nets, and other things necessary for fishermen. These last would afford a practical reform, which not only would relieve the congested districts at present, but would provide employment and a means of living of a permanent character. They had, however, heard no suggestion of any such practical reforms from the right hon. Gentleman. He should not be sorry should the Government reject the Land Act Amendment Bill which the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) proposed to introduce. The Irish Leader and his supporters would then be able to bring before the great Convention of the Irish nation, shortly to assemble in New York, this fact as a further proof of the unfitness of England to govern Ireland. There were other questions relating to Ireland that would have to be brought forward in that House, and among them the reform of the Parliamentary and municipal franchise; but, even with the restricted franchise which they possessed, the Irish people would be represented in that House by a body sufficiently strong to render it impossible for any English Government to ignore altogether the realities of the Irish situation. For his own part, he was disposed to receive in no spirit of regretfulness the declaration of the noble Lord the provisional Leader of the Government, that there would be no remedial measures of consequence for Ireland this Session ; and that, above all, the political liberties of Englishmen were not to be extended to the Irish people. But as long as one link of the chain of slavery bound Ireland to the caprice of English statesmanship, or to politicians like the Chief Secretary, by which ignorance, incompetence, and prejudice destroyed the chances of a great and generous people, so long would there be no real and radical redress for Ireland, and so long would the people struggle against the Act of Union.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, the last speaker had saved him the necessity of addressing the House at any length ; but he wished to enter his earnest protest against the speech of the Chief Secretary. It was, perhaps, as well for some of the Irish Members that there had been an interval to permit of their growing a little calm after that speech, for a speech more bitterly wounding to Irish feeling, or more marked by the callous influence of Dublin Castle, he hoped he should not soon again have to listen to. This debate would probably close to-night, and it would close without having advanced one step the vital question—"What is to become of the unfortunate people who are starving upon seaweed on the West Coast of Ireland ?" They asked for food, and they were taunted with being incorrigible beggars who were living on the bounty of the British taxpayer. They were told there was no room for them in their own country, where, out of more than 16,000,000 of fertile acres, there were not more than 3,000,000 devoted to the support of the people. It was admitted by the Chief Secretary himself that the people were in unspeakable misery. He said that if the farms were held rent free they could hardly support themselves, and he also referred to the struggle they made to pay the rent necessary to enable them to take the benefit of the Arrears Act. It was admitted that they had no money, no food, no chance of getting any, that their credit was gone, yet they were told there was to be no relief for them unless they broke up their little homes, and went into the workhouse. And they were told, in the hardest, coldest, and most naked way, the reason why. The reason was that if they got any relief now, they would cling to their unfortunate cabins, and would continue to be disagreeable to the British taxpayer. He did not like, especially in the Chief Secretary's absence, to say anything that would be unfair or unjust to him, or to any man ; but it was impossible to avoid feeling that it was a moment when Ireland was supposed to be tame and prostrate under coercion that was chosen to deal her this cruel blow in the face. Three years ago, when the organization of the people in Ireland was a little more strong, the cry for relief was a little more promptly and respectfully attended to. He would only add that, if it were not for the sake of the unfortunate people who were dying while Members of that House were theorizing, he could almost thank the right hon. Gentleman for convincing the Irish people that, in the depths of the fatuity and folly of English statesmanship, there might be a worse Government of Ireland than even the Government of the right hon. Member for Bradford.

Mr. PARNELL : Sir, we were expecting that the noble Lord the Leader of the Government would reply to the numerous and cogent arguments which had been placed before him ; and it is a remarkable fact that, although this debate has lasted from a little after 5 until now—nearly 9 o'clock—we have not had any answer to the representations which have been urged and the practical suggestions which have been made from these Benches. We were invited yesterday by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make suggestions as to the best way in which the present distress in Ireland could be met. My hon. Friends have accepted the invitation, and have made many valuable suggestions, some of them of a most practical character ; but I do not find that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been in his place to listen to the replies to his invitation. I regret that we have again to continue our complaints with regard to the irresponsible character of the present Irish Administration. We cannot help seeing that the government of Ireland at the present moment is not a government by the Parliament, that it is not a government by the Cabinet, but that it is a government by Lord Spencer. That Nobleman seems to suppose that because he succeeded to that government at an unusual time he is entitled to depart from all Constitutional precedents, and to rule Ireland as if she had not a representative system, and as if, in fact, she was outside the pale of the Constitution, and in the condition of a conquered province. Such a system as that, if persevered in, must break down sooner or later. It cannot last. Sir, we looked on the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary as being a Representative of Radicalism in this House. In the last Parliament I had many times had the pleasure of listening to his able expositions regarding the rights of the people when he was introducing his Motion for the extension of the household franchise to counties in England and Ireland; but I regret to find that, for some reason or other, he has appeared more quickly than any of his Predecessors to have imbibed the worst traditions of Dublin Castle. In fact, the speech with which he favoured the House yesterday comprises a re-hash of all the worst sentiments of the Dublin Castle Party. I should have thought it had been impossible for a Gentleman of his antecedents and knowledge to have gone so far down in so short a time. It appears to be the fate of every Chief Secretary, sooner or later. I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman one question. The right hon. Gentleman, in the last Session of Parliament, said he would not allow the people to starve, and he promised that he would give outdoor relief, and he did not then say that the workhouse test would be insisted on. On the contrary, when he was challenged by several of us publicly in the House as to whether he would insist on the workhouse test, although he had an opportunity of speaking after this challenge, he did not reply. He therefore left us to suppose, from the general tenour of his speech, that the precedent set by the late Conservative Government, and his own Predecessor, the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), would have been followed, and that outdoor relief would have been administered in a judicious and proper manner to meet distress. But Parliament had adjourned for scarcely a week, when we were startled and horrified by the issue by Lord Spencer of one of the most cold-blooded letters that even a Viceroy of Ireland ever issued. I want to know whether the Chief Secretary, who had not then reached that country from London, was consulted before that letter was issued by Lord Spencer, and whether he was consulted by Lord Spencer before he made his last speech in the House of Commons on Irish distress? I should be glad to know also whether the Cabinet was consulted as to the terms of that letter, or whether Lord Spencer took upon himself to direct and dictate the policy of the Poor Law Board in Ireland without any consultation with the Cabinet? What right had a Nobleman, occupying the Constitutional position of Viceroy, which, after all, is nothing more in the direction of practical government than the position the Queen of England would occupy if she were in that country—I should like to know by what authority Lord Spencer addressed that letter to the Local Government Board of Ireland? The Chief Secretary is the President of the Local Government Board in Ireland, so that the Sovereign in this country would have just as much right to address a letter to the Local Government Board in England, directing what they were to do and what they were not to do, as the Lord Lieutenant had to address that letter to the Local Government Board in Ireland, of which he is not a Member, and of which he is not President. I have seen the Chief Secretary distinctly pledging himself last Session that outdoor relief would be administered. Now, by his own confession in this House the day before yesterday, the people are in a starving condition. They are becoming gradually enfeebled by want, by the necessity of eating seaweed for the purpose of supporting their existence, they are becoming liable to those diseases that follow from a low course of diet, and very soon we shall have the terrible famine fever—the terrible typhus. All these circumstances are known to the Chief Secretary, and last Session he understood, when these things would arise, to issue an Order; and though I do not like to be offensive to him, I cannot help thinking that he disregarded the pledges he made to the country and to the House in regard to the administration of his Department. Well, it is all the more to be regretted that the Government should insist upon setting themselves in antagonism to Irish feeling and Irish sentiment, and every feeling of humanity, since the area of distress is, comparatively speaking, limited. The situation differs in this respect from the last Irish famine or distress in 1879, when it took nearly £500,000 from charitable sources, and the expenditure of £150,000 in the shape of outdoor relief to cope with the distress. Now, in all probability, the expenditure of £150,000, judiciously administered in outdoor relief, would tide the people over to the next harvest, and would save thousands of innocent persons from the suffering and the degradation entailed from slow starvation, and that £150,000 or £100,000 could be easily obtainable from the Church Surplus Fund. We do not want to burden the British taxpayer. We have a fund of our own, an Irish fund, which was received from Irish land, and that is amply sufficient, and more than sufficient, for the purpose proposed. We have this reasonable claim to urge also —that the draft from this fund for the purposes of the Arrears Act was very much less than was anticipated. That whereas it was supposed that £2,500,000 would be necessary, besides a probable charge of £400,000 or £500,000 on the Imperial Exchequer, £1,000,000 is all that has been actually paid for the purposes of the Land Act; and we now simply ask that some £100,000 £200,000 of the residue of that fund should be allocated and administered in the shape of outdoor relief in limited areas in the Western Irish counties to meet the dreadful distress prevailing there. There is a great confusion, and I think it is lamentable that the Chief Secretary, either through intention or ignorance—I do not know which—should have created it. There is a great confusion as to the permanent and temporary works necessary for the relief of this distress. We are to consider questions of emigration, questions of migration, questions of public works, and questions of advancing loans to tenants for improving their holdings as immediate remedies for the present distress; but I cannot understand how anybody in his senses can really and soberly and seriously advance such things as a means of feeding a hungry people. The Chief Secretary may advance £3,000, or £4,000, or £5,000, or £10,000, or £20,000 to emigrate 10 per cent of the people; but, supposing the right hon. Gentleman should apply that money and carry out that scheme to-morrow, how in the name of goodness would that enable the 90 per cent of the people left to be fed? That is the problem. We consider we are entitled to ask the Government to give us a plain answer to that question. How do you suppose that the remedy of emigration which is mentioned by the Chief Secretary can cope with the work of feeding the people who will not be emigrated? It is perfectly open to the Chief Secretary to argue that emigration, properly carried out, may be of advantage in diminishing the congestion in some of these districts. That may be exceedingly true, but that is a question of permanent remedy, the application of which we have not time to discuss, because people living on seaweed and refuse of every description cannot afford to wait while these high and important problems are being argued out and decided upon. The only possible temporary remedy is outdoor relief, the administration of which, to a limited extent, would enable the Government—the English Government—to consider some plan of emigration, if they desire it, or some plan of migration, if they desire it, or public works, or advancing money to tenants for improving their holdings, all of which are exceedingly well worthy of trial and consideration. But in the course they are now pursuing, the Government are doing the very thing to defeat their own object—they are setting both priests and people against them. The Chief Secretary spoke of the Seeds Loan as an example of the way in which the British taxpayer was mulcted. Now, I think the Chief Secretary was very unfortunate in selecting the Seeds Loan as such an example, bearing in mind the fact that that loan was being exceedingly well paid back, and was repudiated only in two or three poverty-stricken Unions where the people happened to be absolutely unable to pay the money. I have always stated that it was the duty of the people, since they accepted the money, to do their best to repay it; while, at the same time, I must say that, under the circumstances of the years 1879 and 1880, when the Act was passed, Parliament might fairly have given the money as a grant, and not as a loan. However, it was given as a loan, and, therefore, it is right and necessary and politic that the people should pay back this loan, and that course I believe they are pursuing in Ireland. Certainly, with regard to the policy of that Seeds Act, I believe I am right in saying that if the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Galway (Colonel Nolan) had not introduced his Bill on the subject so hastily for getting this money by way of loan, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was considering the desirability of introducing a Bill on the part of the Government, making a grant of money to the people for the purpose of providing them with seeds. The Chief Secretary spoke of the restrictions that had been placed on the granting of outdoor relief in England, and the benefits resulting from those restrictions. I think he said that the number of paupers in England had been diminished during the last 10 years by the workhouse test being more rigidly applied. Now, I do not think the Chief Secretary is entitled to draw that deduction from the figures he quotes, because poverty has notoriously decreased from very different reasons than the substitution of the workhouse test. But I ask the Chief Secretary, would he have dared, during the Lancashire Cotton Famine, to stand up in his place in this House, and say—"The workhouse test must be rigidly applied." I do not think he would, because public opinion in England would not have tolerated such an infamous barbarity. He told us that, in 1881, the outdoor relief administered in England amounted to £2,500,000, while it was £3,500,000 in 1870. Now, I find that in Ireland, in 1881, there was only a sum of £90,000 expended in outdoor relief; so that if we ask—as we would be entitled to, but as we do not ask—that Ireland should be allowed to expend this for the same proportion of outdoor relief as that England expended in 1881, we would be in a position to expend in outdoor relief a sum of £500,000, instead of £50,000 or £60,000, which I believe was the amount of the expenditure in 1882. The argument that because the unfortunate man who has a holding of £4 does not pay any rates, and does not elect the Guardians, therefore he should be starved, is certainly the latest and most extraordinary development of the principles of Radicalism. Now, when, by-and-bye, he comes to turn these small holders into ratepayers, to pay rates in the shape of county cess, I hope the Chief Secretary will remember the deduction he made in his speech the day before yesterday. Emigration forced on by starvation is not what we should have hoped for—is not what we might expect from the present Government. It is a policy which will render them infamous in the minds of the Irish people, and one which will certainly, in one shape or other, recoil on their heads. It would appear as if Lord Spencer had in his mind some great scheme of emigration, and that the idea occurred to him that the distress in these Western districts gave him a great opportunity for carrying out the scheme by driving the people into the workhouses, and then turning those workhouses into great receiving houses for emigrant ships. That was the policy pursued in 1847 and 1848, and we know with what disastrous results—how the famine, getting hold of the people, pursued them into the workhouse, from the workhouse to the emigrant ship, and from the emigrant ship to the wards of the hospitals of New York. Is it the desire of the Chief Secretary that the scenes of 1848 should be repeated, even in a limited way in 1883? I assume it is not; but he is going the right way about it. Much has been said about the congested state of the districts in the West of Ireland. No doubt, they are overcrowded, and may have to be relieved by the application of a system of emigration or migration—probably in both ways. At the same time, the statistics frequently quoted to show how small are the majority of holdings are rather misleading. That they are so is proved by some of the results of the Arrears Act. About 90,000 tenants have applied under that Act in respect of 140,000 holdings. It is, therefore, evident that many tenants of small holdings are in possession of two or more, and this is a fact which ought not to be overlooked by those who wish to gauge the power of the tenants to make their way. I am of opinion that the very small farmers whom the Government wish to induce to emigrate are not likely to succeed. As the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone), who appeared to understand this question better than Her Majesty's Government, said, this is not a question of plenty of money; it is a question of where you shall put the people when they are emigrated. I quite agree that the system advocated by Mr. Tuke and the hon. Member for Carnarvon is the correct one. They look out for the friends and families of persons wishing to emigrate and who may be settled in America, and they ask them if they will reçeive the family and look after them and help them for a while until they can get settled in their new homes. A family going under such circumstances would run a better chance of becoming good and useful artizans in America than a family taken, as the Chief Secretary proposed to take them, from the West of Ireland, and simply shipping them out to New York. In many cases Mr. Tuke appears to have been able to provide for the reception of the families, and not only for their proper reception, but for their employment and location on land. But the area of such emigration must necessarily be limited by the circumstances of the case; and what we are entitled to ask, and what no explanation of has been made, is, where does the Government intend to locate and provide for such large numbers of families which must necessarily emigrate if it is desired to produce any effect on the West of Ireland? Professor Baldwin has estimated that 100,000 families or 500,000 persons must be evicted out of Ireland before any effect would be felt. Is the Government going to provide £5 per head for each of the families, which in some instances will consist of six, seven, or eight persons? Has the right hon. Gentleman considered how he will transport them across the Big Lake? Has he considered what an enormous number of steamers will have to be provided? Has he considered the arrangements necessary for their reception in New York? Has he considered what he will do with these thousands of people living in such wretchedness under the wise and beneficent rule of England, and who will go to New York in rags? Has he considered whether he will look out for employment for them? Has he considered how they are to make a start towards getting their subsistence from the land which exist in such boundless quantities in the North-West Provinces of America? Has he considered these questions? If he has, what are his plans to get this species of wholesale emigration set going, or has he any plan at all? These are questions which we are entitled to ask, because it is the Chief Secretary and the Government who have put forward this scheme of emigration, this process of lifting hundreds of thousands of people out of the country as a means of ameliorating the condition of these congested districts, and as the means of alleviating the present distress in the West of Ireland. The emigration from Ireland which has taken place up to the present time, and which has been most successful, has been an emigration of young people who have gone out, and who in the course of a few years have succeeded in bringing out the whole of their families whom they had left behind. But this is not the system proposed by the Government. The Government propose to lift whole families, and, at the very outside, they do not propose to allocate for that purpose more than £5 per head for the adults. Some of the Unions have been notified by the Local Government Board that the Guardians will only receive £3 or £4 per head; but taking it at its best, and supposing it to be £5 per head—although we are not entitled to estimate it at all, for owing to the want of information we scarcely know what the intentions of the Government are—a family of seven would get but £35, and this sum would not carry them further than New York after providing decent clothes in which they might appear amid the civilization of the New World. The Chief Secretary had quoted statistics showing that in the Newport Union 1,844 persons had applied to the Inspector to be sent out; in Oughterard Union 1,556, and in the Belmullet Union 3,000, and the Inspectors had stated that a great difference would be made in the condition those left behind if those persons were emigrated.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Only the Belmullet Inspector said so.

Mr. PARNELL: I suppose the same will apply to each of the others, and that if the Inspectors of the other two Unions had been asked the same questions they would have made the same reply. The right hon. Gentleman is dealing with the problem as a whole, and not in regard to one particular Union, and he has recommended this plan of emigration as a means of alleviating the distress in the West of Ireland and permanently ameliorating the condition of those left behind. I would ask the House to consider how the emigration of these 7,000 persons would ameliorate the condition of the 40,000 or 50,000 persons who would still be left behind in these Unions. There was another practical point to which they must turn. English Members saw that the famine of 1848 had cleared vast tracts of grazing land since used for raising cattle for the English market, and they thought it good policy to clear those fertile tracts of men, women, and children in order to people them with bullocks and sheep. But in these congested districts the land, from an agricultural point of view, was not suitable for grazing purposes. It was not cleared then, and it had not been cleared since, simply for this reason. If it could have been so utilized the land would have ever since been cleared. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to think that the land would produce 4½ tons to the acre against 6 tons of potatoes produced by the good land. I can only congratulate him upon the agricultural knowledge which he seems to have acquired during his short trip in Donegal; but I can assure him that if the land in those districts produced 4½ tons of potatoes once in every two or three years it could not be turned to a more profitable purpose. I can also assure him that if he clears the land of people he will be simply throwing it back altogether to grow rushes, heather, and other wild productions. It is totally unsuitable for agricultural purposes on account of the wet state of the sub-soil. Thus, and so far from the importation for it being a benefit to this country in the shape of producing more beef and mutton, they would simply get rid of the people to throw the land out of cultivation altogether, so that the land would become worthless to the landlord and of no value to the country. I would ask the Government to consider this question and examine into it from all from all sides, and that without prejudice. Do not let them start with the notion that this is a great policy. A Government which can only propose the expatriation of the people is not worthy of the name. Perhaps they think that because the land movement commenced in the West of Ireland the best way would be to push a turbulent population out of the country altogether. I would ask the Government to treat the matter fairly and see if they cannot set the people to work on land which exists in boundless quantities—for instance, in the county of Mayo. The right hon. Gentleman would find such on investigation, and that the pains he devoted to the subject would yield abundant returns and immense satisfaction. Do not let it be supposed that we desire to chase the graziers away from the rich lands which they hold. We desire nothing of the kind, and I have never advocated, it except, perhaps, in some poetic flight of fancy in America. Let the people be taken from Mayo to Meath. This is a practical and not impossible means of solving the difficulty, and the rich lands there will still feed abundance of cattle. I am one of those who do not believe it possible to break this land up; but what we say, as practical men, is this—that there is plenty of improvable land in the country—land which is not absolutely useless, but which is unfavourable, and which might be purchased by the State, or by some public company with the help of the State, upon which a colony of these people might be put—land for which they would be able to pay a better rent than that now paid by the men who occupy it. That land, according to the best authorities, is deteriorating from year to year, becoming less capable of producing grass, and reverting to a state of nature. So that, sooner or later, 3,000,000 acres of land—for that is the estimate—will become practically valueless to the landlord for any profitable purpose. All that I ask is that the recommendations of Professor Baldwin, an agricultural authority of great experience, shall be carefully considered by the Government, and that, at least if they are going to consider the question of emigration, they shall consider at the same time the question of migration. We believe that the result will be that a considerable quantity of cattle might be fed there for the English market, and that it would result in the employment of hundreds and thousands of people who now have to come to England and Scotland in the spring and summer to look for work. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the

Exchequer, who has spoken on several occasions in this House upon Irish questions with great sympathy and considerable knowledge, and, I may add, with a great desire to do what is right, has asked the Irish Members for some suggestion with regard to this question, and I would recommend that advances should be made to tenants for the purpose of reclamation and improvement of the holdings. I know of no way in which public money might be spent with more advantage than by some well-considered scheme, carried out by practical men, than by advancing State money in this direction. The Government should require proper designs for carrying this out, and these should be laid out and carried out under suitable superintendence; and if this was done there could be no better expenditure of public money, and no more safe investment, or one by which the State would be more absolutely secured. I not believe the Board of Works for Ireland, under present management, at all adequate for this purpose. We have seen that when £1,500,000 was lent to the Irish landlords for the purpose of works of improvement on their land, that a great deal of the money was misapplied. That money was lent under the direction of the Board of Works. Under the system adopted by them, so far as I can learn, there was no suitable inspection as to whether the work was done for which the money was granted, and in many cases I believe no money was spent on the works for which it was advanced. Undoubtedly some Government Department, with adequate machinery for the purpose, as I have stated, should be inaugurated in Ireland. I very much fear that a great deal of money granted for improving the holdings would be wasted, or injudiciously lent, unless resident engineers should be appointed to lay out and superintend the work, and the services of the county surveyors and their assistants are utilized. The loans might be made through the Boards of Guardians, on the security of the rates and the works themselves. But all this pre-supposed an Administration in Ireland of a practical character, and one desirous of developing the resources of the country, and keeping the people at home and making them happy and prosperous there. This however, does not appear to be the policy of the present Government; and I have no hope from anything which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary foreshadows, or any indication which Lord Spencer has given, that any practical scheme will be undertaken for the purpose of improving the industrial resources of the country. In fact, it is quite absurd to make suggestions. Lord Spencer has said that the people must go, and Lord Spencer, being now all-powerful, will have his way, at all events for, I sincerely hope, a very limited period. The absence of remedial legislation for Ireland has been very much commented upon by the Irish Members, and at the conclusion of the debate on this subject it will be my duty to move the second reading of a Land Bill, providing for the proper carrying out of the intentions of Parliament with regard to the preservation of the tenant's improvements on the one hand, and with the view of meeting the Report of the Lords' Committee concerning the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act on the other. We shall be better able to judge when we see the reception of that Bill, which is practically endorsed by the Members of all the Provinces, in all its clauses, and almost in all its words. We shall be better able to see what chance we have as regards remedial legislation. The question of local self-government will also be brought before this House. The question of the inequality of the borough and municipal franchise as compared with that of England will also be laid before Parliament. Ireland is now quiet, and upon what Parliament may decide with regard to these measures must depend very largely the opinion of the Irish people in future as to whether they are to obtain concessions by outrage or by Constitutional agitation. The responsibility which rests upon English statesmen is very great. Surely when there is quiet is the time for a great Party like the Liberal Party to persevere in their course of justice to Ireland. The Liberal Party have been taunted with yielding to outrage when it passed the Land Act and the Arrears Act. The Government ought to show itself strong and persevere in its course now that there is no clamour, and to prove that it is not really influenced by intimidation or threats, or the prospect of further revolution. Unless you show that you will fail in one of the first functions of government; you will be false to your promises made at the last General Election, when you pledged yourselves to equalize the Irish and the English laws. We ask you to give something this Session in redemption of those promises, and not to disappoint the yearnings of the Irish people for further justice; and we ask this in the confident belief that if you continue the course that the Prime Minister initiated in 1870, by seeking out imperfections in the laws and striving to grant justice and fair concessions, neither this House nor this country will be disappointed by the result.

MR. PLUNKET said, that all would hear with pleasure the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) speak in a different tone from that to which they had long been accustomed. For some time the hon. Member had sailed, and claimed to sail successfully, on the wave of agitation and violence, and now he came forward to take the credit and the advantage of the trough of the sea. That, he (Mr. Plunket) thought, was a satisfactory result, already attained by the very short and limited experience the hon. Member had of something like resolute treatment in that House, and firm government in Ireland. It was no concern of his (Mr. Plunket's) to defend the Government; but he wished, as an Irish Representative, to make some observations on what the hon. Member had said, and on the issues raised by the important Amendment which he had brought before the House. The charges that had that night been levelled against the Government had, with some insignificant exceptions, been aimed at their imputed neglect of dealing with the distress in Ireland and the question of emigration. Now, there were two very different views to be taken of the distress in Ireland; one of these involved the problem of the best means of meeting the immediate necessity of the case; and the other related to the policy to be adopted in order to remove those sad conditions of existence which had so long prevailed in certain districts of Ireland, especially those lying along the seaboard. As for the immediate danger, he did not feel in a position to criticize the Government as severely as the hon. Member for the City of Cork had done; but he thought that the general statements as to the distress in Ireland had been to some extent exaggerated, though in certain districts in the West, there was grave cause for anxiety, if not for apprehensions of actual famine. That, of course, must be left to be dealt with by the Government. All he would now say was, that it was the business of the Government, if danger existed, to avert it. They alone were responsible, for they alone were in possession of accurate, reliable, and, he might add, unprejudiced information; but at present there certainly was no proof of the extreme distress on which the hon. Member for the City of Cork had mainly founded his arguments. If the Government could get through this period of pressure without departing from the established system of Poor Law relief, so much the better, for there could be no doubt that eleemosynary aid was calculated to demoralize the Irish people. But no such general principles ought to be allowed to interfere with the discretion of the Government to contravene them for a temporary purpose; and he had no doubt, from the careful speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland the other evening, that he had taken great pains to satisfy himself, not only by official information as to its extent, but also by personal inspection, testing its accuracy, with a view to finding means of averting it. Coming to the second view of the question—namely, how they were to deal with these congested districts, and prevent a recurrence of such melancholy experiences, he could not but notice a very remarkable change in the tone of Irish Members below the Gangway. The hon. Member for the City of Cork rather taunted the Chief Secretary for Ireland with being unprepared with a well-considered scheme of emigration, and referred to the insufficiency of the sum provided for that purpose. [MR. PARNELL: The sum per head.] Of course, the hon. Member gave the first place to his favourite scheme of migration; but he also now appeared as the champion of a well-considered and well-supported scheme of emigration from Ireland. As the hon. Member spoke of the infamous conduct of the Government, if it should now fail through want of preparation, the House would certainly remember that two years ago the Government had come forward with a scheme which was practically killed by the opposition of the hon. Member and his Friends.

The hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) said—

> "The Irish Members had agreed on this subject, and had all along intended to vote against the clause, and would try to tear it to pieces." —(3 *Hansard*, [263] 916.)

The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) said—

> "Let Progress be reported, that the Government might not have to display, in the full light of day, the imbecility of their tactics. Now, at the end of three days it had come to this—that they were going to spend £200,000 on emigration from Ireland. From a large scheme it had been reduced to a miserable, petty, peddling sum, that it was not worth spending half-an-hour upon."—(*Ibid.* 978.)

Mr. PARNELL: What did I say?

Mr. PLUNKET said, the hon. Member for the City of Cork was always very handy with this kind of evasion, and he (Mr. Plunket) had not the speech of the hon. Member by him at the moment; but he would challenge him to produce a single word he had said to the contrary. He (Mr. Plunket) himself had regretted the surrender of the Government on that question, and had always regarded it as one of the least creditable and most disastrous of the many concessions they had made to the Party of the hon. Member. At the same time, he could not help thinking that it was scarcely for those who obtained it to complain that the Government had not now a scheme in working order. It was, however, gratifying to know that, though the Government was at that time thwarted by the efforts of the so-called Irish Members, those exertions had, to some extent, been rendered nugatory, for the work had been undertaken by private enterprize and charity, through a Committee formed of such men as the hon. Member for Carnarvon (Mr. Rathbone), who spoke modestly and briefly the other night of the generous and self-sacrificing efforts he had made. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had also taken part in it, and men on both sides of politics had done their best to set on foot a practical scheme of emigration. He was glad to know, as the hon. Member for Carnarvon told them, that if the Government funds came short, the Committee would confidently fall back on that English charity which had of late been repudiated, defied, and insulted by some who always boasted themselves the best friends of Ireland. This scheme did not contemplate picking up a man here and there and passing him on to take care of himself on the Continent of America; but the scheme was to be conducted with a careful regard to religious convictions and family ties. It must be painful to everyone to contemplate the departure from Ireland of considerable numbers of the population; but if the hard facts of the case were such that it was really better for them to go, and better for those who remained behind—if it was the only escape from the situation, it was a great satisfaction to know that the emigration would be conducted wisely and humanely, and not under the terrible conditions which prevailed at the time of the great Famine of 1847; and it was right that that should be made known throughout Ireland. As to the Arrears Act, which had been spoken of, he was sorry to have to tell the House that, whatever advantage or disadvantage it might have produced in other respects, its effect had been, as all men of common sense had predicted it would be, demoralizing in the extreme. He heard every day of cases of tenants who had honestly paid their rents during the time of agitation, but who now went to the landlords and said —"What are you going to do for us? What concession are you going to make to put us on an equality with those who, in obedience to the advice of political Leaders, kept their rents in their pockets?" There was also another matter about this Arrears Act which called for notice. There was great temptation to tenants to allow their rents to fall into arrear, rather than make an effort to pay them; for they naturally considered that, when distress again arose, the Government would again come to their assistance, and their arrears would be wiped out. Further, that unfortunately brought another consideration with it, for if the landlords found this course pursued by the tenants, they would take strong measures to prevent such a state of affairs, and to enforce the payment of rents, even if it was by eviction. As to the question of the operation of the Land Act upon landowners, it had been lost sight of in the turmoil of recent events, and he did not himself propose to deal with it then; but none the less was the injury inflicted upon landlords a terrible reality. He knew many—and for every one he knew there were scores and hundreds more—who were on the verge of ruin. They had been kept for some time out of the rent of their land—in the first instance by the action of the Land League, and now by the working of the Land Act, they were to be permanently deprived, on an average all round, of at least one-fifth of their income. Mountains of costs were piled up against them, and their creditors were at that moment only waiting for the land again to become a saleable commodity to rush in and realize their security. In that way numbers of honest, loyal, blameless men would find themselves, without any fault of theirs, and without any compensation, overwhelmed in speedy and utter ruin. Even those who did, for a time, succeed in weathering the storm would have their family charges to meet and all the other outgoings on their estates; while it would be hopeless for them, in the present state of the country, to raise any money, and utterly impossible for them to sell. Thus the effect of the operation of the Land Act of 1881 was almost certain ruin for these people. He did not know whether the House realized the state of unsaleability of land in Ireland. It was one of the promises made when the Land Act was being passed that, so far from injuring the landlords, it would improve their position. They were assured that if there was a little pressure at the moment, still the ultimate value of their property would be increased. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) said—

> "My firm belief is that no damage can be proved; on the other hand, that if the landlord were compensated you would compensate him for conferring on him a benefit."—(3 *Hansard*, [260] 1166.)

The Lord Chancellor said—

> "I deny that it will diminish in any degree whatever the rights of the landlord, or the value of the interest he possesses. I should never agree to such a proposal."—(*Ibid.* [264] 532.)

Lord Carlingford said—

> "I maintain that the provisions of this Bill will cause the landlord no money loss whatever." —(*Ibid.* 252.)

What was the state of affairs now? It was indicated by an attempt made to sell an estate the other day. This was an estate over which the plough of the Sub-Commissioners had passed, and it was supposed to be a very valuable article. The Judge of the Land Court said—

> "All these rents have been fixed by the Land Commissioners as fair rents, and I am sure the tenants will pay to the day. The rents are so well secured that this property ought to bring 30 years' purchase."

The owner said—

> "Three years ago, before the agitation, I could have sold the property for £1,775."

Thereupon the Judge remarked—

> "You must submit to the inevitable."

The bidding having reached £875, the Judge said—

> "Is there any advance on 11 years' purchase for this estate, with rents paid like dividends at the Bank of Ireland, or nearly so. This is the first estate I have had to sell in which rents have been fixed by the Land Commission. I hoped to get 25 years or 30 years' purchase."

Of course, the estate was not sold. To prevent misapprehension, however, he must state that there was an estate in King's County, afterwards sold in the Landed Estate Court, that fetched 24 years' purchase, and this was taken by the admirers of the famous Land Act as the first swallow of the spring. The explanation of the apparently high price obtained in this case was as follows:—The land was situated two miles from the important town of Roscrea, the tenure was chiefly fee-farm, the tenement valuation was £243 15*s*., and the rent only £196 8*s*. 6*d*., and the purchaser was one of the fee-farm tenants. Perhaps it might be alleged that all these matters affected only the interests of the landlords; but the object of the Land Act was to make provision for a temporary necessity, by what were called the Tenure Clauses, and, at the same time, to lay the foundation of a new state of affairs by giving facilities and encouragement to the creation of a system of peasant proprietors. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) had stated about the time when the Act was introduced that the Tenure Clauses were intended as a *modus vivendi* to get over the time until the more profound and far-reaching policy of the Act should come into operation. But what had occurred? Why, all such hopes had been falsified, and even the few persons who purchased under the provisions of the Irish Church Act of 1869, with the view of becoming peasant proprietors, were complaining most bitterly, and asking to have their purchases reconsidered. Why was that? It was because there was no finality about the results of the Land Act of 1881, just as there was no finality in the principles on which it was based. The Government had torn up all the old principles on which landed property rested in these countries, and had substituted for them nothing but the hasty spawn of temporary expediency. At the same time, the agitators had renewed their work, and Ireland was now in a state of complete unrest and disturbance. It was a melancholy thing, however moderate, comparatively speaking, the arguments might be, or some of them, which had been made in support of it, that hon. Members should have put such an Amendment on the Paper of that House. There was legislation enough in it for half-a-century; and it said—

> "That the absence of any undertaking to legislate upon any of these questions must tend to promote discontent and intensify disaffection in Ireland."

That was, in his opinion, a palliation of renewed agitation, accompanied by outrage such as they had kown. It was a direct invitation to such conduct; and he said, if they considered the circumstances under which the Amendment was submitted to the House, it was a monstrous and impudent proposition. How many years had been spent by that House in endeavouring to do for the tenants in Ireland more than ever had been done for the same class of people elsewhere? English and Scotch Business had been set aside, and for three years this Government, with its great majority, had done nothing. Such was the gratitute evinced for, and the advantages obtained from a policy, not of conciliation, but of surrender. He made no appeal to the hon. Member for the City of Cork. Agitation had been too good a business for that hon. Gentleman and his Friends, and he should not hope to produce any effect upon them; but once again he entered his protest and made his appeal against those other Members of the Liberal Party who did all they could to further and encourage the disastrous and desperate course pursued by the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends. He would not now go back again to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who had succeeded in extracting from the hon. Member for the City of Cork great praise for himself at the expense of his Colleagues; but he must say he was amused when the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell), who was under no obligation to adopt such a line, charged himself and his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) with embarrassing the Government and hampering their actions. It was the natural right, he (Mr. Plunket) supposed, of the Opposition to criticize the Government; but their criticisms had reference, not to the present, but to the past policy of the Government, and was not in the least calculated to embarrass them in their business now. The hon. and learned Member for Dundalk, referring to the subject of local government, had spoken of the advantage it would have been to the Government to have had the public opinion of Ireland behind them. He had referred to the Municipal Corporations as a splendid example of the representation of this public opinion in a high state of efficiency, and had sighed for something corresponding in the rural districts. The Irish Government, he (Mr. Plunket) knew, had had a very difficult job to deal with lately; and he did not think that, from recent experience, they relied much on such public opinion in Ireland, especially of the Municipal Corporations. They might, indeed, appeal to them, and, in the words of the old couplet, of which he was reminded, exclaim—

> "Perhaps 'twas as well you dissembled your love,
> But why did you kick me down stairs?"

That was a kind of moral support behind one which he, for himself, should be willing to dispense with. Some hon. Gentlemen called themselves "modern" Liberals, no doubt, in order to distinguish themselves from the old Liberals, who, in his (Mr. Plunket's) judgment, did not a little good for this country in ancient days; but the modern Liberals, while they kept the Government in power, did everything they could to damage the character of its legislation, and to defeat its objects. The hon. Member for the City of Cork and other Irish Members had talked a great deal about the fatal influence of Dublin Castle upon Chief Secretaries for Ireland, and both the present and the late right hon. Gentlemen holding that Office had been bullied and abused for having, as it was said, fallen under that influence; but, in point of fact, Dublin Castle was in Ireland what the Home Office was here, as representing the domestic power of the Government, and nothing else. The Irish Executive could alone be thoroughly informed on matters relating to Ireland. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was sent over, he soon found out the real meaning of the outcry against Dublin Castle. He felt obliged to recognize the untruth of these stories, and was turned out. Then they picked up another Chief Secretary, whose soundness and orthodoxy were supposed to be beyond dispute, and they told him —"Prophesy to us smooth things;" but he also had been there only a short time when he found out the hollowness and fallacy of those denunciations of Dublin Castle. The question was—Were their Ministers to be trusted, or were they not? If not, why keep them in Office? The experience of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had shown the real value of the arguments and pathetic appeals they heard from day to day, the whining, the threatening, and the bullying of those Members who professed to represent the mass of the Irish people in that House. In this tremendous crisis, both for Ireland and this country, when they had a good man, carrying his life in his hand, in order to rightly appreciate the real state of the case and overcome the difficulty, let him not be thwarted; let them not cease to give him a cordial and generous support, nor seek to paralyze his arm.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) always attempted to be an effective orator, and occasionally succeeded. But he was rather astonished that the right hon. and learned Gentleman should have endeavoured to rouse the House from a condition which was somnolent, but, at the same time, philosophic, by appeals to questions which were not under discussion. What the House was discussing was not the policy of the Land Act, or Dublin Castle. The question was how to deal with a large number of people in Ireland—men, women, and children were face to face with starvation, and the Government were taking no means to relieve them. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, at such a time, thought it decent to appeal to the prejudices of that House, and to revive past controversies. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had presented a picture to the House of a large number of Irish landlords, who, he said, had been brought face to face with ruin by the Land Act, which had deprived them of one-fifth of their incomes. In other words, these landlords had been robbing their tenants for generations, if not for centuries. ["No, no!"] Yes; that was the decision of judicial tribunals established to try the question. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had said that Dublin Castle was like the Home Office; but he knew that nothing could be more inaccurate than that statement. Did the English Judges go to the Home Office, sit as Members of the Privy Council, join in issuing Proclamations, and afterwards sit on the Bench to try the cases of persons brought before them for disobeying those Proclamations? No; the work of the English Home Office was not done by Judges who had reached their position, like Irish Judges, by political lying and bribery of the most shameful character. He congratulated hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on the homily which they had been hearing. They had a right to complain of the levity with which the Amendment had been treated by the Government. The debate had been going on for three nights, and there had only been two speeches from the Treasury Bench—one by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the other by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though the Government confessed the subject was a very grave one. The former was a man of kindly temper, and was a master of the art of expression; yet all those who sat near him, and some hon. Gentlemen on the Benches opposite, were agreed in thinking that he must either have most inadequately expressed himself, or else his utterances constituted one of the most cold-blooded speeches ever delivered in that House. The right hon. Gentleman was either a mere mouthpiece of Lord Spencer, or had independently arrived at the conclusion that a scheme of emigration was the only practical remedy. There was, however, not a single proposition which had been advanced by the right hon. Gentleman in favour of the action of the Government which could be defended either by reason or by argument. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had been appealed to as to whether he was strongly opposed to emigration. He had no hesitation in saying that the present position of many of those poor people was absolutely hopeless. But the Government were confusing measures of permanent legislation with the means of temporary relief. Would the emigration of 10,000 people supply Indian meal to the 50,000 who remained behind? And were they ready with money and machinery to provide for the emigration of so many? It should be remembered that the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone) had said that emigration involved the great difficulty of dealing with the emigrants when they got to the other side of the ocean. The policy of the Government was to drive the people, through starvation, either into emigration, or the workhouse. Suppose they went into the workhouse, would the Government be ready with means for emigration by next April? It could not be denied that the United States Government was hostile to emigration by families. They said—"If you make these people paupers, you may keep them." At the same time, they were ready enough to welcome individuals; but they would not receive the helpless population of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman's objection to public works was that they were not required in the distressed districts; but they were required in other parts of Ireland, and the results following from their establishment would be beneficial to the distressed districts. Then it was said that the taxpayers of England and Scotland ought not to be called upon to support the pauper population of Ireland. But as many pounds could be collected for emigration as pence for relief. The question was, what were the Government going to do with those people for the next two or three months? It was nonsense to talk of emigration. Were they going to allow them to starve, or to go so far on the road to starvation that they would be mowed down by disease? The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the demoralization of outdoor relief. Was it more demoralizing than relief in the workhouse? In his (Mr. T. P. O'Connor's) opinion, two months inside a workhouse was more demoralizing than six months of outdoor relief. Not only would it be less demoralizing, but it would be more economical, for those who went into the workhouse lost their holdings, whereas they could retain them if outdoor relief were given. In that case they would be able to sow their crops; whereas, if they were driven into the workhouse, they would become permanent, instead of temporary, paupers, as in the former case. He regretted to say that there was, at that moment, in England, a very bitter feeling against the Irish people, owing to the excitement caused in the Press by the assassinations, the invectives of the front Opposition Bench, and the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). The people of England had been encouraged to hate the Irish people as a whole because of the crimes of a section. Was the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland going to take advantage of that frenzy, and, because of a tempest of unjust and vile passion against the Irish people, turn a deaf ear to, and allow the cry of starvation and the wail of the orphans to go unheard?

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that he simply rose in consequence of the concluding observation of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). He entirely denied that a bitter feeling existed at that moment, on the part of hon. Members or by Englishmen, against the Irish people, although he certainly admitted that there existed a strong feeling of indignation against those Irishmen who endeavoured to play on the passions of the people, and to incite them to insubordination, to outbreak, and to every crime that could possibly disgrace a race or nation. There certainly was not a bitter feeling against the Irish people. The effort to which his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket) had referred was a sufficient proof of the sincere sympathy which was felt for the suffering of distressed and law-abiding people in Ireland, and of an earnest desire to find the means by which they might be placed in a position of self-reliance, comfort, and happiness. The position taken up by hon. Members below the Gangway with regard to the proposals of the Government was, he thought, exceedingly mistaken, if those hon. Gentlemen would only for themselves consider the position in which the unfortunate inhabitants on the West Coast of Ireland were at that moment. Some of them around him had had the opportunity of personally inspecting the country, and there could not be a doubt that the condition in which these people existed was one which must involve them in perpetually recurring distress. Whatever temporary measures the Government might now propose, or the House sanction, the destitution would appear again next year, or the year following; because those poor people were in a position in which it was impossible for human beings to support themselves and their families. Was it, then, becoming in the House or the Government to endeavour merely to bridge over that temporary crisis, and to leave those people to lapse again into the miserable condition in which they now found them? He did not doubt that there was at that moment a great amount of suffering and misery; but were they to perpetuate that misery and suffering, or were they to do their best to raise the people out of the condition in which they existed, and place them in a position to obtain a better and honest livelihood? He did not doubt what the answer of the House would be. They might, no doubt, by giving them outdoor relief, carry them over the next few months; but if they had another failure of the potato crop, they would have the same cry of distress as was now heard raised again, and they would have done nothing towards putting the people in a better way to obtain an honest and decent livelihood. Some hon. Gentlemen talked of reclaiming the waste lands of Ireland and of making harbours and railways. If there was trade they might construct harbours; if there was a prospect of profit, railways should by all means be made; if anything could be done to develop the industry of Ireland, it should be done; but they ought not to induce those people to remain on their miserable little allotments of land, which could not possibly yield them a subsistence. What was the actual condition of things? The casual employment on which they had relied in the neighbourhood of their holdings had departed from them; the landlords had no longer the power or the means of giving them employment. Some of them had no longer the power to live on the place which was his and his ancestors' for many generations. Industries had ceased to be profitable. The land which those people tilled, having been starved and exhausted, was now incapable of producing any adequate return; its capabilities in many places were entirely destroyed. Surely, then, the House and the Government should do everything in their power to enable them to find homes and independence in another land. Something had been said about insufficient funds being provided by the Government for that purpose. Funds were provided by an Association of which a principal agent was Mr. Tuke, a gentleman who was benevolently devoting himself, without the hope of any other reward than the satisfaction of doing good, to the work of helping those who were desirous of emigrating to find happy homes in a land not far removed from their own shores. In Canada, within eight or nine days' journey from Ireland, the comfort and independence which were denied them in their own country could be obtained by these poor people. There was not a man, he was sure, on either side of the House who did not deeply deplore the necessity which had come upon them; but it was a necessity which they must regard as inevitable and treat as men, with every regard for the feelings of those people, and also with every desire for their permanent benefit, and not with any endeavour, as he was afraid was the case with some hon. Gentlemen, to use the occasion for Party purposes, or for the purpose of making political capital. Virgin lands across the Atlantic were capable of producing large crops without much labour; and sending them to the markets of this country cost, for transport, little exceeding that entailed for carriage from the West of Ireland to England and Scotland. The producers in those virgin lands must compete at enormous advantage with the producers in a country the soil of which was almost exhausted and incapable of maintaining the large population which miserably vegetated on its surface. He trusted, therefore, that the House would sustain the Government in the effort it was making for the benefit of that class in whose interests these arrangements were being made, and that they would not sanction a resort to mere temporary expedients, which would only leave the difficulty to be dealt with a few months hence in a worse form than ever.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 32; Noes 163: Majority 131.—(Div. List, No. 14.)

Main Question again proposed.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, who rose amid great and persistent interruption, said, he had no intention of detaining the House for more than a very few minutes, and he should not have intervened at this stage, but for the brusque and discourteous answer of the noble Marquess the Leader of the House (the Marquess of Hartington) to a Question put to him the other day in reference to a speech delivered by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) to his constituents at Liskeard. In spite of the statements contained in the Queen's Speech, the hon. Member said that the object of the policy of Her Majesty's Government was to separate Egypt from Turkey, and that the Sultan had not been consulted in the recent negotiations. That was a most serious statement to fall from a Minister of the Crown at what was then a critical period in our relations with other States. Such a statement as that could only hopelessly alienate a Power upon whom our future interests in Egypt must depend; and at a time when our ancient Ally France was widely estranged from us, and when the French Press was violently attacking the policy of the Government, nothing could have been more injurious. It was a violation of the international courtesy of Governments, and an insult to the Sovereign of a friendly State; and, therefore, when a Minister made such a statement as that, in flagrant contradiction of the words of Her Majesty's Speech, and of the speeches of Leaders of his Party, he should either be compelled to withdraw it, or else he should resign his position. The seriousness of the position was aggravated by the fact that, at last, France had obtained a strong, though a bad Government—an extreme, violent, and almost Jacobin Government—and by a combination between that country and Turkey our interests in Egypt might be seriously frustrated. The other day, he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had attempted to bring the matter before the House in the form of a Question, which he had put to the noble Marquess the Leader of the House; but the noble Marquess, as he had before observed, had given him a brusque and discourteous answer, and he was therefore compelled to take that opportunity of bringing the matter before the notice of the House at the present time. Another point he wished to call attention to was the speeches of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). In doing so he had no desire to be discourteous to the hon. Member for Leeds, though to the President of the Board of Trade he would give no quarter. The hon. Member for Leeds had publicly stated that the Government of the Queen in Ireland was one of the worst in Europe. Now, so far as the influence of the hon. Member went, that statement was a most mischievous one, and totally inconsistent with the statement in the Queen's Speech. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] In spite of the interruptions of the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) and others, he intended to say what he had to say. Interruptions of that kind were the only arguments the hon. Member for Stockton had. But the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, speaking in that House, asked—"What message will you send to Ireland when you have dealt with this conspiracy?" Had they not had enough of Liberal messages of peace? Was not a Land Bill, an Arrears Bill, and two Coercion Bills enough to satisfy even the insatiable appetite of the President of the Board of Trade? Then the right hon. Gentleman said—"Do you think you can go on governing Ireland by repression and nothing else?" Just as if the Conservative Party were they who had introduced repression and coercion into Ireland! The Liberal Party had completely failed in their Irish Administration. The late Government ruled Ireland well and peacefully with the mildest Coercion Act, but the present Government required the most stringent measure of oppression ever known in that country. Three years ago Ireland enjoyed the fullest Constitutional privileges under a Conservative Government, and if those privileges had been taken away it was by the present Government. The President of the Board of Trade also stated that that policy, if pursued, would involve the creation of a Poland within four hours of their own country. A Poland, Mr. Speaker! suffering under every kind of oppression. Why, the idea was so preposterous that it needed no further consideration. [" Oh, oh ! "] He would only make one other remark. He was surprised that hon. Members received the utterances of one of their principal Leaders with so much amusement. The President of the Board of Trade had further said that the Irish policy of Her Majesty's Government had hitherto been two-fold. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) admitted that it had been two-fold in this sense—that it consisted of bribing sedition, and then coercing the criminals whom that bribery produced. [*Cries of* " Oh, oh ! " *and interruption.*] The Government had shown no real desire to repress crime in Ireland until the terrible event in the Phœnix Park worked a complete revolution in the mind of the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman had talked of justice to Ireland. Where was the evidence of his policy of justice to Ireland? Was it in his Coercion Acts? He would conclude with one single observation, which, owing to the interruptions he had been favoured with that night, he had been prevented from making before. The reference in the Address to the relations of Her Majesty's Government with Foreign States led him to recall the unfortunate results of their commercial policy. He hoped the Government would not lose sight of the importance of re-establishing the Commercial Treaty which their mistakes had lost to the country. In the hope of renewing that Treaty they had allowed France to seize Tunis and became involved in the Egyptian War; and, after all, failed to obtain a Treaty with France, and lost the opportunity of making satisfactory Commercial Treaties with Spain and Italy. He had one bit of advice to offer to the Government. Taking warning by the terrible example of the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who, during his administration of the Foreign Office, succeeded in failing in everything he undertook, he recommended Her Majesty's Government to revert to the friendly alliance with the German Powers which was established by Lord Beaconsfield, and the abandonment of which had led to all their difficulties in Europe. Until they did that they could settle none of the difficult questions in which they were involved; but if they followed his advice, they would have on their side the friendship of stable and permanent Monarchies, instead of shifting and demoralized Republics, and have a security for conserving not only the peace of Europe, but British interests.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that perhaps the House would allow him to make one or two observations in the way of a personal explanation. The hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had told them that he would not have delivered his speech at all but for a discourteous reply which he had received from him (the Marquess of Hartington) to a Question he put with regard to the observations of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) as to the position of the Sovereign of Turkey in relation to Egypt. He replied, as far as he could recollect, to the hon. Member for Eye, that if he read the Papers which had been presented to the House he would see for himself how far those Papers related to the subject, and how far the hon. Member for Liskeard represented the opinions of Her Majesty's Government. He was unable to see that there was any discourtesy in that reply; and, in fact, he thought, on reflection, that if there was any discourtesy in the matter at all, and anyone who had a right to complain of it, it was not the hon. Member for Eye, but his hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard; because, if the Papers were consulted, it would probably be the opinion of most hon. Members that his hon. Friend's views and those expressed by Her Majesty's Government were not completely in accord. He must ask the House to excuse him if he did not follow the hon. Member for Eye in what he had said about the speeches of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. He had said all that he had to say on those speeches on former occasions; and it was unnecessary, and would be irregular, if he attempted to follow the hon. Member now in the observations he had made, and especially after the subject had been discussed for the greater part of 10 nights.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee *appointed,* to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution:—Mr. ACLAND, Mr. BUCHANAN, The Marquess of HARTINGTON, The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Mr. DODSON, Sir CHARLES DILKE, Mr. TREVELYAN, Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND, Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL, Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR, and Lord KENSINGTON; Three to be the quorum:—To withdraw immediately:—Queen's Speech *referred.*

THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

REPORT.

Report of Address *brought up,* and read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Address be now read a second time."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

MR. BOURKE said, it was with the greatest reluctance that he ventured to occupy the attention of the House for a short time on that occasion. It had not been his intention to have spoken at all on Egyptian affairs that evening, but for the very extraordinary answer which had been given to the very simple and obvious Question which he had addressed to the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) early that evening. No one recognized more than himself the arduous nature of the duties which the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who sat in that House, had to perform; and nothing could be more repugnant to him (Mr. Bourke) than to press the Under Secretary of State with Questions which were un-Parliamentary or unfair. But when a Question was put by the Opposition in fair and Parliamentary language a satisfactory answer should be given, more particularly as, under the New Rules of Procedure, it was not possible for those who were dissatisfied with an answer to move the adjournment of the House, and that, therefore, those who put such Questions were entirely at the mercy of the Government. In these circumstances, those who occupied official positions should be doubly careful to make their answers clear, distinct, and courteous. It was neither his province nor his desire to give advice to the noble Lord—indeed, it would be extremely impertinent for him to do so—particularly when he was quite sure that the noble Lord must fully understand that if the character of the answer to which he had referred were to be often repeated, it would be so much the better for the Opposition, because it was the Government, and not the Opposition, that would suffer by it. But although he would not give advice to the noble Lord, he would, if he were allowed to do so, advise his hon. Friends both above and below the Gangway, some of whom might one day be placed in Office, in a similar position to that of the noble Lord, to the effect that they should not copy his style; and that their answers, instead of being flippant in manner and shallow in substance, should be serious and courteous. How did the case stand with regard to the despatch about which he had asked the Question? That despatch of Lord Dufferin had been received a short time ago, and had been mentioned in debate by the noble Lord, and, if his (Mr. Bourke's) memory served him right, by the noble Marquess who now led the House of Commons. They were told that that despatch would be very soon in the hands of hon. Members, and that it would give all the information with regard to the various topics on which Questions had been asked. And not only that, but the noble Lord had told him to mark, read, and inwardly digest a certain other despatch of Lord Dufferin. He was afraid that he had read that despatch more often than any other Member of the House. One paragraph in it, as he remembered, stated that in regard to the vital question of the future re-organization of Egypt, Reports were to follow which would give the Government all the information they desired upon the subject. The despatch, therefore, which he was told to read, mark, and inwardly digest, led up directly to the despatch which he had ventured to ask for information upon. Those were the Reports which he had humbly ventered to ask for. The noble Lord the Under Secretary of State had stated that it was the invariable rule of the Foreign Office, that all despatches, before they went into print, and before presentation to Parliament, were sent back to the individual who wrote them, in order that he might see whether there was anything in them which he desired to alter. It was very difficult, when such a statement as that was made, to say that it was not accurate, because it was not easy to prove a negative. He readily admitted that before despatches went into print they were sometimes, where practicable, referred back to the writers; but it was by no means the invariable practice. There were notable exceptions to the rule. It very often happened that when a despatch was received the fact became known, and the House became impatient for its production, and Ministers produced it if they could do so without detriment to the Public Service. To show that it was not the invariable practice to do what the noble Lord said, it would be sufficient to refer to one case. A very important despatch was written by Lord Salisbury from Berlin, in connection with the Berlin Treaty, in which the policy of the Government was fully set forth. It was dated Berlin, July 13, and was received on the 15th of July at the Foreign Office; it was presented to the House by himself (Mr. Bourke) the same evening, and was printed the next day. With regard to Lord Dufferin's despatch, there were ample reasons for publishing it a fortnight ago, and it consequently should be produced at once. If there were anything in the despatch to which Lord Dufferin might object, his Lordship could have been consulted by telegraph as to its publication. In the same way, he might have been communicated with, if the Government desired to make any erasures in it. He, therefore, hoped that the Government would see their way to produce the despatch in the next two or three days. He was not anxious just now to go into Egyptian questions. They were too important to be frittered away on an occasion of this kind; and, though they had great reason to complain of the course the Government had taken, he did not think, either for the convenience of the House, or having regard to the questions themselves, it advisable to go into them in detail. He told the House the other day that he believed they had been entirely misled as to the causes of the war in Egypt, and he did not wish to be misled as to the future of that country. They required information on many points; and, until they had the particulars as to the trial and release of Arabi, until they knew the exact relations between the Khedivial Government and the Leaders of the National Party, it would not be possible for them to arrive at any just conclusion with regard to the future government of Egypt. Although the result of the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt had been extremely deplorable, he would readily admit they must look to the future rather than the past. That policy had resulted in £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 being spent, and thousands of unfortunate people killed who never did any harm to this country. Alexandria was in ruins, and something like £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 would probably be added to the burdens of the Egyptian people in respect of indemnity for property lost. With regard to the question of the Soudan, it seemed to be a matter to which the Government attached very little importance. He, however, did not agree with them, and he believed that the question must force itself into notice. It was perfectly impossible to suppose that with the Soudan in revolt Egypt could be in safety. Respecting the Slave Trade, when the late Government was in Office, they did a great deal for its abolition. The greatest blow that could be struck at the suppression of that trade was the revolt of the Soudan from the Egyptian Government. Indeed, he had no doubt Gordon Pasha, if consulted on this question, would express his opinion that it was impossible to hope for the suppression of the Slave Trade so long as that revolt continued. The future Government of Egypt was a gigantic question. He failed to see in the existing state of things, brought about by the policy of Her Majesty's Government, any element for the formation of a Constitutional Government in Egypt at the present time; and, therefore, he maintained that the Government had condemned themselves to remain in Egypt. He did not believe Lord Dufferin shared—and he (Mr. Bourke) himself could not share—the view of the noble Marquess that in six months it would be possible to withdraw the troops from Egypt. If they were assured that the National Party had any vitality, and could take their share in forming a Constitutional Government, they might understand such a thing to be possible; but it should be borne in mind that the Leaders of the National Party were banished, and that the Government had to deal with the Khedive and his Party, who made Constitutional government a farce. What was the opinion of Lord Dufferin as to the action which the National Party took during the rebellion? It should be remembered that the massacre of June 11 and the arming of the forts were said to have been the two real causes of the war. But it had been proved in published despatches that Arabi and his followers had nothing to do with the massacre. Last year the country was told that Arabi's friends were mere military adventurers, and that the troubles were caused by a military revolt. Now, however, they knew that that was not the case. There never had been a movement having more complete support from the people. He (Mr. Bourke) would admit that he had himself been misled, and that he told the Government that they were justified in ordering the bombardment of the forts. Yes; but since the publication of the first Papers they had learnt a great deal, and the trials that had taken place at Cairo had thrown a new light upon the question. While wishing to abstain from asking the Government any really embarrassing questions, he desired very much to have answers to those which he had addressed to the noble Lord. He would be glad if, without inconvenience, they could give some opinion as to the attitude of the Foreign Powers on this important question.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that, in the first place, he must thank his right hon. Friend (Mr. Bourke) for the very kindly tone which had prevailed in his remarks. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman—with regard to what had fallen from him in the course of his speech—that he should be extremely sorry for him to think, for an instant, that he had said anything at Question time which could at all be complained of by one for whose political and personal friendship he had a great desire. But he must say that after listening, as he had with great attention, to the observations of his right hon. Friend, his mind had been considerably relieved. He had been afraid that, perhaps, through his inexperience—which he readily admitted—he had made some observations which deserved the description—which he thought was rather a hard one to come from his right hon. Friend—"un-Parliamentary." But he had gathered, in the course of his right hon. Friend's observations, that he thought he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) ought not to have used one phrase which he had used—namely, "read and inwardly digest." Well, perhaps it would have been better if that phrase had never been used in regard to the Question put by his right hon. Friend; but, nevertheless, he did not think that those phrases were such as could be described as very seriously objectionable. They were phrases of accuracy and, he might add, orthodoxy; and if he had said nothing worse, all he could say was that he had very great pleasure in withdrawing the objectionable expression. He could only hope that, even under the influence of Question time, he might never say anything in the House of which his right hon. Friend would have more serious cause to complain. And now he passed to what, after all, was a far more interesting question and a far more important one—namely, the observations of his right hon. Friend in regard to the course taken by Her Majesty's Government in reference to Lord Dufferin's despatch. Now, in his very first sentence, his right hon. Friend had fallen into a slight inaccuracy as to time. He had said that they in the Foreign Office had been in possession of this despatch a fortnight. They had not been in possession of it a fortnight. They had had it for nearly a fortnight; but, in this matter, days were of importance. The reason why he dwelt upon that point was, that he knew perfectly well there was an impression abroad that they had had the despatch a far longer time than they had really been in possession of it, and there was a very natural explanation of that. It it was due to the fact that—as many hon. Members were aware—an account of this despatch had appeared in one of the public prints. It was not for him to speculate upon how that came about, nor was it for him to criticize the great ability and energy shown by the Press in obtaining information as to the contents of the despatch; but, as a matter of fact, the House would be in error in supposing that the Foreign Office was in possession of the despatch at the moment that an account appeared of it in the public print to which he had referred. As a matter of fact, they had only had possession of the despatch a very short time; and he could say this, and assure the House of it, that he had only one wish in the matter, and that was that it should appear as soon as possible—as soon as ever the interests of the Public Service permitted. His own feeling was this—that no time whatever had been lost. He had taken every step in his power to push on the printing, so as to make the time which must elapse before it could come back from Lord Dufferin revised as short as possible. And here he wished to join issue with his right hon. Friend. The right hon. Gentleman had taken exception to what he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had said in regard to the rule at the Foreign Office; and, having started by taking exception to what he had said, he then proceeded to admit the justice of his (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's) description of the rule at the Foreign Office. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the rule was as had been described, but that there were exceptions to it. Now, that was exactly what he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had said. He had admitted that there were exceptions, but had unhesitatingly affirmed that this was not one of them; and it would be most unfair to Lord Dufferin to allow a despatch of this length and importance to appear without his having had the usual opportunity that was accorded to every diplomatist—if it could possibly be afforded to him—of seeing the document in print as well as in writing. His right hon. Friend had cited an exception—that of the celebrated despatch of Lord Salisbury, written from Berlin, and communicated to the House without having been submitted to Lord Salisbury for revision. That might have been an exception; but he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) would reply that the two cases were not on all-fours. The despatch of Lord Salisbury, able and important as it was, was an exception upon which it was unfair to argue, being a despatch written by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs himself, and, without doubt, previously submitted to the Prime Minister. He had described the rule of the Foreign Office, and described it correctly. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he had learnt the rule, perhaps only a day or two ago, from some clerk in the Foreign Office. Well, he admitted that he sometimes did acquire information as to the procedure of the Department from clerks in the Foreign Office. He had held his present post a very short time, and it would be absurd for him to attempt to pose as learned in the practice of the Office. Like his right hon. Friend, he had had to learn from the permanent officials, and he did not know where else he could have learnt all it was essential for him to know. But, as he had already intimated, this despatch of Lord Dufferin was one of great and unusual length, and of very great national importance, as it dealt with specific points in the current negotiations. This despatch dealt, as his right hon. Friend had pointed out, with the Government of Egypt in every Department, and with various other important collateral questions; and he believed he was right in saying that it covered, not the three pages of the despatch of Lord Salisbury—which his right hon. Friend had quoted, and which he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had referred to in the Library—but of upwards of 50 pages. Now, he asked, would it be a fair thing to Lord Dufferin, able and ready as they all knew was the pen he held, to present such a despatch as this to Parliament, without giving to him that opportunity of revision afforded by the ordinary practice of diplomacy? He left the House to judge; but let him remind his right hon. Friend—and he hoped he might do so without appearing to attach too much weight to his own experience—that he had had the honour of serving Her Majesty's Government for a short time in a diplomatic capacity, as Commissioner in Eastern Roumelia; and he should have considered it a most extraordinary thing, quite apart from any information he might have received from the Foreign Office, a despatch from him had been presented to the House, without his first having had an opportunity of revising it. Well, he had gone over the chief points of his right hon. Friend's speech, so far as it related to Lord Dufferin's despatch, and he must leave the House to judge whether he had erred in the matter. He felt that when, his right hon. Friend passed from Lord Dufferin's despatch to the other topics to which he had alluded, he must have experienced that he was under considerable disadvantage, owing to the late hour of the evening. He was himself at a similar disadvantage. He had been bound to touch upon the topics to which his right hon. Friend had referred very briefly; and he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), too, owing to the same reason, was obliged to be very brief. His right hon. Friend, in giving Notice of his intended speech earlier in the evening, had courteously informed him that he intended to touch on the question of the indemnity claims. This he had done so very briefly that he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) felt it very difficult indeed to reply to him on that topic that evening. His right hon. Friend had only indicated in a most general way his desire for information. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), as every hon. Member of the House who had looked into Egyptian financial questions must be, was aware of the grave question of claims raised before the Indemnity Commission in their bearing upon the future finance of Egypt; and all he could do that evening was to assure the House that Her Majesty's Government were fully sensible of the importance of the question, and that they believed that before long they would be able to show the House, when the question was more fully raised, as it no doubt would be, that they had found a solution which would command the confidence of the House, and of all who were conversant with Egyptian affairs. His right hon. Friend had then touched, also briefly, on the question of the Slave Trade, and, passing over that, upon a question closely allied with it—namely, that of the Soudan. Some observations were made by his right hon. Friend the other evening with regard to the Soudan. He had pointed out that its position had always been looked upon as a separate question from that of Egypt. It was a recent Egyptian acquisition, and stood in a totally different position from the other Egyptian Provinces; and he thought it desirable to put on record, in connection with this question of the Soudan, that the English officers who were serving there—some of whose names had recently appeared in the newspapers—were in no way serving the English Government, nor were they officers on active service. They were serving in the Khedive's Army—they were appointed by him, and there was no desire on the part of Her Majesty's Government to widen the sufficiently extended sphere of the responsibilities of this country in Egypt by interfering in any unbecoming manner with the great question of the Soudan. Her Majesty's Government would rather have it believed that the future of the Soudan depended on the strength in the Province of the great influences of civilization and on the stamping out of the Slave Trade, the revival of which was, no doubt, one of the melancholy causes of the movement there. And he might say that, in any steps which Her Majesty's Government might be able to take, by diplomatic or other means, in advancing the cause of the abolition of slavery in one of its most malignant shapes in the Soudan, they would receive the undivided support of both sides of the House. They also trusted to more extended railway communication to free the districts which were now at the mercy of slave traders and jobbers, and to bring them within the pale of civilization. It was a well known fact, and he had no doubt his right hon. Friend was aware of it, that nothing on the West Coast of Africa did more to stamp out the Slave Trade, than to bring the place in which the traffic existed within the reach of communication with civilized countries. The parties engaged in the Slave Trade were afraid of nothing so much as the arrival of a ship, which might give information of their evil doings; and it was a fact that, in some places, the establishment of a mail service and the plying of the steamers had done quite as much to stamp out the horrible trade as Her Majesty's cruisers. His right hon. Friend, towards the end of his observations, passed on to that larger question of the government of Egypt — and here he might be allowed to dwell once more, for a single instant, on the despatch of Lord Dufferin, because he thought the right hon. Gentleman, and some hon. Members who sat near him, appeared to misapprehend his statement about the two despatches which, he had said, had been already presented, and to which it would be well for hon. Members to devote some amount of time and attention. It was his decided opinion that the amount of discussion which had taken place upon the despatch of Lord Dufferin which had not appeared had, unfortunately, diverted attention from the two despatches which had appeared. These despatches covered six or seven close pages of print, and they dealt with some of those important questions upon which right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite requested information, more especially the questions of the Army, the *gendarmerie*, and the representative institutions of Egypt. He might mention that he had been unwearying in his efforts to get these two despatches ready for Parliament. He had worked to the best of his ability, so as to get them distributed to hon. Members on the first day of the Session; but he had observed, both in conversations he had had with hon. Members in that House and in the public prints, that the amount of expectation which had been excited by the despatch which had not appeared had, in a most unfortunate manner, diverted attention from the opinions and recommendations contained in the other despatches; therefore, he could assure his right hon. Friend that when he had said he hoped he (Mr. Bourke) had turned his attention to those two despatches, he had said it in no flippant or un-Parliamentary spirit, but in all sober seriousness. Those two despatches were of great importance; and if hon. Members wished to make themselves familiar with all the points which were mentioned in the third despatch, and which in that despatch were treated in great detail, they should study the documents to which he had drawn attention. There were other despatches also in the Blue Book—"Egyptian Re-organization"—which had been presented on the 16th February. To-day was the 1st of March, the Papers were presented on the 16th February, so that the House would see that a very long period had not elapsed. He was doing everything he could to push on the printing, and he thought that when hon. Members realized that he had presented since the House met a second set of Papers in regard to the employment of Europeans in the service of the Egyptian Government, the whole of the Papers relating to the claims, and a tolerably bulky volume concerning the trial of Arabi Pasha and the general affairs of Egypt, they would see there was little cause to complain of the activity of the Foreign Office on the subject of printing and presenting Papers — more especially when he informed the House that there were at that moment a great number of other Papers which had to be prepared, several of which he hoped very shortly to be able to present to the House. They were concerned in the Foreign Office at the present moment with the negotiations which were going on on the subject of the Danube. These matters were straining their resources very much at that time. He had gone thus fully into these questions, because he did not wish the House to suppose that he was so foolish as to herald his accession to Office by an attempt to keep back information from the House. He had only one wish as to Lord Dufferin's despatch and the Egyptian Papers generally—namely, that the House should become familiar with them as soon as possible, and that there should be full, fair, and free discussion upon them. He felt certain that whenever these questions were gone into, and whenever—which he hoped to do shortly—he was able to present Lord Dufferin's despatch, it would be shown that whatever fears had existed were, as he had said the other evening, fears that had not been justified by results, that the Government had done their best to steer between the Scylla of annexation in Egypt and the Charybdis of leaving the country to anarchy, and that they were leaving to Egypt the inestimable advantages of a considerable measure of Constitutional and political freedom.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, that, after what had fallen from the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), he desired to say a few words. In the first place, he was glad to think there would remain no feeling of unpleasantness between the noble Lord and his right hon. Friend (Mr. Bourke) in regard to any expression which might have been used at the beginning of the evening. His own impression had been that the noble Lord, on being put through his catechism, had slipped into his collect. But he would wish to impress on the noble Lord that that question of the settlement of the organization of Egypt was one which seemed to him of the greatest delicacy, and certainly of the utmost importance. It was of the greatest importance that the House should be put in possession as early as possible of the information at the command of Her Majesty's Government, and of the views formed by them. The Opposition had been told last year, with reference to this and other questions, that they had allowed matters to go too far without interposing or expressing any opinion upon them; and that, in consequence, the Government had been left without guidance by the expression of opinion of the House. Now, they were anxious to avoid that fault. They were anxious, as soon as possible, to be put in possession of the views of such a remarkable Representative in such a remarkable position as Lord Dufferin. The despatches of November 19th were not long, and, though they were extremely interesting, they did not take long to master. They were of a very important character, it was true; but they made them hunger for more. They were told that the other despatch was a full one, enlarging the views contained in the first two, and giving information on which those views rested; and the Opposition were anxious, and naturally and properly so, to see the despatch as soon as it could be given. He (Sir Stafford Northcote) would not dispute the noble Lord's statement that it might have been very proper to send the despatch to Lord Dufferin to have it revised before being finally printed; but he would ask whether proper instructions had been given to Lord Dufferin, and steps taken to get his assent to the publication as quickly as possible? Had the telegraph been put in force, or would it be?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes; every effort has been made to obtain Lord Dufferin's assent to the publication of the despatch. I believe he has been telegraphed to on the subject. If, to-morrow, I find that he has not, I pledge myself to communicate with him at once.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, that was quite satisfactory so far; but he would urge the Government not to neglect the matter. He felt with the noble Lord that at that hour it was too late to enter into anything like a full discussion of this large question, even if they had before them the despatch to which so much reference had been made. He did not think—and his right hon. Friend (Mr. Bourke) would agree with him—that this was an occasion for raising the whole of this question, and probably it might have been avoided. He would not now say anything more than that he did earnestly trust that the Government, having taken the very important steps they had taken, and acquired the very important position they had acquired in Egypt, and having incurred the great responsibilities they had incurred, would not allow themselves to lose the advantages of their position, or allow those advantages to be frittered away and lost by any unfortunate or careless dealing with them. He only hoped that they might soon have full information, and that after they got it they might on some future occasion be enabled to discuss the matter as it deserved to be discussed.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he wished to point out that really this question of presenting Papers was assuming a very serious aspect, because the Government were trying to wriggle out of the presentation of them as much as they could. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had promised certain Papers about India; but that night they were told that the noble Marquess had changed his mind. They had also been promised Papers about the Cuban refugees; but they were told that the consent of the Spanish Government had not yet been received. They could not have Lord Dufferin's despatches, because that noble Lord had to approve of them, and now they were told that they could not have Papers relating to the Cuban refugees until the consent of the Spanish Government had been obtained. [Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice: I stated that they were to be given.] The promise was made quite regardless of the Spanish Government. The Papers had not been presented, although they had been promised now for a long time. There was a general impression abroad that Lord Dufferin's despatch was withheld until the Prime Minister came to terms with the French Government at Paris. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but they had seen to-day that the Prime Minister was colloguing with the French Government, and if the right hon. Gentleman's opinions differed from Lord Dufferin's, it was probable that the noble Lord's despatch would be very much altered before the House saw it. He trusted that the Papers relating to the Government of Egypt and the evacuation of that country would soon be presented. He would now ask a question in regard to General Maceo, who had been delivered up to the Spanish authorities by the Gibraltar authorities under very doubtful circumstances, and in consequence of which some unfortunate official in Gibraltar had been dismissed. His own belief was that the surrender of these refugees at Gibraltar to Spain was in consequence of some former policy of Earl Granville as to Cuban refugees in the Bahamas. He was not going fully into the question; but he saw from a Report on the matter that the surrender of the Cuban refugees was not owing entirely to the misconduct of the Gibraltar authorities, but to misrepresentations on the part of the Spanish Consul. Had this been brought before the Spanish Government? General Maceo had been turned out of Gibraltar with his wife and other refugees in a most brutal manner. They had been surrendered by the Gibraltar authorites; and, so far as we were concerned, Her Majesty's Government were making representations to the Government of Spain with a view to obtaining their release; but, in the meantime, the Government of Spain, instead of taking the least notice of our representations, were treating them in a most rigorous and harsh manner. A letter had been written by the wife of General Maceo to a person in Gibraltar, in which she stated that her husband was still in prison at the signal station, kept in solitary confinement, without a soul to attend to him should he be taken ill at night. It was plain that the Spanish Government were not paying the slightest attention or regard to the representations of Her Majesty's Government, and if this were a solitary instance he should not have complained; but on every possible occasion—in their harbours amongst the British shipping especially—the Spaniards were showing the greatest ill-will to this country. In Cuba, and in every part where English merchants and English shipping came into contact with Spanish authorities and merchants, they were subjected to the most unjust treatment. He, therefore, asked the noble Lord whether the harsh treatment to which General Maceo was being subjected was to be allowed to continue in face of the representations Her Majesty's Government were making, or whether they would take steps to obtain redress for the great outrage which had occurred in the surrender of refugees upon the misrepresentations of the Spanish Consul, or, at any rate, to see that these people were treated in a manner more consistent with humanity than was at present the case?

Mr. MACFARLANE said, that, considering the hour of the night and the length to which these discussions had been carried, he would not detain the House with the Motion of which he had given Notice. The time of the House had been so much taken up with *post-mortem* examinations that there was really no time to consider the affairs of the living. He would take the earliest opportunity that offered to bring forward the matter.

Mr. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he wished to refer, in a few sentences, to a paragraph in Her Majesty's most gracious Speech, which was of special interest to those whom he represented in that House—he alluded to that paragraph in which there was the promise of a Bill to deal with the Universities of Scotland. Legislation on that subject had been anxiously expected for some time past. A Royal Commission had reported on the Universities five years ago; and in their Report they recommended certain changes for which legislation was required, and pointed out several defects in the Universities which could only be satisfactorily supplied by the action of Parliament. It had been hoped that the Report of the Commissioners would have shortly been followed by a Bill on the part of the Government. He would not say there were not sufficient reasons for the delay which had occurred. There had been, no doubt, the pressure of other Business; and it was, besides, natural to suppose that some time was necessary for the purpose of ascertaining how far the recommendations of the Commissioners met generally with the approval of the Universities and of the public; but he thought he was right in saying that it was the general impression that the main cause of the delay which had arisen was due to the fact that legislation on the subject would imply a certain draft on the public Exchequer, and there had been other claims upon the public funds which had interfered with the claims of the Universities

He hoped, however, that the promise they had now received on the subject might be taken to mean that Her Majesty's Government saw their way to propose for the Scotch Universities such substantial assistance as the Commissioners had recommended. It was with regret, however, that he had gathered from the remarks of the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan), in the course of his speech in seconding the Address to Her Majesty, that the Government intended to deal with the matter by the employment of an Executive Commission. When a similar intention was announced last Session by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate, he (Mr. Campbell) felt it his duty to give Notice of his intention to move an Amendment to the effect that in order to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners it was neither necessary nor expedient to employ an Executive Commission. He would not, in view of the fact that an opportunity would be presented for the expression of his views on this point when the Bill came before the House, detain the House any longer on that occasion by further reference to the subject. At the same time, the exception he was inclined to take to the proposal of the Government on that particular point did not preclude him from being grateful to them for the promise to bring the claims of the Scotch Universities before the House during the present Session; and, therefore, as the Representative of two of the Universities, he begged to thank Her Majesty's Government for the intimation they had given.

Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he wished to take the present opportunity of entering a protest against the publication in the Press of the despatch of Lord Dufferin, as well as other documents of importance, before they were laid upon the Table of the House. It was then about a month since he had read in the public newspapers the gist of Lord Dufferin's despatch, and he certainly thought there ought to be some means of keeping despatches from the public. They had heard from the noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) that the despatch had not been communicated to the Press by the Foreign Office, and the only conclusion they could arrive at in consequence was that it had been communicated from Lord Dufferin. What was the intention in so doing he had no wish to suppose. But he regarded it as a most inconvenient course that the despatch should not be in the hands of hon. Members, although its substance was to be read in the newspapers before they had any real information as to what the despatch contained. It was only the other day that the provisions of the Bill relating to the municipal government of London was published in a similar manner; while it was well known that other important Papers had been produced in the Press before hon. Members had an opportunity of seeing them. Under the circumstances, and in view of the fact that two or three years ago protests had been made against this practice, he thought that they were entitled to some security that important public documents should not be produced in an unofficial manner.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he desired to make a final appeal to the noble Marquess the late Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Hartington). He had never pressed for any Papers which it might be considered detrimental to the Public Service to produce; but he believed that, in the present instance, hon. Members on both sides of the House would agree that he had an exceedingly strong case. The employment of the Indian Contingent in Egypt was a subject in which he was taking a great deal of interest; and he had, on several occasions, addressed Questions to the noble Marquess with regard to the payment of the Indian troops during their employment in that country. On the 31st of July last, the noble Marquess stated that he had received a telegram from the Government of India, and that a reply had been sent; and he added, at the same time, that he should not be dealing frankly with the House if he did not state that the Indian Government had informed him that they objected to India bearing the cost of the Contingent, and that they were sending home a despatch. He waited until the 26th of October, and then put to the noble Marquess another Question on the same subject. On every occasion the noble Marquess had stated, in the most explicit manner, that Papers would be introduced; and his reply at that time was that Papers would certainly be presented, but as the Correspondence with the Indian Government with regard to the employment of the Indian Contingent was at the moment incomplete, he did not think it necessary then to produce them. He (Mr. Onslow) agreed that if the Papers were incomplete it was not desirable to produce them, and he said he had no wish to have them in an imperfect state. Afterwards, in reply to another Question, the noble Marquess said the Papers would be given to the House as fully as possible; that they would give the House as full an idea as possible of what had taken place. Again, on a subsequent occasion, he (Mr. Onslow) had addressed a Question to the Prime Minister, with regard to the payment by India of these Indian troops, and the right hon. Gentleman had given the same explanation as the noble Marquess, and also furnished an estimate. He then asked the right hon. Gentleman a further Question, with reference to the production of the Papers, to which he replied that the Question was one which the noble Marquess alone could answer. The noble Marquess having given the answers he (Mr. Onslow) had just cited the Question was not then pressed, he therefore thought he had a strong case for the consideration of the noble Marquess on account of pledges given, not to himself privately, but in the face of the House, that these Papers would be prodcued. Since he had held a seat in that House, he had never known of a responsible Minister of the Crown, who, after he had more than once officially stated that certain Papers would be produced, coming down at the eleventh hour, before a Vote with which they were connected was to be proposed, and telling the House that they would not be produced. He could only say that in the minds of many hon. Members there existed a feeling that something had been taking place all along, the exact nature of which the Government did not like to state. It was monstrous that a responsible Minister of the Crown should now refuse to give the Papers which he had over and over again said he would lay upon the Table of the House. He trusted the noble Marquess would reconsider the matter, of which, in the event of the Papers not being produced, he (Mr. Onslow) could assure him that he had not heard the last.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would reply to the questions put by the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), as his noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was debarred from speaking again. With regard to those questions the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had given Notice of his intention to bring the matter before the House, and upon that occasion it would be fully discussed. The Foreign Office would, in the meantime, wish to give him any information which they possessed with regard to the maltreatment of the prisoners. With regard to what fell from the hon. Member for Wareham (Mr. Guest), concerning the publication in newspapers of official documents, that matter had engaged the attention not only of the present Government, but their Predecessors. But the two examples produced by his hon. Friend were not striking illustrations of the practice of which he had complained in general terms. The account of the Government of London Bill, to which reference had been made, was, to his (Sir Charles W. Dilke's) knowledge, inaccurate in large and important particulars, as the House would see when the measure came before them. Again, with regard to the despatch of Lord Dufferin, the analysis which appeared in the newspapers occupied but one half-column, whereas the document itself was of great length, and extended to 278 closely written pages of manuscript, or about 50 pages of print. The publication, however, undoubtedly showed that the person by whom the analysis was written had received some idea of what was in the despatch. The matter had been the subject of inquiry, and it was thought possible that some of the contents of the despatch, although only a small portion of its essence, got out in conversation at Cairo, as would be seen from the brevity of the published analysis, as compared with the extraordinary length of the document. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow), he might say that having given Notice of a Motion for Papers the hon. Member would have an opportunity of repeating the arguments he had made use of that evening.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Address to be presented by Privy Councillors.

MOTIONS.

SUPPLY.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will, To-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

PARLIAMENT—RESIGNATION OF THE RIGHT HON. LYON PLAYFAIR.

STATEMENT.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR: Sir, the indifferent state of my health for the last few months obliges me to resign the Office which I have the honour to hold as Chairman of Ways and Means. I am sure the House will allow me to take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of gratitude for the support I have received, not only from the House, but also from you, Sir, in the discharge of my duties. Those duties for the last two years have been very onerous, and sometimes difficult; and feeling, as I do, deeply my own imperfections in the discharge of my duties, I am the more grateful for the indulgence and support which I received from both sides of the House. I may also express my heartfelt thanks to those private Members who have given me so much valuable aid in discharging those duties devolving upon me in the Court of *Locus Standi*, and in the Committee on Private Bills. Without that aid, it would have been perfectly impossible for the Chairman of Ways and Means to exercise that supervision over Private Bill legislation which the House imposes upon him. It often happens that Public Bills of a contentious character require much amendment; so that the whole time of the Chairman is taken up in the consideration of those Amendments, in order to bring the Bill into a proper state for the consideration of the Committee; and without such aid as I have referred to from private Members, it would be inevitable that he should neglect some part of those duties. But he has another inestimable advantage, and that is the constant and able co-operation of the experienced Officers of the House. I am sure the House will allow me to express, for the last time I can address the House in this Office, my sincere thanks for the generous and extensive support I have received in the discharge of my duties. I beg, Sir, to place my resignation in the hands of the House.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I am sure that the House will agree with me in expressing our sense of great regret at the decision which my right hon. Friend has just announced. On several occasions during the last few years it has been pointed out to the House how greatly has the importance and responsibility of the duties of the Chairman of Ways and Means of late increased; and not only is that so, but the onerous character of the Office, and the tax which it imposes upon the Gentleman who fills it, have increased also. Certainly, the period during which my right hon. Friend has performed the duties of the Office has been one in which its difficulties and labours have been greater and far heavier than in any previous Sessions. My right hon. Friend has had to preside over the deliberations of the Committee of the Whole House in the consideration of measures at once of great intricacy, and which it was thought desirable to consider in very great detail; and some of those measures, during the discussion of which in Committee it has been the lot of the right hon. Gentleman to preside, have been such as to cause very considerable excitement and strong differences of opinion. I would not desire, on the present occasion, to hint at any of the causes which have made the tenure of Office by my right hon. Friend more difficult and arduous than in the case of his Predecessors. Under the circumstances which my right hon. Friend had to deal with, I believe it would have been impossible that any man should have performed the duties of the Office without having occasionally given rise to cavil and animadversion; but I am sure we shall all feel that during his tenure of Office, whether we have had any difference with him on a particular occasion or not, my right hon. Friend has endeavoured to discharge, and has, on the whole, succeeded in discharging, his most difficult duties with great impartiality, and with an earnest desire to promote the dignity of our proceedings in Committee. On the part of the House, I feel, therefore, entitled to convey to my right hon. Friend our sense of regret at his resignation, and our thanks for the assistance rendered us during so many years.

Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he ventured to say, on the part of his right hon. and hon. Friends near him, that they entirely reciprocated the observations that had fallen from the noble Marquess and from the right hon. Gentleman the late Chairman of Ways and Means. Nobody could have watched the career of the right hon. Gentleman, without feeling that he had taken great pains in the extremely difficult position in which he was placed, and that he not only desired and endeavoured to do his duty, but succeeded in carrying that desire into effect. Moreover, his labours in his private room had been of the greatest advantage to all who stood in need of his advice and assistance. He was quite sure that the Leader of the Opposition would have been present had he known that this incident was about to take place.

Mr. H. S. NORTHCOTE said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) was not aware that this announcement would be made that night, or he would have been in his place. The right hon. Gentleman had told him, in private conversation, that he was most anxious to be present when the announcement was made, in order that he might bear his testimony of respect to the right hon. Gentleman the late Chairman of Ways and Means (Mr. Lyon Playfair).

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that during the discussion on the Procedure Resolutions, a general opinion was expressed in the House, and assented to, he thought, by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, that the appointment of the Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means should be made in a somewhat more formal manner, and with the general knowledge and assent of the House. He did not think it was necessary that they should create any new precedent in the matter. It was desirable to follow, as far as possible, the Forms of the House, and therefore he did not propose that the House should take any new course in the matter. He wished, in order that the appointment of the Successor of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Lyon Playfair) might be made with the full knowledge of the House, to give Notice that to-morrow, on the Motion to go into Supply, he would move that Sir Arthur Otway take the Chair.

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolved, That this House will, *To-morrow,* resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Ordered, That the several Estimates presented to this House during the present Session be referred to the Committee of Supply.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolved, That this House will, *To-morrow,* resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS (HOUSE OF COMMONS).

Ordered, That Mr. Guest and Sir Henry Wolff be discharged from further attendance on the said Committee:—*Ordered,* That Mr. Armitstead and Mr. Thornhill be added to the Committee.—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 2nd March, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Sat First in Parliament—The Lord Minster (the Marquess of Conyngham), after the death of his father.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after *Thursday* the 21*st day of June* next:

That no Bill originating in this House authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Land Commissioners for England, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a first time after *Thursday* the 12*th day of April* next:

That no Bill originating in this House confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a first time after *Thursday* the 12*th day of April* next:

That no Bill brought from the House of Commons authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Land Commissioners for England, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a second time after *Tuesday* the 26*th day of June* next:

That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a second time after *Tuesday* the 26*th day of June* next:

That when a Bill shall have passed this House with amendments these orders shall not apply to any new Bill sent up from the House of Commons which the Chairman of Committees shall report to the House is substantially the same as the Bill so amended:

Ordered, That the said orders be *printed* and *published*, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall. (No. 11.)

PARLIAMENT—THE ADJOURNMENT FOR THE EASTER RECESS.

QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF **SALISBURY** said, he wished to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what arrangements the Government proposed to make with regard to the Easter Recess?

EARL **GRANVILLE** was understood to say that it was rather early to make the usual announcement, and perhaps the noble Marquess would give Notice of his Question a little later in the Session. He had no doubt, however, the noble Marquess would reciprocate his wish that the Easter holidays should be as long as possible.

EGYPTIAN AFFAIRS—THE EARL OF DUFFERIN'S DESPATCH.

QUESTION.

LORD **LAWRENCE** wished for information as to when Lord Dufferin's despatch on Egyptian affairs would be presented?

EARL **GRANVILLE**: My Lords, in answer to the Question of the noble Lord, I have to state that some days ago a Report was received by me from Lord Dufferin. It is a very able despatch, and necessarily very long, on account of the important questions with which it deals. It contains numerous references to documents, and, I think, amounts altogether to 280 pages of manuscript. It is not, however, a description of accomplished facts, but is a despatch in answer to instructions by the Government, desiring Lord Dufferin to report upon many important points in connection with Egyptian administration. It would have been contrary to usage to present such a despatch to Parliament before it had been considered by Her Majesty's Government. At the same time that I received the despatch, I received a private note from Lord Dufferin, in which he says that he had been very pressed for time at the last moment, and was sure that the despatch would require revision, not as regarded the proposals, but with respect to the language. I therefore had the document printed and then returned to Lord Dufferin, but without making any suggestions as to any corrections to be made in it. I have telegraphed to Lord Dufferin to return it without unnecessary delay, and I shall then be in a position to lay it on the Table of the House.

House adjourned at half past
Four o'clock, to Monday
next, a quarter before
Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 2nd March, 1883.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION (Grant in Aid), 1882-3; ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE), 1882-3.

PUBLIC BILL—*Committee*—*Report*—Consolidated Fund, &c. (Permanent Charges of Redemption) Act (1873) Amendment* [107].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

BARRY DOCK AND RAILWAYS BILL (*by Order*).

VISCOUNT **FOLKESTONE** stated, that the hon. Member for Cardigan (Mr. D. Davies) had informed him, on behalf of the promoters of this Bill, that they were prepared to eliminate the objectionable clauses with regard to artificial manures and guano, and to relegate them to the same category as ordinary manure, imposing a uniform charge of 1½*d.* a-ton. He begged, therefore, to give Notice that he should withdraw his opposition to the second reading.

NOTICE.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION—PAYMENT OF INDIAN TROOPS IN EGYPT.

Mr. ONSLOW gave Notice that on Monday he should ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he would agree to the production of the Papers relating to the payment of the Indian troops lately employed by the Government in Egypt, considering that the Secretary of State for War had, on more than one occasion, promised to produce them?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Perhaps I may be allowed, with reference to the Notice of the hon. Member, to say that since last night I have had an opportunity of further consultation with my Colleagues, and also of referring more in detail to the answer which I gave last year; and I have come to the conclusion that, although I think there would be some inconvenience in the publication of those Papers in India, yet, having regard to the nature of the replies which I gave last Session, I cannot refuse to give the Papers. The only objection which I feel to announcing this course is caused by the somewhat un-Parliamentary threat which the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) made yesterday evening; but I think, if the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) was in his place, he would confirm me in saying that at an early period of the evening I had consulted with him as to the opinion which is entertained by him and his Friends, and that opinion has had some influence in determining the course which I have decided to take.

Mr. ONSLOW: After the remarks of the noble Marquess, I may say that I had no idea he had been in communication with my hon. Friend. As to the threat I held out, I did not think it was un-Parliamentary. It was to this effect —that the noble Marquess would hear more of it. If that is an un-Parliamentary expression, of course, I beg most humbly to withdraw it. The noble Marquess has heard a little more of it, and I am glad he has arrived at this conclusion. Under the circumstances, I shall not ask the Question of which I have given Notice.

QUESTIONS.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—BOARD SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been called to a case recently before the Guildford County Magistrates, in which a labourer named Bulchin was prosecuted for neglecting to send to school his daughter (described as an exceptionally neat and cleanly girl of six years of age), and in which it appeared that he had sent her, but that she was not allowed to attend because she had a small ornamental flounce or fringe to her frock to which the manager of the school objected; whether the accused was ordered by the Court to either remove the flounce or send his child to another school; and, whether it is true, as stated, that the Education Department had been appealed to, but replied that it had no power to interfere; and, if so, whether, while amending, as he proposes, the Scotch Education Act, he will endeavour to obtain powers to prevent the waste of State grants on schools regulated in such a way as to offer unnecessary impediments to public education?

Mr. MUNDELLA: My attention had not been called to the case in question until the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow placed his Notice on the Paper. The rule of the Department is not to interfere with regulations which the managers deem necessary to secure the discipline of the school. If these regulations were harsh and unreasonable, and imposed obstacles to school attendance, we should require their abandonment on pain of forfeiture of annual grant. In this instance, judging from the reports in the papers and the decision of the magistrates, the managers have pushed their requirements beyond reasonable limits. I think it is much wiser to trust to the influence of the teacher to secure neatness and plainness in dress than to set up arbitrary regulations on the subject. The exclusion of the child from the school, and the subsequent prosecution, were, in my opinion, a mistake; and I have caused the managers to be so informed.

EXCISE DEPARTMENT — RETIREMENT OF OFFICERS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is a fact that 108 officers of the Excise are men of over forty years' service, and that, before the close of the year, the number will have reached close upon 200; whether any representations have been made to him respecting the inefficiency from old age of many of these officers, who are supervisors and collectors, whereby the public service suffers; and, whether he proposes to take any steps for the retirement of these officers?

Mr. COURTNEY (for the Chancellor of the Exchequer): Out of a total of 4,400, there are at present 115 Excise officers who have served for 40 years and upwards; but it is most improbable that this number will be increased to anything like the extent anticipated in the Question. No representations have reached my right hon. Friend or the Treasury as to the inefficiency of any of these officers. Under these circumstances, there appears to be no reason for interfering with the discretion of the Board of Inland Revenue in the matter of retirements.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—STONEYFORD PETTY SESSIONS—CASE OF JAMES WALSH.

Mr. MARUM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a certain order made at the petty sessions held at Stoneyford, in the county of Kilkenny, upon the 8th day of February 1883, in a case, at the suit of the Board of Guardians of the Union of Thomastown, against James Walsh, of Ballinamona, requiring him to repair the roofs of certain houses in the occupation of one Catherine Mylett and Patrick Sheelan, and wherein the presiding magistrates framed the order so as to be conditional upon the payment of certain arrears of rent due by these occupying tenants, and the lodgment of the same with the clerk of the petty sessions; and, whether there is any objection to the production of such order?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have received a communication from the clerk of petty sessions at Stoneyford, which shows that no such order as the hon. Gentleman mentions has been made in this case. As a matter of fact, no order whatever has been made, as the case stands adjourned for further hearing.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—SALARIES OF NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

Mr. MARUM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the action of the Commissioners of National Education of Ireland in disallowing portions of salaries of National teachers, owing to any temporary decline in the average attendances of schools caused by a prevalence of epidemics, whereby the teacher of the Smithstown National School at Castlecomer was mulcted recently in a loss of three pounds, in consequence of an outbreak of scarlatina in the locality?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am glad to be able to inform the hon. Member that the Commissioners of National Education are not in the habit of making deductions from the salaries of National teachers owing to any temporary decline of attendance of scholars caused by the prevalence of epidemics. In the case of the Smithstown School, the Commissioners inform me that the full salary would have been paid if the manager had made any representation that an epidemic prevailed.

SPAIN—INTERNATIONAL LAW—SURRENDER OF CUBAN REFUGEES.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether at any period since 1868 application has been made by the Government of Cuba to the Government of the Bahamas for the surrender of political refugees from Cuba who had sought asylum in the Bahamas; and, whether at any time during that period any Cuban refugees residing in the Bahamas were forcibly taken away from those islands by a vessel belonging to or chartered by the Cuban Government; and, if so, whether any representation was made on the subject to the Government of Spain?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: In August, 1869, application was made by the Spanish Consul at Nassau to the Governor of the Bahamas for the arrest and detention of five Cubans who had landed there. This application was refused by the Governor. In April, 1870, the Governor refused to surrender two deserters from a Spanish ship of war. These are the two sole cases at all resembling applications such as those mentioned in the Question. There is no record in the Colonial Office of any such occurrence as that mentioned in the latter part of the Question.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: May I ask whether the Governor was not reprimanded either by Earl Granville or the Earl of Kimberley for having refused to surrender?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I do not think so. There is no record of it; but if the hon. Gentleman will repeat the Question I will answer it.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—APPEALS AT ENNISKILLEN.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the case that the Assizes for the county Leitrim commence on the 5th instant; whether the Chief Land Commissioners have fixed the same and following days for hearing appeals in county Letrim land cases at Enniskillen; and, whether, in view of the impossibility of persons interested in appeal cases, and who are obliged to attend the Assizes in various capacities, being also able to attend at Enniskillen, he will represent to the Land Commissioners the propriety of postponing to a later date cases from the county Leitrim?

MR. TREVELYAN: I believe the Assizes for the county of Leitrim are appointed to commence on the date mentioned. I communicated with the Land Commissioners on this subject, and have received, in reply, the following telegram:—The Land Commissioners arranged long since to sit at Enniskillen on the 5th instant, to hear appeals from Fermanagh and Monaghan, and from portions of Leitrim, Cavan, and Donegal. They intend to sit at Enniskillen from the 5th to the 8th, and then adjourn on account of the Assizes till the 12th. The Fermanagh cases will be taken first when the sitting commences on the 5th instant, and it is possible the Leitrim cases may not be reached before the adjournment on the 8th—by which time it is presumed the Assizes for that county will have concluded.

NAVY—H.M.S. "NEPTUNE."

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he has read a Report, in the ordinary sources of information, of the serious injuries which are said to have occurred to H.M.S. "Neptune," and requested him to state accurately what is the real amount of damage which that ship has sustained?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; I have seen the Report to which the right hon. and gallant Admiral refers, and it contains a great exaggeration of the facts regarding the *Neptune*. The practical officers, who have examined the ship in dock, report that some defective arrangements and workmanship exist in the fastening of the wooden sheathing with which the hull is cased. These defects will, at no very distant period, require remedy; but any evil that exists does not extend to, or in any way affect, the iron hull itself, and the ship is quite in a condition to proceed to sea, and join the Channel Squadron as intended.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—HYDE PARK.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT asked the First Commissioner of Works, Why the brick arching of the new reservoir in Hyde Park has not been kept below the ground level?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The reservoir which supplies some of the Public Offices with water is there, and every foot gained in height is of very great importance for the safety of those buildings. The ground, however, will be made to slope gradually towards it, and I think the reservoir will then be quite invisible.

SUEZ CANAL REPORT, No. 41.

MR. ANDERSON asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to contradictory Tables in the Suez Canal Report, No. 41; if he has observed that the French Table (D. VII.) shows the trade of France with China to have been in some years from two to ten times greater than the Chinese Table (D. V.) states China to have had with all the continental Countries of Europe put together; and, if he can say which Table is correct?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, his attention had been called to these

Tables. He did not think that they were necessarily contradictory; but they, no doubt, required some explanation to make them intelligible. The Tables (D. VII.) were from French Official Returns, and the Tables (D. V.) were from the Returns of the Chinese Imperial Manager of Customs; and he thought that these were Tables referring only to the exports from Treaty ports, and that, probably, they excluded from consideration all the exports from Hong Kong and Macao, and some other ports, and that in that way the discrepancy might be accounted for.

BOARD OF TRADE — THE TRINITY HOUSE — COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LIGHTHOUSES AND THE SHORE.

MR. VIVIAN asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether there is any immediate prospect of the Trinity Board taking into their favourable consideration the question of establishing communication between out-lying lighthouses and the shore by means of electric cables, which was first brought under their notice in 1875?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have made inquiries, and I find that this subject has received for a long while the careful attention both of the authorities of the Trinity Board and the Board of Trade. For myself, I am not quite certain that the result to be attained by such a communication as proposed would justify the very large expenditure which would be incurred; but, at the same time, we have been anxious that the experiment should be made; and, accordingly, as I learned some time ago that the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company were willing to try the experiment for 12 months, at their own risk and cost, I sanctioned the experiment, with the proviso that, if it were successful, the Trinity House were to purchase the cables and apparatus for the sum of £3,730; but I thought it necessary that the determination of the question, whether the experiments were successful or not, should be left to Sir James Douglas, the engineer of the Trinity House Corporation, and I find that the Telegraph Company have objected to that condition, so that for the moment the negotiations have been suspended. I hope, however, it will still be practicable to make some arrangement by which the experiment will be tried.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES—MR. PLAYFAIR.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the indulgence of the House for one moment, while I take this opportunity of expressing my very great regret that I had, through inadvertence, left the House this morning before the announcement was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews of his intention to resign the Chair of the Committee of Ways and Means. I extremely regret to have missed the proper opportunity of expressing, on behalf of myself and many Friends, the feelings of regret with which they heard the cause which has led the right hon. Gentleman to retire, and, at the same time, to express our sense of the great labour which he has undergone during the time he was in the Chair. It is an office which we all know taxes very severely the powers of everyone who undertakes it; and certainly the time during which the right hon. Gentleman—whom I have known in various capacities for many years—has held that office, has been one of no insignificant severity. I hope we shall for many years have the advantage of the assistance of his services in the conduct of other Business in this House, of which he has been a most valuable Member.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I should be glad now if Government would tell us what the arrangement of Public Business will be to-night, and what will be the course of Business on Monday, especially with regard to the Egyptian Estimates? I see the Parliamentary Oaths Bill stands for second reading then. I presume it will not be taken; but I am anxious to know authoritatively?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I hope the House will be willing to go into Committee of Supply, or, at all events, to commence the consideration of the Estimates at any hour up to 12 o'clock to-night. The Business on Monday will be Supply. The first Business will be the completion of any Supplementary Estimates not disposed of to-night.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Will any other Estimates be taken then?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): On Monday we could not take any but Supplementary Estimates.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Then it will be distinctly understood that the Parliamentary Oaths Bill will not be taken on Monday?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked whether it was intended to take the Army Estimates during the next week?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I hope, if sufficient progress is made, to take them on Thursday next.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if it would be regular under the New Rules of Procedure, when the Supplementary Estimates were taken on Monday, for an hon. Member to make a Motion on first taking each of the three classes of Estimates—Army, Navy, and Civil Service?

MR. SPEAKER: The New Rule provides that the Speaker should leave the Chair on Mondays and Thursdays without Question put, except on first going into Committee of Supply upon the Army, Navy, and Civil Service Estimates.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if the Rule in regard to first going into Supply would apply to the Supplementary Estimates, and justify an hon. Member in making a Motion on each class of Estimates?

MR. SPEAKER: If Supplementary Estimates are proposed on Monday as the first Order of the Day, it will be my duty, as soon as the Order for going into Supply is read, to leave the Chair.

THIS HOUSE—TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION WITH THE EXCHANGE.

MR. RITCHIE asked the First Commissioner of Works, When, according to his promise, he would place the House in telephonic communication with the Exchange?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I hope before long it will be done.

MR. RITCHIE: How long? Any mercantile house in the City can have it in 24 hours.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I hope it will be done in a few days.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

COMPULSORY EDUCATION (IRELAND).

RESOLUTION.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY, in rising to move—

> "That it is expedient to introduce into Ireland the principle of Compulsory Education, with such modifications as the social and religious conditions of the Country require,"

said, he did not think that primary education would ever enable the Irish people to deal with great political questions. It was quite true that a little learning was a dangerous thing; but he thought that a mass of ignorance was a far greater evil. There was very little crime of the ordinary character in Ireland, and the little crime that did take place there was the result of drink. He thought that primary education was a powerful instrument for good; and if, as he believed, education would make the Irish people more sober, then there were good reasons for considering it. It was not necessary to say anything in proof of the assertion that education was necessary to the body of the people. There was at present a movement in favour of technical education; but such teaching would be of little use unless founded upon general education—and this was particularly the case in regard to agriculture, the principal occupation of the Irish people. He did not mean to say that teaching a man to read and write would teach him agriculture; but the general education would assist him in the technical education in agriculture. The great majority of the people were Celts, with all the impulsiveness and impetuosity which belonged to the race. In a primitive community, men of this temperament might be allowed to guide themselves; but in a more complex society, and especially in a country where every man was a politician, they required reason and education to enable the people to act with moderation and prudence. The statement of a few facts was necessary to the discussion of the question of education in Ireland. According to English experience, the school age was between the ages of 5 and 13, and the number of children in Ireland between those ages was 1,100,000; but the children in Ireland went to school at an earlier age, about three or four years of age, and he thought it might be said that the 16th year might be regarded as coming within the school age in Ireland. That would add another 300,000 to the 1,100,000 he had already mentioned, thus bringing up the total to 1,400,000. Deducting from that the children of the middle and upper classes, he estimated that about 1,300,000 children in Ireland were within the range of primary education, to accommodate whom there were 9,100 schools, national and denominational in character. In 1881 there were about 7,615 national schools, and about 1,500 schools unconnected with the State. The national schools at that period had no less than 1,066,000 children on the rolls, and there were at least 100,000 children on the rolls of other schools, making, roughly, a total of 1,150,000. Thus, about 90 per cent of the children who ought to go to school were on the rolls of one school or another; but what they wanted was to make the children who did go to school put in a sufficient number of attendances. The National Board gave some statistics it was worth considering. In the first place, they gave the number who attended on any one day during the last 14 days of the year, and that number was 674,200. That number would contain every child who had any chance of gaining results, and it was also pretty certain it would contain a large number who came there casually. The average daily attendance was given at 453,000. He found a few figures in the Census Papers of 1881, which threw a very clear light on that important question. It might be taken for granted that the attendance at the national schools, which were more largely and regularly attended than the rural schools, was not much higher than the figures he was about to give. Out of the children who attended school 12½ per cent made less than 20 attendances in the year; over 23 per cent made less than 40; 41 per cent under 80; 51 per cent under 100 attendances; and only 49 per cent, just half the number on the roll of the schools, made 100 attendances and upwards. There were many reasons why good attendance at the schools in Ireland was desirable. A good many of the children were taken early from school to discharge domestic duties and to work on farms, and unless they attended school with regularity they never learned anything. A large number of children went late to school, and if children were absent for an interval of a week or a month, they naturally forgot all they had previously learned; and it was therefore for the purpose of increasing and regularizing the attendance that they wanted compulsion in Ireland; and he submitted that if compulsion was introduced and employed generally and rationally, it would involve no revolutionary change in Ireland. Nearly all the children were upon the roll, and had the idea of school in their minds, and what they wanted to do was to make them attend more frequently. What should be the average attendance? Any proportion of 80 would certainly be inadequate. Experience in this and other countries had pointed to 100 at the lowest, and men of education and experience had fixed on not less than that number as being adequate in Ireland, especially as in the educational status of the country 100 was the minimum which entitled a child to go in for results. He would not, however, ask the House then to fix on any number. He would simply say that the present rate of attendance was insufficient, and should be raised. The degree of illiteracy existing in Ireland was a cardinal test of the necessity of compulsion, and he must explain that what he meant in this instance by illiteracy was being unable either to read or write. In 1841, 53 per cent of the population could not read or write; in 1851, 47 per cent; in 1861, 39 per cent; in 1871, 33 per cent; and in 1881, 25 per cent. The reduction from 53 to 25 per cent looked very large; but the House must recollect that that was over a period of 40 years, a great space of time in the history of a nation in the present day; and, again, in 1841, the population was greatly in excess of what it was now, and there was a greater amount of distress prevailing. Again, that percentage of illiteracy was not universal in Ireland, being much lower in some portions than in others. For instance, in Ulster the percentage was only 20, while in Connaught it was 38, and in this respect Connaught to-day was in the same condition as Ulster 40 years ago, although Connaught had lost a large number of that class of the population among whom ignorance was chiefly found. In 1881, 28½ per cent of children between the ages of 5 and 10 could read and write; 73 per cent between the ages of 10 and 15, and 77 per cent between the ages of 15 and 20. Surely every child between the ages of 5 and 10 should be able to read and write, yet at present only 28 per cent could do so in Ireland; and as to the other figures, it was a serious prospect that 25 per cent of the population should be growing up in almost absolute ignorance. Other countries had determined there should be no residuum of ignorance in their land; they had taken steps to that end, had sacrificed parental authority, and had undergone great expense, and he did not think it would be wise on the part of Ireland to remain behind them on the march. The compulsion he proposed would only involve an expense of £70,000 a-year, which would represent the increased expense of teaching staff consequent upon a moderate system of compulsion. If there was an increased demand for accommodation in denominational schools, he had no doubt that the religious zeal of the community would meet that want to a large extent. He must, however, remind the House that nothing could be done in Ireland to enforce compulsion unless it was consonant to the feelings of the Irish people. He was not deputed to speak on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church, nor was he in any way competent to do so. But he could speak from what he knew of the course which the Catholic Church had taken on the subject of education, and from sympathy with Catholic feeling which, as a member of that Church, he entertained. The national system of education was largely used by the Roman Catholic Church; but it had never been thoroughly accepted as satisfactory in principle. There were some branches of it to which special exception was taken—namely, the model schools and the system of training; and the friends of education in Ireland had heard with pleasure that the question of training would soon be dealt with by the Government. He might, however, state that it was quite possible that the rules of the national schools of Ireland might be so altered under new management as to be highly objectionable to the Roman Catholics, who might, consequently, have great hesitation in sending their children to those schools. Were the compulsory system adopted in Ireland, it would be necessary to provide special exemptions in many cases where parents, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, might object to send their children to the only school in the neighbourhood on the ground of religion, because it was well known that in many instances secular schools became denominational schools. If these special exemptions were not provided for, compulsion would do more harm than good in Ireland. Other exemptions ought to be provided in reference to the condition of the country, because it might so happen that want of food or clothing might prevent parents sending their children to school. He would leave it to persons in the locality to set the law of compulsion in force in gross cases of neglect on the part of the parents, and he thought no proceedings should be allowed to be taken without the permission of the tribunal before whom the case was ultimately to come. With respect to the tribunal, he acknowledged that the magistrates of Ireland were not as popular as the magistrates of England; but in a purely social matter of this kind he believed the magistrates would have regard to the feelings of the people, and would not do anything that would impose hardship upon them. There were many delicate topics connected with the subject, all of which he had endeavoured to avoid. It was always well, in dealing with educational matters, to steer clear of questions which might give rise to conflict. Public opinion had of late years greatly ripened with respect to this question. He believed the course he advocated would succeed, because it was now recognized that the general spirit of education among the people of Ireland was necessary to enable them to enjoy free institutions, to promote their industrial progress, and to enable them to rise and hold that position among civilized peoples worthy of their hopes, their capacities, and the old traditions of their country. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON rose to second the Resolution. He said, that the first real difficulty that would confront the State in any attempt to enforce education unreservedly was the poverty of the Irish people. This consideration doubtless weighed with the Commission of Inquiry of 1870, which reported that it would be inexpedient to pass any law compelling attendance at school in rural districts, and that in towns the application of any such law should be limited to children who were not actually at work. His hon. and learned Friend now recommended the adoption of the principle of compulsory education for rural as well as urban districts, recognizing, however, that there was need for discrimination in certain cases, as where a child was too destitute to appear at school, or where occupation afforded grounds for exemption, or where exemption might be claimed on the ground of the distance of a child's dwelling from a school. With regard to the demand for exemption based on the ground of destitution, he held that the poverty of the West of Ireland must itself prove the *primâ facie* impossibility of any absolute system of compulsion. The average day attendances at the schools in Ireland in 1881 was 465,567, which was a decrease of 14,000 in comparison with 1880. There had been, however, an abnormal increase in 1880, as compared with 1879, of 33,000—an increase which was due to the desire of the children to receive the rations distributed during the period of distress. As to exemption on the ground of distance from school, he believed there were few places in Ireland where there was not a school of some kind or other within two miles. He, therefore, did not anticipate much difficulty in connection with this ground for exemption; but he would, taking into consideration the roughness of the roads, and the fact that the poorer children in Ireland had not shoes, be inclined to as great leniency as the utmost limits of prudence would sanction. The third social exemption which he would make would be that of occupation. It should be remembered that the capital of a cottier was his own industry and that of his family; but he did not believe that children would be debarred on this ground, except on particular occasions such as the hay-making time. There was another element in regard to the question of poverty which should not be lost sight of, and that was the importable character of the food of the poorer classes, such as the pototo or its substitute in some cases of Indian corn. The validity of a claim to exemption ought to be determined by the Resident Magistrates. He was aware that the magistrates were subject at present to considerable popular dislike; but they were a resident body, and in the performance of these duties of a now political character, he could not conceive that they would be likely to act with other than intelligence and impartiality. He now came to the question of exemption on the ground of religion. In 1832 the policy of a denominational system of education was distinctly sanctioned. In that year, a conference was held between Mr. Stanley (then Chief Secretary for Ireland) and the members of the National Board for Education upon the subject of the admissibility of schools into the national system which were conducted by men described as monks. The result was that no objection to assist those schools was made by any members of the Board or the Chief Secretary. Nuns and monks who were teachers received salaries, and schools under such teachers obtained the same assistance on the same terms as other schools. The National Board said—

> "We have assisted in building and repairing their school-houses, and we have given salaries."

Mr. O'Connell, in accepting Mr. Stanley's proposal, observed—

> "Let the Protestants and Presbyterians be educated in Scripture or any other course of study they please. All the Catholics asked was the benefit of education accompanied with their own mode of religious instruction."

It was not from the Catholics as a body that the opposition to the national system came so much as from the Protestants. The Presbyterian Synod would not accept the proposal of the Board to separate the reading of the Bible from ordinary instruction. The Rev. Mr. Rogers, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod in 1837, told the House of Lords Committee that they could not act with the National Board, which maintained the right of separate religious instruction being given to Roman Catholics by ministers of their own persuasion. The same opposition on the part of the Protestant laity was expressed by Mr. Royton, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, in reply to a question addressed to him by the Prime Minister as a Member of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1837. The attitude of the Established Church was no less hostile. Dr. Trench, Archbishop of Tuam, denounced "this effigy of a system of national education as an unclean thing." The Protestant landlords in some cases refused sites for school-houses, held meetings to denounce the system, and exercised such moral pressure as they could to prevent their tenantry from sending their children to the schools. This opposition of the Protestant Party led to two results. In the first place, the Presbyterians and the members of the Church of England set up their own schools, a circumstance which explained to some extent the fact that in 1860 nearly 84 per cent of the children attending national schools were Roman Catholics; and even, in 1881, though there was an improvement, the proportion of Roman Catholics in mixed schools, after making allowance for the far larger proportion of mixed schools under Roman Catholic teachers exclusively, was as 71 to 50. But the second result of the Protestant opposition was a direct concession on the part of the National Board to denominational education, in accepting the principle that religious instruction might be given during any of the school hours, and not requiring managers of non-vested schools to give the use of their school-rooms to clergymen or laymen of other denominations for religious instruction. It seemed to him clear that from the first the peculiar religious condition of Ireland—the political as well as the doctrinal character of the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism—was taken into consideration, and the State was forced into accepting in reality a system of denominational education. There were national convent schools, there were nearly 3,000 national mixed schools under Roman Catholic teachers exclusively, and there were 1,304 under Protestant teachers exclusively, as compared with 85 only under Roman Catholic and Protestant teachers conjointly. In Ireland the attitude of the Roman Catholics towards the national system was one of increasing confidence. In the mixed schools, under Roman Catholic and Protestant teachers, in 1881, the proportion of Roman Catholics to the total mixed attendance was a fraction over one-half. Of the 138 schools added to the list of national schools in 1881, 75 were due to the operation chiefly of the Roman Catholics, and in the year 1881 over 814,000 Roman Catholic children attended national schools out of a total of 1,100,000 of school age—namely, from 5 to 16. He held that it would be most unwise to check this advance among the Roman Catholics—the vast majority of the Irish people—by any Act which would not fully appreciate their religious susceptibilities. He believed there was a desire on the part of some to substitute for the National Board of Commissioners a general Minister of Education for the three countries. That desire shaped itself into a definite proposal when the Duke of Marlborough brought forward a Bill in 1867 to provide for this change. The Commission of 1870 went into the point, and examined Mr. Macdonell, who stated in his evidence that it would be extremely difficult to get any person who would be able to understand so clearly everything connected with Irish education as a Board of Commissioners, representing North and South, town and country, and the different religious denominations. The Commission reported that an unpaid Board representing the different sections of the community ought to be maintained. There were objections to any Government official taking the place of the National Board, or assuming to control them, stronger now than in 1870. In the first place, the system of Irish education if it was to succeed must be plastic, and not controlled by fixed official rules. If controlled by a Government official, there would always be a temptation—which would certainly engender distrust in the Irish mind—to bring the Irish into uniformity with the English system. Another objection was a political one—namely, the odium which any direct interference of Government officialism would create in dealing with so delicate a problem. He was glad that the proposal of his hon. and learned Friend did not involve the imposition of an education rate. The failure of the scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael

Hicks-Beach), when he was in Office, by which the State was to give to successful schoolmasters a grant of two-thirds, the first absolute, the second conditional upon the Unions contributing the remaining third, was due to the practical difficulty of raising local rates, and the money which it was then intended to bestow on education had to be raised in another way. It was very noticeable that the local aid to schools in 1881 had fallen to £9,840, as compared with £27,918 in 1875. Again, the local taxation of Ireland, which was already very oppressive, had increased out of all proportion to the very slight increase in the valuation of property. In 1872 the total local taxation of the country was £2,905,000, and the valuation £13,329,000; in 1876 the taxation was £3,242,000, and the valuation £13,512,000; and in 1880 the taxation was £3,292,000, and the valuation £13,769,000, illustrating that while the local taxation had nearly doubled, the valuation of property had remained nearly stationary. These figures showed that it would be most imprudent to endeavour to raise the additional sum required by means of the local rates. The Motion of his hon. and learned Friend was perhaps open to criticism, on the ground that it had not specified the mode of compulsion more clearly. It appeared to him that his hon. and learned Friend had gone into the mode of compulsion as far as prudence would justify, for the House must bear in mind that, in regard to so delicate a question as that of compulsory education in Ireland, it was necessary to build up public opinion in its favour. Without such an alliance, it could never be carried out, and to obtain its assistance, great circumspection, patience, and avoidance of offence was requisite; but, whatever might be urged in criticism of the proposal of his hon. and learned Friend, it had, at any rate, done good work in showing the necessity of improving the educational condition of the Irish people, and that, he believed, was a task that could be accomplished only by acting in sympathy with the great social and religious peculiarities of the country. He had great pleasure in seconding the Motion.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is expedient to introduce into Ireland the principle of Compulsory Education, with such modifications as the social and religious conditions of the Country require,"—(*Mr. O'Shaughnessy,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, that when the noble Viscount who had just sat down concluded by saying he should second the Motion, he removed a doubt in his mind whether he was not going to oppose it. During a very considerable part of his speech the noble Viscount was like another Balaam; and although it appeared he really came to bless the Resolution, he seemed all the time to be cursing it. The noble Viscount addressed himself rather to the question of denominational education than compulsory education, and spent considerable time in denunciations of Protestant landlords and Roman Catholic clergy. From what had happened in the controversial times long by, he was glad that those controversies had gone by, and glad, too, that the first opportunity of addressing the House of Commons since his last election was from a platform on which he thought all friends of Ireland could meet, and that was, that the education of the children was deserving, at any rate, of consideration and improvement. It was a sad fact that 25 per cent of the rising generation were growing up in ignorance. For his part, he was entirely in favour of some limited degree of compulsion which would oblige children to attend regularly to receive their instruction. He believed that the habit of regularity which would thus be enforced would be almost as valuable to the children as the actual knowledge they would acquire. There was no greater weakness in the character of the Irish peasant than his fatal habit of irregularity. Now, if the children were forced into a school at fixed and stated hours, a habit of regularity would be given to them which would not leave them in after life. Though they might forget their A B C, or their pot-hooks and hangers, the habit of discipline and obedience to orders would remain. For that reason, among many others, he advocated compulsory education to a certain extent. But compulsory education in Ireland must be guarded. In the poorer parts of Ireland the children could not be taken away from their parents at certain times of the year. At the time of setting the potato crop, at the hay harvest, and at corn harvest, the children were necessarily wanted in the fields. But he believed the number of attendances specified by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy)—namely, 100 per annum, were not too many, and would enable the children to assist their parents in all necessary field pursuits. Again, great care was necessary in dealing with the question of religion; but in the present case there need be no real difficulty. Here and there there were districts containing a scattered Protestant population, living at a great distance from schools of their own denomination. But he knew, from his own experience as manager and patron of four national schools, that in such cases the Protestants did not object to their children going to a properly managed Roman Catholic school, in which the rules of the National Board were strictly observed. The same thing could be said of Roman Catholic children attending Protestant schools, and there was nothing which the Inspectors more looked after than that the instructions relating to religious teaching were observed. He had risen merely to give his hearty support to the principle which his hon. and learned Friend had laid down; and he could only express his regret and astonishment that there was not a larger attendance of Irish Members at a discussion which so much affected the welfare of the rising generation.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR: The hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) has been opportune in bringing before the attention of the House the imperative need of carrying to the homes of the Irish population the blessings which arise when education becomes universal among a people. In one respect Ireland has been far ahead of both England and Scotland in the possession of a system of national education. Both these sections of the United Kingdom long struggled with imperfect systems of voluntary education, supplemented by small and fluctuating aids from the National Exchequer, for it is only within about 10 or 12 years that the nation has extended to and imposed upon them really national systems of education. But Ireland has had a national system for half-a-century. It is true that England and Scotland, by their voluntary efforts, had lessened the ignorance of their populations, so that even before 1870, when education became national in England, the Irish system was still behindhand. The National Board of Education for Ireland has been unremitting in its efforts to lessen the mass of ignorance among the population, and every decade of the Census shows a marked amelioration. If this is still slow and unsatisfactory, the system of education is more responsible than the Commissioners who superintend it. And the result of all these efforts must surely be deemed insufficient when we compare the work of half-a-century in Ireland with the 10 years of the English system, even though its compulsory powers have been extended slowly and with considerable timidity. The Census Returns for Ireland show that on the work of the Census only 47 per cent of children from 5 to 15 years of age were actually at school; or, if we take the numbers from 5 to 13, there were found 54 per cent actually present. We have no similar Census Returns for Great Britain; but, according to the Education Reports, England has 83 per cent, Scotland 87 per cent, of their children at school. England has now a powerful means, through compulsory laws, of lessening these school absences; but Ireland has not this advantage. She has had other and greater aids—I will not call them advantages—to promote education than either England and Scotland, for though local aid has been insignificant, the Imperial funds have been lavished on Irish education. This is scarcely an educational advantage, for it lessens local co-operation, which is so necessary to the spread of education. Hence the National Board has been working at a disadvantage; and, notwithstanding its persistent efforts, the educational results, measured by its half-century of existence are melancholy small. As I have said, they improve in every decade, but still at a slow rate of progress. In 1871 rather less than half the population above infancy (exactly 49 per cent) could read and write; and in 1881, 59 per cent could do so. So that still 41 per cent of the population in Ireland cannot read and write. Does the House realize this terrible fact—that after half-a-century of national education, 41 out of every 100 of the people of Ireland above the age of five years cannot yet read and write? You cannot take a lower test of education than the ability to read and write, though there is a lower depth still, that of absolute ignorance, or of inability to do either. Of course, there are parts of Ireland in which the education is better and the ignorance is less appalling, but there are others in which it is worse. In the county of Dublin, which stands highest in the Educational Census, there are still 23 in the 100 who cannot read and write; while in the County Mayo, which is the worst, there are actually 60 out of every 100 of the population above five years who are still unable to read and write. Gratifying, therefore, though it be that every Census decade shows an amelioration of the illiteracy, can you be surprised that a true lover of his country like the hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) should come forward and ask you to strengthen the hands of the National Board, by compelling parents not only to send, but to keep their children at school, in order to obtain the benefits of education which the State has so liberally provided? It would be out of place, in a limited Motion of this kind, to discuss the merits and defects of national education in Ireland. I am no admirer of that system as a whole, though I admire the efforts of the National Board, and in 1875 I expressed my views very plainly in regard to it. Perhaps I may have another opportunity this year to discuss this subject in a broader way than I can do on this limited Motion. But at present I understand the question to be whether compulsory education is required, and should be introduced into Ireland? It is well known that, if scholars leave school after merely acquiring a knowledge little above that of infants, such as that embraced in the three first Classes of the Code, this extremely thin veneer of education rubs off very rapidly in the wear and tear of life. That this is the case in Ireland, as it is elsewhere, is obvious from the fact that while among the population at ages between 5 and 20, shortly after they have left school, 78 per cent can read and write, although of the whole population above infancy only 59 per cent can do so. Unless, therefore, the school children are kept at school sufficiently long to get a lasting amount of education, it is useless to expect any large educational result. This is the reason that we extend the school age by compulsion to 13; but in Ireland many parents think that a mere smattering of letters is sufficient, and promote neither regularity nor continuity of school attendance. But, much as compulsion is required, can you secure the efficient working of a compulsory law? Unquestionably experience shows that it is difficult to carry out compulsion to a successful issue in Roman Catholic countries. That is a fact, whatever is the cause. It is among the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who chiefly include the humbler classes, that great deficiency of education prevails, for little more than one-half (or exactly 54 per cent) of them can yet read and write. Among the Protestant Episcopalians and Presbyterians there seems much room for improvement; but still 75 per cent of them can do so, and among the Methodists 84½ per cent can read and write. The hon. and learned Member for Limerick sees this religious difficulty, and wishes to have compulsion with a safety-valve. He would allow parents whose consciences did not approve of schools within easy reach to escape the obligation. I do not know what such a law would be worth, or who is to administer it. But I would give great concessions to religious opinions, if I believed that they would lead to any good result. In no country that I know of are the schools so intensely denominational as they are in Ireland at present. To all intents and purposes, with few exceptions, they are all denominational schools, with a Time Table Conscience Clause. To a large extent even they are managed, not by committees, but by the priests and other ministers of religion. To make them secular schools is impossible, even if it were desirable. I have no desire to see religious teaching lessened in Irish schools. But I think the time has come when the Government should take firm control of the secular results of education in these schools, and insist that the large contributions of the State should only be paid for efficient and sufficient secular education, secured by regular attendance, and enforced by compulsory provisions. The State has the right to do this, because of the whole cost of education the State pays 81 per cent, the pupils pay in pence 18 per cent, and the localities themselves and religious bodies, which assume entire management and control of the schools, pay little above 1 per cent of the cost. Yet, insignificant as this local contribution is, the denominational managers assume all the power to appoint the master, to dismiss him, and to regulate the schooling. If we could hope to create school boards in Ireland, with contributory powers of rating, we gladly would lessen the State management and increase the local government of schools. But when the experiment was tried by Statute in 1875 to interest Boards of Guardians in school work, how disappointing was the result. They did contribute about £28,000 in 1875; but already that sum had dwindled to less than £10,000. How stands local aid in Ireland, say, even as compared with Scotland — the former having a population of 5,170,000, and the latter of 3,730,000? In rates, subscriptions, and endowments, Ireland contributed to national schools £40,573, and the children in school pence £91,830, or together £132,403. Scotland, with a much smaller population, contributes £30,300 in subscriptions, £196,500 in rates, and £260,500 in school pence, making in all £487,300, or nearly four times the local aid to education given by more populous, but certainly poorer, Ireland. It would, therefore, be hopeless to expect the formation of school boards at present, with the responsibilities and duties attached to them in Great Britain. But for the limited purpose of carrying out a compulsory law, it ought not to be difficult to form School Attendance Committees out of the Town Councils, Board of Guardians, or sanitary authorities of the country districts. These Committees, though a very inefficient substitute for school boards, would be one step at least in interesting the localities to promote education. I would go a very long way in any efforts not only to promote the co-operation of localities, but also of religious bodies, in the promotion of education in Ireland. But under the present state of Irish education, the State cannot be relieved of its responsibility. It provides the funds with great liberality under a system which Parliament has laid down, although it has forgotten to retain efficient Parliamentary responsibility for the results. A nominal responsibility there is in the Chief Secretary; but what time has he at his disposal to be an efficient Minister of Education for Ireland? Clumsy as is our educational administrative machinery in Great Britain, we have some definite Ministerial responsibility for its success; for under one Department we have grouped the cattle on a thousand hills and the juvenile population of cities and country districts, and under this composite administration of cattle and human children, we have a sort of Ministry of Education. But in regard to Ireland, we shovel about £700,000 a-year into the coffers of a National Board, and hear no more about it till the Census startles us one day by telling us that, after half-a-century of this kind of education, 41 per cent of the population above infancy cannot yet read and write. If the State choose to pay for education in Ireland without local aid, at all events it has a right to obtain good secular results for its money, both in the attendance of the population and in the sufficiency of the secular education. No maxim is better known in Ireland than the one "That he who pays the piper should name the tunes." But the state has not followed this maxim, for though it pays the piper, it has taken no interest whatever in the tunes; for these practically are named by the denominational managers of the schools. Let the ministers of religion in Ireland be freely allowed to take care of the religious education; but let us have full Parliamentary responsibility that the secular results of the education give us an adequate return in the universality, as well as in the efficiency, of education among the Irish population. I shall allude further on to the causes which, in my opinion, prevent me having that confidence which the hon. and learned Member for Limerick has, that if we trust to the issue of religious indulgences to break the compulsory law, we may nevertheless obtain a practical universality of education. But before we consider this point, we must examine the proofs as to whether the present system has produced, even among those educated, as well as among those whose education has been neglected, those consequences which the State has a right to expect when it pours out its treasures for the education of the people. What induces the State to spend so much money in education? It can only have one purpose in view when it goes between the duty of the parent to the child, and that is to develop good and orderly citizens. To test whether this result is achieved, we must look to the social wrecks as seen in the judicial statistics. Now, I admit that for a long time Ireland had the glory of having, apart from agrarian and political crimes, a less black calender of crimes than either England or Scotland. If I took the statistics of crime since the ferment of political agitation, beginning in 1879, the demoralization of the nation over the whole field of crime would show very black results. In all classes of crime, from 1879 to 1882, the Returns are very bad. Formerly Irish crime was much lower than Scottish crime in proportion to the population, and about one-third less than English crime. But in 1880, in proportion to population, Irish crime stood, in regard to the more serious crimes, as 7,745 for Ireland, 4,477 for England, and 5,615 for Scotland; and as regards minor crimes, 156,958 for Ireland, 95,387 for England, and 75,522 for Scotland. In all classes of crimes in these recent years of melancholy agitation, Ireland has terribly blackened her calendar. The normal number of criminals in Ireland was 11 to 10,000 of the population; now it is above 21. But we may well hope that this deterioration and demoralization are only temporary; and I mention the fact, because I do not wish my remarks in regard to crime in relation to education to be based upon these exceptional years. As the normal criminal population of Ireland is less than that of Great Britain, we have a right to hope that the same consequences which we have seen in the marked lessening of crime in Great Britain since compulsory education was introduced, should become proportionately apparent in Ireland as education spread under the action of the National system. Of course, as education in Ireland is much less universal than that of England, we must expect more absolutely ignorant persons among their criminals; and accordingly we find that among men, 46 per cent of Irish prisoners are wholly ignorant, and among English male prisoners 31 per cent. Among women, 49 per cent of Irish, and 40 per cent of English, prisoners are wholly ignorant—that is, they can neither read nor write. In every Report, the Irish Commissioners of Prisons ascribe this to want of compulsion. The remark repeated in every Report is as follows:—

> "The Irish National School system seems to be successful for the class that falls within its reach; but the want of compulsory education leaves a considerable substratum not reached by the Irish National system, allowing a wholly ignorant class to grow up to form such a large proportion of those committed to prison."

This opinion is, undoubtedly, true; but it, of course, announces a truism that ignorance and crime are frequently but cause and effect. It is less to this than to a remarkable anomaly in the crime of Ireland that I desire to draw the attention of the House. In Great Britain, crime decreases in proportion to education. Of course, when a country becomes generally educated there will be far fewer prisoners; but there will will be more educated prisoners within our gaols. At present in Great Britain, where compulsion has only reached the younger classes, we still find that only from 3 to 4 per cent of the prisoners are able to read and write, while at least 96 per cent are imperfectly educated, or are wholly ignorant. In Ireland, where education is still far less universal than in Great Britain, we should expect to find this difference still more accentuated. We are entitled to expect that in the ordinary crime of Ireland, separating it from agrarian or political crime, the number of educated prisoners should become a vanishing quantity. Going back to 1878, so as to avoid the recent years of terrible criminal demoralization of all kinds, we find the astounding fact that the percentage of prisoners in Irish gaols, who are able to read and write well, is no less than 41 out of every 100. In the year 1881, it was 33 per cent among men, and 29½ among women; while in England it was only 3½ per cent among men, and 2½ among women. Speaking generally, how are we to explain the astonishing fact that in Ireland, with a less diffused education than in Great Britain, there are 10 times as many educated prisoners in its gaols in proportion to the committed criminals? If this were confined to years of political excitement, the explanation would be sufficiently easy. I could then reply that the smattering of education implied in the ability to read and write enabled the criminal classes to read the seditious papers which are circulated in such numbers, and that the unhappy prisoners who committed outrages might turn upon the State which gave them this inefficient education, and could say, like Caliban in *The Tempest*—

> "You taught me language, and my profit
> on't
> Is, I know how to curse; the red plague
> rid you,
> For learning me your language."

I wish that this explanation were sufficient. Much may be forgiven to political excitement. An ordinary educated criminal is a monstrosity like Caliban; and I wish we could turn to the rest of the scholars educated in Irish schools, and say to all of them—

> "To the most of men this is a Caliban,
> And they to him are angels."

But this we cannot do. There is but one conclusion—that though in normal times crime is absolutely less in Ireland than in Great Britain, the education given in the national schools does not prevent the glaring anomaly that there are ten times as many educated prisoners proportionately in Irish gaols as there are in the gaols of Great Britain. The explanation of this startling fact is extremely difficult, and I am not at all sure that I can give it. Certainly it is not ascribable to any want of zeal in the Churches in neglecting religious education in schools, for that is the chief thing they look to, and they do their duty in that respect religiously and conscientiously. When the priests in Ireland can point with proud satisfaction to the fact that in ordinary times they have done so much to keep their flocks, even though without education, moral and religious, it cannot be from any want of zeal in their religious superintendence of the schools that educated persons are found to be so common in the gaols of Ireland. I rather ascribe the fact to the circumstance that they have not fully realized the truth that the low education implied by ability to read and write only produces low results, and is comparatively worthless to make good and productive citizens. The "three R's" are the mere tools of education, not education itself. If education be not carried further than this, as is the case among nearly three-quarters of school children in Ireland, three-quarters of the £700,000 which Parliament votes yearly may as well, as far as the purposes of the State are concerned, be thrown into the "melancholy ocean" which washes the coasts of Ireland as into its schools. But ecclesiastics do not encourage anything beyond the mere elements of education in Roman Catholic schools. Cardinal Cullen has said—

> "Too high an education will make the poor oftentimes discontented, and will unsuit them from following the plough, or for using the spade, or for hammering iron or building walls;"

and when asked to what, then, he would limit education, he replied—

> "The 'three R's,' and to the history of Scriptures and of the Church."

The Roman Catholic Church claims the control, as Bishop Cloyne told the Commissioners, of every part of the education of the school except the multiplication table. Well, the Churches—not only the Roman Catholic, but the Protestant Churches—have had the practical control of Irish education, and have produced the result which an eminent Roman Catholic layman, Sir Robert Kane, told the Commissioners, when he said—

> "I consider it to be the fact that in every country where such a course has been adopted it has resulted in the social decay and political debasement of the people."

At all events, it is a palpable fact that the "three R's" are insufficient to keep boys who have passed through Irish schools from adding to the criminal classes. It is time that the State should assume its sovereign functions, and administer, through a Minister of Education, responsible to Parliament, the education of the people, which has so woefully failed, under the present system, to produce those results for which alone the State contributes nearly the whole of the cost. It is not a question of race, and perhaps not of religion. In the United States the children of Irish parents, educated at excellent public schools, become, in the second generation, prosperous and productive citizens. How rarely in this country do we find Irish workmen in our large centres of industry becoming anything else than "hewers of wood and drawers of water?" If you ask as to the nationality of foremen and overseers, it is very rare to find that they are Irish. But that is not the case with the Irish of the United States, where you constantly find them in positions of responsibility and importance.

The difference is that in Ireland the idea of elementary education is a low one, and in the United States it is broader and higher. Thus, in America, as in Scotland, the fuller and wider conception of education gives to the recipient of it a greater productive value. A poor ignorant peasant has within him no spring or resource for improvement. One cannot be surprised at the melancholy condition of the Irish emigrant who complained to the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) that he was unfitted to work in Minnesota, because in Ireland he used to spend one-half his time in standing outside the door of his cabin, and the other half in fighting his landlord. It is precisely among these ignorant or half-educated peasantry that it is difficult to introduce the idea of emigration. They understand their own miserable surroundings, but have not capacity to cast their vision beyond them. It is the same in regard to industry. The Irishman is content to be a mere unskilled labourer, and does not aspire to take skilled work. When an Irish hodman wrote to his friend in Ireland—

> "Dear Pat,—Come over here and earn your money. All you have to do is to carry bricks up a ladder, for there is a fool at the top who takes them from you and does all the work."

you have an idea of the content of ignorance. If you introduce compulsory education into any country up to the age of 13, you must bear in mind that the State is bound to give the fullest and most effective education which a child can receive up to that age. Because, if you do not do this, compulsion is tyranny and unjustifiable. I thoroughly agree with the hon. and learned Member for Limerick that compulsion in some form must be applied in Ireland. But it will be useless until you bring the educational systems of the three parts of the United Kingdom under one common responsibility, and make it the special duty of a Minister of Education responsible to Parliament. I do not speak with any bigotry on this subject. In regard to higher education, I have always advocated the extension of education in Ireland through agencies acceptable to the Roman Catholic Church, because I believe that the conception of higher education does not differ much between the educated ecclesiastics of any religion. But in regard to the education of the people a national system has been tried for 50 years, with only nominal responsibility to the State through the Chief Secretary, who is overburdened with the cares of administration. I do not wish to lessen, but to increase, the interests of the Churches in education in Ireland, and in the amelioration of the Irish people. But I desire to see one Minister for Education over the whole of the United Kingdom, so that the educational development of Great Britain and Ireland may go on *pari passu.* The conception of what education should be is rapidly growing in Great Britain, and I wish to stimulate it in Ireland. If I had time I could point out how the low education in England still fills the prisons with 65 per cent of prisoners who can only spell out the words of a sentence, showing that they have been at school, though they have left it too soon. But I must draw my remarks to a close. I would venture to make only one other appeal to the House to show the importance, even in the interests of England and Scotland, of getting a wider and better education in Ireland. The Irish labourers in both parts of Great Britain are becoming a factor with which we have to deal. The slow way in which our English and Scotch Census is brought out does not enable us to refer to the figures of 1881; but in 1871 there were 750,000 of Irish in Great Britain. In our chief towns in England one out of 14 adults was Irish, and in the Scotch burghs one out of six. Therefore, in my own country of Scotland we are immensely interested that one-sixth, representing the adult Irish population of the towns, should be educated and orderly citizens. If we take the proportion of Irish throughout England and Scotland, and suppose that they contribute equally with the native population to our prisons, we ought to find 3,500 Irish prisoners in English prisons, and about 500 Irish prisoners in Scotch prisons. But, as a fact, we find 22,000 Irish prisoners in English prisons, and about 9,000 in Scotch prisons. Why is this? Irishmen in normal times are much less criminal than either English or Scotch. But Ireland throws upon our shores an uneducated and turbulent population less under the control of their priests. It is, therefore, vastly important in the interests of Great Britain that we should ensure a universal and sufficient education for the

Irish people, so that when they come to us as permanent residents to aid us in our industries, they should be law-abiding and productive citizens. All modern experience tells us that the position and prosperity of a nation largely depend upon the efficient education of its people. I am, therefore, entirely in accord with the major part of the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Limerick, that compulsory education must be applied to Ireland. I do not so heartily go with the latter part of his Motion in regard to the modifications of a compulsory law, because I think the solution of the religious difficulties is of less importance than the establishment of direct responsibility to Parliament for the administration of the law. I think the solution of the difficulty is that the State, as represented by a responsible Minister of Education, should be bound to see that the large funds voted by this House for the promotion of the education of the people are applied equally in Great Britain and Ireland, so as to secure the educational training of a peaceful, law-abiding, and industrious population.

MR. GIBSON said, he thought the House might be well congratulated at having once more restored to its debates one who was able to speak with such authority and power on the question before the House. The right hon. Gentleman himself also might be congratulated on having escaped from the disagreeable servitude of the Chair, and being enabled to take part in the discussions of the House. All debates on Irish education were necessarily conducted with a certain amount of reserve by those who were connected with Ireland, and who were acquainted with the special difficulties which surrounded it. The right hon. Gentleman, feeling his recently acquired liberty, had spoken with a freedom and amplitude of instruction to which the House had listened with great pleasure. There was, at least, one fact gratifying to Irishmen, and that was that comparing one period with another there had been steady educational progress. There had been a real, if not a conspicuous increase in the percentage of children who were acquiring education; but that progress had not been so great as could be desired, or as great as had taken place in England and Scotland. What were the remedies proposed? When those were discussed we found ourselves face to face with the real difficulties of the situation. Clear and forcible as was the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, he did not think it indicated a remedy for those difficulties more efficacious than did the speeches of those who had preceded him. He regretted to say that the local aid to education in Ireland, as compared with the State subvention, was by no means what it ought to be. That was a fact of which Irishmen ought not to lose sight, and the reproach of which they ought to seek to remove. Another deplorable circumstance was that the action of parents as to sending children to school was absolutely unfettered. Thus there was nothing like continuity in the system of education. That was a state of things for which they were bound to discover a practical remedy. There was now the suggestion of compulsion. He remembered that that was a question which was introduced some eight years ago by his hon. Friend the Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy). It was one in which it was necessary carefully to examine and watch the progress of public opinion in Ireland. He was not sure that public opinion had been keenly directed to the matter. The hon. Member did not profess to be acquainted with the views entertained by the Roman Catholic dignitaries of the country. He was not aware that during the last six or seven years any clear expressions of opinion had come from that quarter. But Sir Patrick Keenan, a distinguished Roman Catholic, and a man of great experience and acquirements, who was Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, had read a most important paper at the Social Science Congress at Dublin, a year or two ago, which, he regretted, had not been communicated to Parliament. Sir Patrick Keenan favoured what might be described as a safeguarded compulsion. It was most desirable to devise some means of increasing the attendance of children. What remedies had been suggested? They had had three speeches. First, there was that of the hon. Member for Limerick, in which he looked almost in vain for any practical suggestion. The hon. Member for Limerick suggested that compulsion should be safeguarded by permitting an exemption to be granted to every child who produced the certificate of its parent that there was no school within a reasonable distance to which it could be sent without danger to its religious convictions. But the compulsion must apply to the parent; and if they allowed the parent who was to be compelled to exempt himself from its operation, the compulsion would be of a very vague kind indeed. The hon. Member said he would allow of some kind of proceedings by the permission of some tribunal, after certain warnings to the parent; but that, again, was rather indefinite. The noble Lord who seconded the Motion (Viscount Lymington), and who left them for a considerable time in doubt as to the course he meant to take, did not attempt to grapple with the crucial point—namely, what kind of compulsion was to be applied, how it was to be exercised, and at whose instance. The noble Lord told them that Irish education should be elastic, and not bound by rule. That was practically what it was now; it was elastic, and the parent was as free as air.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, that he had only spoken of its not being bound by official rules.

MR. GIBSON said, the conscience of the parent was to be got at in some tangible way; and yet he was not to be constrained by any rule to obey his conscience. Therefore, although the Mover and Seconder of the Resolution had raised an important discussion, they had not very exactly communicated to the Minister of Education any principle on which compulsion was to be applied. Neither had the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair). While the right hon. Gentleman recognized the social and religious difficulties which surrounded the question, and said he was not opposed to a safety-valve, he did not express himself very definitely as to how he would apply compulsion. The right hon. Gentleman had suggested the formation of School Boards, which were not looked upon with favour in Ireland, but, failing them, the appointment of a School Attendance Committee; but he (Mr. Gibson) was at a loss to know how they were to be composed, what were to be their duties, and how were their duties to be enforced. Those were matters on which they could not give an opinion off-hand without any definite information. The right hon. Gentleman had adduced some interesting and curious facts about the education of Irish criminals, but they hardly supported his argument. Education of a low type was, he had told them, easily rubbed off; but the education which those criminals carried with them to gaol did not appear to have been rubbed off. No doubt, when the State contributed such large sums for education, it had a right to see that it got proper value for its money, and as to payment by results, that was a proposition which was accepted in Ireland; but he asked the right hon. Gentleman how would that principle operate on those who did not and who would not attend school? They might secure that those attending school should come up to a particular standard; but that would not of itself ensure them a larger attendence at the school. At the same time, he thought it well that that question had been brought under the consideration of the House. The debate would, he believed, tend, in the first place, to bring into prominent relief the fact that local bodies in Ireland did not take sufficient part in that burden; and, in the next place, it would serve to show that parents did not exert themselves as they might do to send all the children to school who ought to go there; and he thought that such a pressure would have good results, because there was a great love of education in Ireland, and the parents, and even the elder children, were anxious that the younger children should be taught. He believed that that discussion would be useful in giving a healthy stimulus to opinion in Ireland on that subject; and it would be the duty of those who were responsible for the government of the country closely to watch the progress of that opinion, and be ready in every reasonable way to assist its advance.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that after the last two speeches he felt rather painfully the comparatively hampered position in which he stood. He must say that there were several points which he should like to start for discussion in connection with that question, including that which the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) had mentioned—namely, contribution from local funds towards national education in Ireland. He confessed that he was a little disappointed at the general course of the debate; indeed, he was much disappointed in one respect, and much pleased in another, and perhaps his pleasure exceeded his disappointment. From the position in which that subject stood at present, two contributions he had hoped might be made towards it by Parliament; the first was the elucidation of the practical question of how compulsion could be applied; and the second was the affirmation or the negation of the principle of compulsion. He was disappointed by the way in which one of those points had been treated by the different speakers, the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down having been more emphatic than those who preceded him only in refusing to give them advice in regard to it, although he did not say that he was called upon to do so. The Government were deeply interested and concerned in the state of education in Ireland; indeed, they would not be fit to be the Government if they were not interested in it. He thought his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Edinburgh had exaggerated the state of education in Ireland in several important particulars. In the first place, he entirely objected to the state of education being tested by the very interesting figures given in the Census Report. It was quite true that 25 per cent of the people were illiterate; but they must not forget that in 1841 there were 53 per cent, and that the number had rapidly diminished since that date. Before 1833 they had no national schools. In that year there were only 700 or 800 schools; in 1840 there were still under 2,000; in 1860 there were 5,000 or 6,000; whereas in 1880 there were 7,590. He thought it was evident, by the great rapidity of the increase in the schools and the diminution in the illiterate persons, that what had happened was that the unlettered generation, by no fault of their own, was passing away, and that the rising generation was very much better read than his right hon. Friend said. Last year his right hon. Friend gave figures which were perfectly appalling. The right hon. Gentleman stated that a smaller number of the children on the rolls in the Irish schools were able to read than those on the rolls in England and Wales. The answer to that was very creditable to Ireland, and that was that the number of children on the rolls in the Irish schools was so very large. At this moment, while the number of children of school age in Ireland was about 1,300,000, the number in attendance at one time or another was some 50,000 or 60,000 in excess of that number. The reason was that, in his opinion, a number of young men and young women, who felt their earlier education was neglected, went into the rural schools and joined in the classes with the children for the sake of improving themselves. Whenever he had gone into an Irish rural school he had seen people of that sort up to the age of 20 actually standing in the class. He did not mean by this to say that Ireland was sufficiently well educated. There was another test that his right hon. Friend took. He said that, while the average attendance was 87 per cent in Scotland and 83 per cent in England, it was only 45 per cent in Ireland. He (Mr. Trevelyan) had taken a different basis for his calculation — namely, the entire population; but he could not conceive how the right hon. Gentleman had arrived at that result. In England and Scotland the average attendance of the children was one in nine of the entire population; whereas in Ireland it was one in eleven. That was bad enough, but it was not the difference between 87 and 45 per cent. But when they came to the question of proficiency, Ireland did not stand in the position that he would wish to see her. As far as he could make out, about 350,000 passed in the three highest classes in England, 82,000 in Ireland, and, oddly enough, exactly the same number in Scotland. If it were the case that the higher standards were the same in Ireland as in England and Scotland, though he was afraid they were not, then Ireland would stand very well by the side of England, though very badly by the side of Scotland; and, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, though he was a Scotch Member, he should not be satisfied until Ireland had got much nearer, and, if possible, quite up to the standard of Scotland. The fault was not in the Irish children, whose natural cleverness and brightness was beyond all question. If they took proficiency in essential subjects—reading, writing, and arithmetic—the Irish children were decidedly better than those of England. The defect in Irish education was really that which was pointed out in the Resolution of his hon. Friend. The inferiority of average attendances was not so great as was implied by his right hon. Friend, but it was quite enough to make the friends of Ireland uneasy. The causes of this appeared to the Government to be two. Last night he heard language, which he should be sorry to characterize, directed against him for saying that the taxpayer ought not to pay money to Ireland when it was not for the advantage of Ireland. But when it was for the undoubted advantage of Ireland the Government were quite willing that it should be paid. Ireland had been kept too long waiting to share in the advantages accorded to England and Scotland in the matter of the training of teachers. One great cause that the children were badly trained was that the teachers were not themselves trained. But they did their work wonderfully well considering that fact. In England £110,000 a-year was spent for 42 Colleges, which educated 3,150 teachers. In Scotland £27,000 was spent for educating 851 teachers in seven Colleges; while in Ireland only £7,755 was spent on 220 teachers in one College. That was the provision made to meet the requirements of 7,648 schools, manned by 10,600 teachers. He would not enter into the reasons for that; but it was a very great misfortune for Ireland, which all that had the interests of education at heart must recognize. It was a matter which was only, to a certain extent, the business of the Government; but the question was — Was the Government willing to give the necessary funds? The Irish Government had made a recommendation to the Cabinet, which had been accepted at the Treasury, and they were willing to provide those funds. It now passed to the Education Commission in Ireland, and they would approach the subject with the knowledge that if they thought it right to alter the system of grants towards the training of teachers in any direction they thought desirable, the Government and the Treasury would find the money, unless the direction was one with which they strongly and entirely disapproved. That was a subject which had been well thrashed out in that House; and he was very much pleased to think that his hon. Friend the Member for County Longford (Mr. Errington), who had pressed Parliament so often on the question, would be able to read the line which the Government proposed to take. He now passed to the second method of improving education in Ireland — namely, compulsion. No doubt, if masters were well trained, that alone would attract children to the schools; but whether compulsion should be applied was a matter which was all but novel. It was true that those who regarded compulsion as a remedy had against them the Report of the Royal Commission—Lord Powis's, of 1870. But he must own that the Government did not attach very great weight to the Report of that Commission, because in that year this country was in quite the Dark Ages of education. The Royal Commission, by the light of early and inchoate ideas on the subject, discussed it little, and decided against it on, perhaps, not sufficient experience of its operation, for it was only in 1871 that it began to be applied in England, and a year later in Scotland. But they now had the experience, not of Germany only and of Switzerland, but of the whole of that Island, and that experience was of a more than encouraging nature. In England, in 1870, before the introduction of the compulsory system, the average attendance was 1,152,000. In 1881, after 11 years of compulsion, it had risen to 2,863,535. The scholars who passed in reading were 691,763, as against 1,776,059, an increase in culture of 3 to 1 where the population had increased in the proportion of 9 to 8. In Scotland there was less room for improvement. In 1872, the year before compulsion was made general, there were 213,000 in attendance. There were now 410,000, and the children who had passed in reading had risen from 137,000 to 286,000; so that culture had doubled, while the population had only increased by 400,000. But it had been good for England and Scotland, because it had been carried out with regard for the feelings of the population, and for the feelings of those interested in conducting education. Compulsory education could not possibly be set on foot, certainly could not be worked to any good purpose, unless the arrangements under which it was conducted commended themselves to the people themselves, and to those to whom the people looked up for guidance. If in this matter hon. Gentlemen who had spoken had been indefinite, the Government could not set the example of being definite; and all he could say was that if they were to have compulsion in Ireland they intended that it should be of a practicable character, and be of great service to the country. The Government did not intend to take any step in the delicate subject of national education which would shock the religious sentiments they so deeply respected. At the same time, they would not be untrue to the principles on which education could be effectively and practically conducted. They were not going to act in a hurry in this matter, or without consultation in Ireland with representatives of those of all religions and classes who must be consulted. The measures which already had left the anvil, having been beaten out as far as they could beat them, would require all the aid and co-operation of Irish Members to pass that Session. On the question of compulsory education the debate had thrown much light; but there were points in it and difficulties in it which, if rashly and hastily handled, might make it an apple of discord and discomfort indeed; and he must say plainly that the Government would be glad to have till next Session to consider the question. Even if they had had a debate more fruitful in suggestions of detail it would still have been necessary to have more time, so that those who understood the people, and whom the people understood, might be consulted. On one point he thought his hon. Friend made a rather modest proposal—namely, with regard to the number of attendances. In Ireland, if they deducted Saturdays' holidays and vacations, there were 220 days of school. If they took out seven weeks at spring time and autumn for rural work that left 150 days, and he should be glad if they could contrive to get the children into school during those 150 days. The Government were determined they would not force people's consciences, or hurt their religious opinions; but they did not see any reason why compulsory education should not be carried out in the great towns of Ireland, and over Connaught, Munster, and Leinster. He had now said not all he could say, but all he really dared say; and assuring the House once more that in this matter they were really practical, he must say, at the same time, they were determined to work in accord with the best Irish ideas. The Government would be very glad if, by approving this guarded but sufficiently emphatic Resolution, Parliament gave it a commission to apply itself to consider how compulsion could be applied to Ireland with due regard to the social and religious conditions of the country; and if it received that commission it would pledge itself to discharge it in the spirit and according to the very letter in which it was worded.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, he had waited with some anxiety for the concluding portion of the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, for it was not till then that the right hon. Gentleman distinctly stated the intention of the Government to accept the Resolution. Those who were not satisfied that a case for compulsory education for Ireland had been made out might, nevertheless, say that it was a distinct advantage to have the Government committed to a Resolution which, while in one part it assented to the necessity of compulsory education, also took great care in another part to assert that that compulsion should be carried on with strict regard to the social and religious condition of the Irish people. He must say, on the part of those who were not satisfied that a case had been made out for compulsory education, that he could have wished that the Government had distinctly explained the manner in which compulsory education should be carried out. Whatever advantage they had derived from this discussion, they were not a bit nearer than they were at the opening of the debate to a conception of the means and methods by which compulsion could be carried out in Ireland. If there was a Division, he could not vote for the Resolution, as it was so vague and uncertain. Anything coming from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair) on education deserved attention; but he did not think he ever heard a generalization more misleading in its character than the one with which he opened his speech. The right hon. Gentleman said in Ireland they had had half-a-century of primary national education, whereas in England they had only 12, and in Scotland 10 years; and was it not melancholy to contemplate the great disparity observed in Ireland in the results as compared with England and Scotland? He objected to that generalization, as it was not founded upon real facts of general application. Before the right hon. Gentleman could argue in that way, he ought first to inquire whether the three countries started upon an equal footing, and whether, during the half-century, Ireland had possessed those educational endowments and advantages generally belonging to the people of England and Scotland. Before they could pronounce a reliable opinion upon the illiteracy or the state of education amongst the people of Ireland, they must look at the question from the historical standpoint. The right hon. Gentleman dwelt at considerable length upon the paucity of attendance at Irish schools; and he (Mr. O'Connor Power) was surprised that in the anxiety of the right hon. Gentlemen who had spoken to account for this paucity of attendance nobody had ever referred to what seemed to him to be the great essential cause of the backwardness of education in Ireland. He referred to the chronic poverty and serious distress of the mass of the people. If he were told that 25 per cent of the population were illiterate, he would answer that 50 per cent were under-fed. It was once said by the founder of a great religious order that no man could pray on an empty stomach. He did not know if that was true or not, but he thought that if they were to get the boys and girls of Ireland to walk miles across country to school they ought to secure that they should have their breakfast first. He certainly agreed that if it were attempted to apply compulsory education vigorously in the country districts in Ireland the poverty of the people would be one of the greatest obstacles which the School Board, or the Attendance Committees, would have to encounter. He objected to the comparison of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh between Scotland and Ireland upon the test of population. The right hon. Gentleman had contrasted the large local contributions in Scotland with the small local contributions in Ireland, notwithstanding that Ireland had the larger population. In his (Mr. O'Connor Power's) opinion, it was no question of relative population at all, but of relative wealth and means. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh had invited the Irish Representatives to account, if they could, for the extraordinary circumstance that a larger proportion of Irish criminals knew how to read and write than those in England and Scotland. He did not know if he (Mr. O'Connor Power) was under the delusion of one idea, and that he was prepared to account for everything by the poverty of the people; but he would account for this extraordinary circumstance from the want of remunerative employment. Boys who went to school for a short time might generally be counted upon to lead virtuous lives up to a certain period, but if there was no field for their abilities or powers to gain an honest livelihood, they were naturally attracted to criminal courses; and it might, therefore, follow that a large proportion of Irish boys and girls might be drawn into crime because of the want of substantial occupation. Reference had been made to the large proportion of Irish criminals to be found in the English and Scottish gaols, and it seemed to him that the very same fatal misfortune accounted for this difficulty also, because if they looked at the class of the people who formed the bulk of the Irish immigrants to England and Scotland, they would find that they landed in this country with no means whatever, and because of their poverty they were obliged to take lodgings, and to reside in the very lowest quarters of the English and Scottish towns. He had called attention to these few general considerations, in order that hon. Gentlemen might realize the causes which, to some extent, had operated to diminish the success of educational efforts in Ireland hitherto, and in order to prevent them from abandoning themselves to a fatal despair with regard to every Irish question. He did not despair of his country in any sense. He did not despair of its ultimate peace and tranquillity, of its ultimate prosperity, and of its progress in education. On the contrary, he had faith in the power and the capacity of his countrymen and countrywomen to work out a better and brighter destiny for themselves; and though he was somewhat dissatisfied with the position in which the Government stood towards the question of compulsory education, because they were not yet able to define any regular method of carrying it out, he would hail any efforts that were made legitimately, and with a due regard for the social and religious convictions of the Irish people, which might enable them to acquire a higher standard of education in their native land.

MR. MOORE said, that, having in view the example of compulsion in England, the enormous expense it had involved, and the inconvenience to which it had put those who had to support voluntary schools, he was not strongly in favour of the Resolution when he first saw it. The whole matter had been so carefully guarded by the Chief Secretary and other Gentlemen, especially as regarded the religious aspects of the question, that there remained but the merest shadow of compulsion to apply, affecting very few persons; and, consequently, there seemed to be little to object to in the application of those powers. There could be no doubt that due deference had been paid to the religious aspect of the question and to the Roman Catholics. The present Government must remember, however, that any movement on their part in this direction would be viewed with suspicion by the Irish people. Their sympathies in that matter, however much they differed in other respects, were rather with hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Opposition side of the House. Education in Ireland had improved in recent years; the number of those who could read and write had increased 50 per cent, and the numbers of the illiterate had decreased more than 50 per cent. With the increase of schools the generation of the illiterate was vanishing from the land. The impression conveyed by the figures of the National Board in Ireland was very erroneous, and as a proof of it he stated that they had entered on their rolls 1,000,000 children, not including various denominational and private schools, whereas the population of children in Ireland was only 1,003,000. They took credit for children duplicated and re-duplicated, owing to their removal from one school to another. But he believed that the figures quoted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh, comparing the attendance in the three countries, were grossly in error, for it was well known—putting aside all other considerations—that the age of attendance differed. In Ireland it was three, in Scotland and England it was five. But it would be found that the percentage of attendances in the three countries did not differ as widely as had been supposed. In England it was 75·2, in Scotland 70·8, while in Ireland it was 67·3. Now, the question was whether, if these figures were correct, the game was worth the candle; and whether such a radical measure would produce a result commensurate with the difficulties at every turn. While in Great Britain 63 per cent of the people lived in towns, in Ireland only 21 per cent lived in towns. The great bulk of the population were employed in agriculture, and, the assistance of the children being necessary at harvest time, it would not be easy to enforce attendance upon them. In these circumstances, he submitted whether it was worth while pushing the matter further, and suggested that it would be a cheaper and more easy remedy for the irregularities if a small expenditure in the shape of rewards were given to the masters to secure attendance, and a very small award to the children who gave regular attendance. It would also become necessary, if compulsory attendance was insisted upon, to greatly improve and enlarge the existing schools; for, at the present time, having regard to the general character of the children, and the tender age at which they were admitted to school, the accommodation was wholly inadequate for the needs of the country.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he rose to thank the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland for the announcement he had made with regard to the better training of teachers in Irish schools. He thought, at the same time, that there would be a general feeling among those interested in education that the principle of compulsion should not be applied until the training system had had a little time to work. The want of trained teachers had been one of the most fertile causes of irregular attendance at the National Schools in Ireland; and another main cause was the very inadequate and often wretched accommodation. In his opinion, if all the children in Ireland were to go to school the accommodation would be quite inadequate. He admitted that the results of half a century of education were unsatisfactory, but thought that was due, first, to religious difficulties; and, secondly, to the insufficient school accommodation. In conclusion, he would express a hope that there would be no unnecessary hurry in dealing with this question of compulsion.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he rose to express gratification at the tone of the debate, showing, as it did, a satisfactory progress of opinion since the time, not many years ago, when a Ministry was threatened to be destroyed, because of the difference among its supporters as to what should be the character of education in Ireland. He was glad to find, from all sections, the opinion expressed that if the people were to be educated, the great point was to educate them, and that they should not dispute as to the manner in which they should force the education down their throats. Large districts of the country had been left absolutely uneducated, because the Government and the representatives of the religious denominations could not agree between them as to the education of the people. In connection with the evidence in the Maamtrasna murders, nothing more painfully impressed him than the fact that a witness, 12 years of age, was totally unable to be sworn, because totally devoid of education. He was also glad to hear the reply made by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan), whose speech was a most able and interesting one; and though he had the misfortune often to differ seriously with the Chief Secretary, he rejoiced to find him in a position in which there was great play and scope for the great abilities he possessed. He thought they might congratulate themselves that, on all sides of the House, there would be no opposition to a well-considered scheme of compulsory education.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That it is expedient to introduce into Ireland the principle of Compulsory Education, with such modifications as the social and religious conditions of the Country require.

SUPPLY.

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Colonel Colthurst

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MILITARY OPERATIONS (EGYPT).

RESOLUTION.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON said, he had placed on the Paper the following Amendment:—

> "That this House regrets that it should be called on to place increased burdens upon the people, in consequence of the late Military operations in Egypt."

He thought hon. Members would agree with him that the function of voting money was about the most important duty they had to fulfil. It was the original object and design of Parliament, he believed, to vote money, and although they had other duties now it still remained their central duty. The question he desired to discuss was, whether the large sum of money which his noble Friend would move for directly they got into Committee in regard to the Egyptian War was money which was really spent for the national interest and the benefit of this country. The theory of those who defended the war was that the money expended had done good to England and to India also; and further it was contended that we had done a great deal of good to Egypt. In order to accomplish that good, we had to spend at least £4,500,000, and we had been the means of taking away the lives of a large number of Egyptians. It had been calculated that we slew about 5,000 of them, and we likewise lost a great many of our own valuable soldiers in the war. Comparing the origin of the war and the defence that was made of it with the present state of things, he found that Gentlemen on the other side of the House, especially those who sat on the front Opposition Bench, had stated more than once that they were misled as to the causes why we went into the war. They asserted that the Government made statements which were not now borne out by the evidence, and that that was why the large Party opposite gave their sanction to the war. Perhaps they were misled. In his opinion, the country was also misled very much as to the real object and cause and origin of the war. He remembered going to a meeting at Glasgow to denounce the Egyptian War a little before the decisive battle. He made his speech, and thought he had conclusively proved that the war was wrong. When he had finished, a working man got up and moved an amendment, saying—"This gentleman has read the Blue Books, and thinks they know all about it. What do we want with Blue Books. We have read the newspapers." The amendment was agreed to, and a copy of it forwarded to the Prime Minister, who, in acknowledging the receipt of it, said he was very glad it had been carried. He did not mean to charge the Government with having misled the Opposition or the country, but he felt sure that they were misled themselves, and that they did not know the exact bearing of the Egyptian Question. This, however, was no reason why they should not take the Government to task and call them to account for what they did in the matter. When a railway accident occurred, and a number of lives were lost, there was always a very close inquiry to see whether the slightest blame was to be attached to anyone; and in the same way, to take a still more appropriate illustration, when one of Her Majesty's ships was lost a court martial was always held. It seemed to him that the House was only doing its duty—certainly it was not doing more than its duty—in calling the Government to account for what had occurred in Egypt, and seeing whether they or any other persons were to blame. Now, his case was this, that the Government were misled by the officials whom they employed. Their diplomatic agents were continually giving wrong information and leading the country into trouble. It was so in the Afghan War and also in the Zulu War. The Transvaal was even a stronger case. They knew how everyone was persuaded for a long time that the Boers were longing to be taken under British protection. The facts came out afterwards, and showed how grossly they had been misinformed. His complaint against the Government was that they did not make more inquiry before taking the fatal steps that led the country into all these wars. He thought also it was a pity that the Government did not consult the House before going into these wars, which were almost all to be attributed to secret diplomacy. Hon. Gentlemen opposite shrank from condemning the war, although they said they had been misled; and the Leader of the Opposition said it would never do for them to condemn it, because if they did move a Resolution he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would probably vote for it, and that, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think, would be a dreadful thing. He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was not so afraid. He would move a Resolution, and hon. and right hon. Gentlemen could go into the Lobby with him if they pleased. He objected altogether to this system of calculating who would support a Resolution and how many votes would be given for it. It would be much better if they went into these questions with the desire simply of discovering what was right and what was wrong, and voting accordingly. He condemned this expedition to Egypt, and would give the House his reasons for so doing. Let them see how the £4,500,000 had been spent. The first event of importance was the bombardment of the forts at Alexandria; and what were they told about them? Why, that it was absolutely necessary to bombard these forts in self-defence; but that argument was hardly a proper one to use in a meeting of rational men. Just before the bombardment two smooth-bore guns were being parbuckled—that was, rolled along the sand to the forts—and to say that this parbuckling was justification for what took place was one of the most extraordinary reasons that could be adduced. He knew it was very wrong to talk about the "bombardment of Alexandria"—it was called firing on the forts—but, although the phrase was so much assailed, he had heard the Prime Minister make use of it. Certainly, the result was pretty much as if we had bombarded the town. The correspondent of an English newspaper stated that he went over Alexandria several weeks after the bombardment, and saw in the centre of the town four shells of the *Inflexible* that had not exploded. He thought it might fairly be concluded that other shells were discharged into the town which had exploded. After the bombardment of the forts, from some cause or another, the town was burned, and thousands of persons were driven into the Desert, many of whom, no doubt, perished miserably. The horrors of this bombardment were pressed upon the Government even by the unspeakable Turk. The Egyptian Army then took refuge in the open country, and we carried on a military operation against them, which resulted in a wholesale massacre of the Egyptian soldiers, who fled before us as a flock of sheep would before a dog. These operations concluded, the troops were brought home, and there was the greatest rejoicing in this country. People seemed as much pleased with that slaughter as though our troops had conquered the combined forces of Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, and the United States. The next step was to catch Arabi. We went to Egypt as the detective of the Khedive, and having caught Arabi, handed him, a political prisoner, over to his bitterest enemies. When that act was fully and fairly understood, he believed that every right-minded Englishman would regard it as one of the greatest crimes that ever disgraced the history of this country. They had been told that our action was due to international engagements; but he challenged any hon. Gentleman present to produce a scrap of evidence to show the existence of any such engagement. When the bombardment took place, and the French Fleet steamed majestically out of the harbour, there was an end to the international engagements. Then, they were told that we must interfere in order to procure the freedom and safety of the Suez Canal. He again challenged any hon. Member to show one iota of evidence that before these warlike operations there was any attempt, or suspicion of an attempt, or even a desire, to do anything to interfere with the safety of the Canal. The next thing was that they had to put down anarchy. He denied that there was anarchy. One of the first things that anarchists did was to commit robbery; but it was an extraordinary fact that there was no robbery here, and that the Treasury Chest remained untouched throughout. Perhaps it might be said that the action of the Government was owing to the riots at Alexandria. But there was nothing whatever to show that Arabi had anything whatever to do with them. Lord Granville had admitted that the charges against Arabi in reference to the burning of Alexandria had broken down. That being so, he wished to make a challenge to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), whom he did not see then in his place. He said, when it was necessary to get up a feeling in favour of the war, that there was no doubt that Arabi was guilty of complicity in the attack on Alexandria. Now, his right hon. Friend made that remark in cold blood, and not when he was in a scatterbrained condition. He knew his right hon. Friend to be an honourable and upright man, and he quite expected that before very long he would come down to the House and either withdraw the charge he had made, or produce some further evidence. Then there was the official statement of the Prime Minister of the cause of the war—he begged pardon for calling it war in that House, he should have said "military operations." The Prime Minister said that we went to war to keep up the rights of the Sultan, the rights of the Khedive, the rights of the people of Egypt, and the rights of the bondholders. Were these proper objects for which to spend the treasure and the blood of a free nation? To keep up the rights of the Sultan. What rights had he in Egypt? None, except the right to draw from the ground-down and oppressed people of Egypt a tribute of £700,000 a-year. And we went, cap in hand, to the Sultan for weeks and weeks begging him to help us to keep up his rights. Then came the rights of the Khedive. What had we to do with them? What earthly reason was there for spending the lives and money of the people of this country in keeping up the rights of the Khedive? Did anyone know of any good the Khedive had done? Then there were the rights of the Egyptian people. Why, that was almost as ridiculous as all that we were told about the Suez Canal. The first right of any nation was the right to govern itself. Even in Ireland we gave some semblance of self-government. ["No!"] Well, we let people out of prison occasionally. The first right of a nation was self-government, and the day would come when most of the people of this country would look back with horror to what they had done when they saw that we, a free nation, that England, the mother of Parliaments, spent her blood and treasure in putting down the first rising hope of freedom in a long down-trodden and oppressed people. Then came the rights of the bondholders. That was what the right hon. Gentleman put in last; but that they were the first consideration he had very little doubt. Was there a sane man in this country or out of it who believed that, were it not for the bondholders, this country would have ever gone to war? It was in the interest of the bondholders, and in order to collect their debts, that we kept up those miserable Controllers, who led us into war because they feared that their influence and power would be taken away if the popular movement was to go on. But we were told in the beginning of the proceedings that we went to war on account of the *status quo ante.* What had become of the *status quo ante?* It was gone—as dead as Henry VIII. Arabi fought to get rid of certain things, and now, having got rid of Arabi, Her Majesty's Government had gone and done what he wished so much to do; but they had done it after spending £4,500,000, sacrificing 5,000 lives of the Egyptians, and many lives of our own soldiers. That was the result of their *status quo ante.* Arabi was in prison a long time, and they were obliged to let him out. They dared not execute him or let the Khedive execute him. And now Arabi was in exile, and the President of the Local Government Board, who had conducted all these things to such a successful conclusion, had risen to a high position. One had gone to Ceylon and the other to the Cabinet, but the man who had succeeded was Arabi. He in his dungeon was more powerful than the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, backed up by an enormous majority of the House and the country. What Arabi demanded was being now carried out in Egypt, and for no other reason than that he had right on his side, while we fought on the side of wrong and injustice. For his own part, he could only say, now that they were called upon to vote this money, that never since he had been a Member of the House had he been called upon to vote money for so unsatisfactory a purpose. They might say that the money was spent. He knew it. He knew that the evil was done. But why he wished to refuse the money now was, because he did not desire to see these things repeated. When the London mob rejoiced, he never heard any expression of regret or abhorrence on the part of the Government for the crimes committed last summer, and there was no guarantee that if they found a people weak or oppressed they would not attack them to get money for the bondholders, Jews, and usurers. Therefore, he would take a division in order to obtain an expression of opinion against such intervention in the affairs of other countries. That was not a policy which became a Liberal Government, and all true Liberals should oppose it. In doing so they would be supporting the principles by which right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench got into power three years ago. Gentlemen on the opposite side sometimes condemned the principles of the Mid Lothian campaign. He believed these were the right principles on which the policy of this country ought to be conducted, and just as the Government had been true to them had their course been honourable and satisfactory, and just as they had departed from them had they been landed in discredit and disgrace. The Prime Minister said that in our foreign policy we ought to proceed on the principle of recognizing the equality of nations and the absolute equality of public rights. That was the right policy, and if we departed from it we should not only have troubles abroad, but should never do justice at home, because if we did not act justly abroad there was very little chance of getting justice at home by domestic reforms. Some in that House were bound to show their condemnation of this policy—a policy more disheartening than any adopted by a Liberal Government for years past; and holding these views he should venture to propose the Amendment which he had read at the beginning of his speech, and take a Division upon it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had great pleasure in seconding the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle. It might be said that they were crying over spilt milk, that the money was spent, and we should have to pay it. That might be very true; but what cut him to his heart was this—that the position and interests of the bondholders were, after all, the main cause of the war. If the Egyptian people were left to act freely, the bondholders would have run the risk of losing their money. Instead of these bonds being very low, as they were before the war, they had now risen to a very high point; and it seemed to him unjust and unreasonable that if we were to be at all the expenditure of blood and treasure, we should not take some return from the bondholders by way of salvage. He denied that there was anything like a direct international pledge for the security of these bondholders. The only pledge was the establishment of the International Courts, by which the claims could be enforced, and the agreement for those Courts came to an end on the 1st of February, 1883. Her Majesty's Government, for reasons best known to themselves, had resolved to continue the International Courts for another year. He was very glad that the Government had limited their continuance to another year. He hoped when the year had expired that they would not continue these Courts on the same footing, by which they gave international guarantees for the debts of foreign money-lenders and usurers. The House was told the other day that Her Majesty's Government hoped to remove the British troops within six months from the present date. He wished it had been stated, at the same time, that they would also remove the British officers and the British control. He sincerely hoped that they would be able to clear out of Egypt, "bag and baggage;" but he believed that there was a very great difficulty in this matter, and it was this—that we had by our isolated operation, and in practically for the time taking possession of Egypt, placed ourselves in so delicate and difficult a position with regard to foreign nations, and especially France, that we could not hope that the French would abstain from action unless we satisfied the bondholding interest in France by insuring that they should have their money in full. It was that necessity which seemed to make the hope of an effective and secure Administration in Egypt exceptionally difficult and, he was almost afraid, exceedingly remote. Let them look at the financial situation of Egypt at this moment. They knew that one-half of the gross revenues of Egypt were pledged to these bondholders. But he found that there was, in addition, a very large claim by the bondholders who had mortgages on what were called the Daira and Domain lands; and then there was the claim on account of Moukabalah, than which there was never a more shameful transaction, the enormous indemnities, and a claim of £240,000 for the maintenance of the English Army since the 31st October. It therefore appeared to him that probably there would not be one-fourth, or more than one-fourth, of the gross revenues left for the administration of the country. That being so, it appeared to him that the administration must be starved, the people must be discontented, and there would be the most extreme difficulty in establishing a stable Government. His hon. Friend (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) told them that having spent £4,500,000, we were about to do that which Arabi wanted to do—namely, to grant a Constitution. He wished he could quite agree that that was so. Why was not Arabi allowed to grant a Constitution? Because we were afraid that these Constitutional Egyptians would not pay the Debt. He was afraid we were in the same difficulty. It seemed to him that if we were to arrive at the point within six, or nine, or twelve months, or within any measurable distance which would admit of our leaving Egypt a settled and self-governed country, we must not only establish a Constitution, but a Constitution on a very broad basis. He had been a good deal alarmed by what had been communicated to them—the narrowness of the Constitution which had been suggested by Lord Dufferin in his preliminary Reports. He had not the least doubt that Lord Dufferin was a very good and liberal man; but he feared that he was hampered by events, and that he dared not give a sufficiently liberal Constitution. He was very much at a loss to understand what the noble Lord referred to when he observed that he wanted to give the Khedive a Council of the same character as existed in British India. The Councils in India were not of that representative and powerful character Lord Dufferin seemed to suppose. They were merely this—With the great officers of the Government were associated certain persons nominated by the Government, and whose advice and assistance they were ever ready to have. They were nothing but nominee Councils. He could not understand why Lord Dufferin should not have called together the Notables, who were, perhaps, as fairly representative a body as could be convened at first. In Egypt, the Chamber of Notables having been got together, they began to ask questions about the debts and the foreigners, and made themselves disagreeable to the authorities, the result being not only that they were sent to the rightabout, but that the war resulted.

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that he is going far beyond the scope of the Amendment proposed by the hon. Baronet.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would not pursue that subject further. It seemed to him that Her Majesty's Government, if they were to maintain peace and quiet in Egypt, and avoid a greater question in the future, must give a much more liberal system of administration to Egypt than we had yet been able to give to India. It might be asked, why did not we give in India a more liberal administration? The answer was that we did not expect to leave India within six months. If we hoped to leave Egypt within six months, and to leave a stable Government behind, we must leave a Constitution, and put it on a very broad basis.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House regrets that it should be called on to place increased burdens upon the people, in consequence of the late Military operations in Egypt,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he intended to vote with his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle, for he believed that the war was a mistake all through. If we went to Egypt at all, we ought, in his judgment, to have installed Arabi instead of the Khedive. He had never been able to understand from any Member of Her Majesty's Government precisely the position in which our troops in Egypt were now placed. They had been sent to support the Government of the Khedive; but when Questions were asked of the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he put all the responsibility on the Khedive for what was happening in Egypt. Now, he (Mr. Labouchere) believed that so long as the British troops supported the Khedive, and supported him, moreover, against his own subjects, England was absolutely responsible for what was going on in Egypt. As meetings of the Egyptians would not be allowed, we were obliged to receive all news from official sources. No doubt, Lord Dufferin did his best to procure trustworthy information; but he was necessarily very much in the hands of the Europeans, and of the Ministers and friends of the Khedive. He did not gather from the despatches that his Lordship had in any way consulted the people of Egypt. The hon Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) said he had "read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested," Lord Dufferin's scheme of government. For his own part, although he had read, marked, and learned it to a certain extent, he could not digest it, because it was objectionable to a Radical stomach. His Lordship's scheme was a perfect sham of Constitutional government. If any species of representative government were established in Egypt it must be based on a control of the purse; but when anything was said to the noble Lord the Under Secretary on this subject, he vaguely alluded to representative government and international obligations. What were those international obligations? Was Lord Dufferin prevented from doing what he thought desirable for the country by any obligations which the Egyptians were supposed to be under to pay the interest on their Debt? If there were an international obligation on their part, it was not our business to go there to carry it out. He (Mr. Labouchere) denied that the people of Egypt were bound by any such thing; but, supposing they were, it was not England's business to deprive them of the most elementary and necessary basis of representative government—the power of the purse. He had risen to try to elicit a clear statement on this subject, either from the noble Lord the Leader of the House, or from the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, if the House were a mere debating society with nothing else to do, he could understand this discussion being raised tonight. There had already been two debates on the subject since the opening of the present Session. The Government were most anxious to go into Committee of Supply, and the country desired that some practical legislation should be proceeded with, and yet they were now wasting their time in an idle and a fruitless discussion, which could end in nothing. He was not going into the general question. The proper time to have raised this question was when the Vote of Credit was proposed last year. Nothing had transpired since then as to the general policy of the Egyptian War that could not have been raised at that time. The House accepted that policy, and they were now discussing whether they should pay for that which they had themselves ordered. The best that could be said for this debate was that it was premature, because the Leader of the Opposition intended to bring Egyptian affairs under the notice of the House when Lord Dufferin's despatch was presented. He appealed to his hon. Friend to withdraw the Amendment. ["No, no!"] Well, if he took the judgment of the House upon it, that judgment would be formed on an imperfect knowledge of what the Government was going to do in the future. If the Opposition had raised this debate they would have been severely criticized; and he held that those who had done so ought to be ashamed of their proceedings. He had risen in the interests of Public Business to make these few remarks.

Mr. RAIKES said, he had listened with great pleasure to the manly and practical speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down. He only rose to express his concurrence in the hon. Gentleman's sentiments, and to ask the House to take note that an Amendment of this sort, which was likely to produce delay in the conduct of Public Business, had not originated from the Opposition Benches. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was, no doubt, entitled to claim the credit of consistency, because on this occasion he was expressing the precise opinion which he expressed last year. He (Mr. Raikes) thought one word ought to be said, at least by those who were anxious to see Egypt take her proper place in the future, against such a speech as had been delivered by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). If there was one thing more necessary than another to Egypt it was something of public credit; and if speeches were made with the view to obtain from the House and the country an admission that Egypt was free to repudiate the engagements into which she had entered, it could not fail to be most injurious to the future of that country. He had no doubt that the hon. Member for Northampton had a perfect right to express his views; but if he had any concern for the future of Egypt he should be a little more chary in making speeches which, when read in all the bazaars of the East, had the effect of undermining the credit of a country which was struggling into a better position. There was this difference between the hon. Member for Northampton and the hon. Member for Carlisle—that the former was anxious to bring forward a particular financial view, and the latter a particular political view. But while the House received the opinion of both, he could not see what useful purpose it served to be continually stating that those two hon. Gentlemen were more consistent in their views than other hon. Members who were more highly placed.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he felt that, whatever difference of opinion there might be amongst hon. Members sitting in different parts of the House, upon the policy—past, present, or future—of the Government in Egypt, they would all be agreed that, so far as his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was concerned, there was not only no Member in the House, but no man in England, who was so perfectly free from inconsistency on this question, having from the first taken one particular line, which he had stood to. Feeling great respect for that consistency, and for the character of his hon. Friend, he regretted that he could not adopt the same view. His hon. Friend had gone over ground which was already familiar to the House in repudiating what he had termed a bondholders' war. He had said that the Government were misled by their own diplomatists, and that they ought to have the frankness to acknowledge the error into which they had fallen. But that was not his own view or that of the Government. The Government still held the opinions which the Prime Minister had expressed last year, and which had also been expressed by the President of the Local Government Board—that the cause of the war was that there was growing up by steady degrees a condition of affairs in Egypt which could only be described by the name of anarchy, which threatened British interests, and which ultimately, with great regret, compelled Her Majesty's Government to depart from the principle of the Liberal Party—namely, the doctrine of non-intervention. His hon. Friend did not think that a sufficient justification, and said that if they had done certain things in a different way they would not have been compelled to depart from the attitude of non-intervention. But in the several speeches of his hon. Friend he had heard no detailed statement of facts which warranted his opinion. The hon. Baronet had chiefly relied on the order of events at Alexandria, and had said that the massacre and the bombardment, following pretty closely upon the arrival of the ships, were related to that arrival as effect to cause. But his hon. Friend forgot that a little further back there was a condition of growing confusion even before the arrival of the ships. The arrival of the ships was caused by the existing confusion, and did not itself cause that confusion. He recollected a remarkable speech made by one who had the singular advantage of being at Alexandria at the time of the events in question. His hon. Friend the Member for Waterford (Mr. Villiers-Stuart) had made a very interesting speech on July 27 last year, in which he expressed a totally different opinion from that which was entertained by his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle. His hon. Friend the Member for Waterford gave a general description of the condition of things at Alexandria previously to the arrival of the ships, and stated, with his usual accuracy of description, that a condition of anarchy existed which was dangerous to British interests, because dangerous to the Suez Canal. There was, he said, a state of circumstances which threatened the existence of civilization in Egypt. His hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle had expressed disbelief that any such state of things existed previously to the arrival of the ships. But he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) could show that there were movements threatening the Suez Canal, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Canal; and though he was willing to grant that the dates of these were two days after the bombardment, nevertheless, it was perfectly clear that the organization and intention of these movements had originated before the bombardment—at any rate, there was quite sufficient evidence of the facts to justify the Government in taking the steps they did. But what he mainly based the case of the Government upon was that the whole condition of Egypt was one of rising anarchy, which they felt Arabi, whatever his intentions might be, was quite unable to control. It was said that the Prime Minister and the President of the Local Government Board had made charges against Arabi in that House, the details of which were contained in one of the Blue Books, and which were summarized in Lord Granville's despatch. But the Government had never rested their policy on those charges alone. Even if Arabi had been an angel of light, he was entirely unable to direct a movement the elements of which had got entirely beyond his control. The history of the movement did not exhibit Arabi in the light of a great General or statesman. Whether his intentions were good or not, he came forward as one capable of governing Egypt; but his incapacity was such that in a very short time he would have left no Government at all in the country. In other words, he very soon produced that state of things which, as Lord Granville had said, was the only circumstance that could make us depart from our neutrality. The hon. Member went on to ask what the position was in regard to the other reasons of the war, besides the condition of Arabi; and he said it was stated by the Prime Minister that, this condition of Arabi having arisen, it was the intention and desire of the Government to go back on the *status quo.* The Prime Minister did not state that the maintenance of the *status quo* was the object of the Government in going to war, or that they declared that after the war they were going to restore everything to the condition in which it had existed before. If the House would reflect on the great knowledge and experience of affairs of the Prime Minister, they would feel that he was not so rash as to be likely to make such a statement. When war had taken place, it was almost impossible to go back to the condition of things which existed before the war.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: The Prime Minister says it was not a war.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: My hon. Friend says it was not a war.

MR. LABOUCHERE: The Prime Minister said it was not a war.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: What the Prime said was this—that it was not a war between two civilized and recognized Governments. ["No, no!"] He said it was not——

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: The words were—"We are not at war with anyone."

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that was precisely the distinction he intended to draw. The Prime Minister declared that there was not a war in the sense of there being that international condition of affairs which was known and described as a war. [An hon. MEMBER: The operations of war.] There were military operations going on, although there was not a war. Supposing the English Channel suddenly became full of pirates, and English ships went out to destroy them, there might be a condition of warfare, although not war; and that was a perfectly legitimate description of the operations in Egypt. The Prime Minister said our business was to indicate the ends we had in view, and not the means by which those ends should be attained. These ends were the general maintenance of established rights, whether of the Sultan, of the Khedive, or of the people. But the specific measures ought not to be indicated. The Prime Minister specifically guarded himself against saying that, consistently with the maintenance of those general ends, he was going to keep himself down to the maintenance of the *status quo*. The moment it became clear to the Government that they were obliged to enter on military operations, they held, after these operations were over, it would become absolutely necessary to reconsider the whole position; and no Member of the Government, he was sure, suggested the maintenance of the *status quo*. The Resolution related to the past policy of the Government; and he was afraid that he could not, without transgressing the Rules of the House, reply to the various questions raised by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) as to the future finances of Egypt. All these points were receiving the close attention of the Government and Lord Dufferin. There was a legitimate expectation that if, on the one hand, there were certain reasons to apprehend, in regard to the indemnity claims, and the cost of the arms, an increase of expenditure, there were equal reasons to apprehend in regard to other matters a considerable diminution of expenditure, and also increased efficiency in the services. There could be no doubt that the Egyptian Army Budget would, before long, show a very great reduction; and there was hope that there would be a brighter side to the picture in regard to the taxation of foreigners, and Egyptian Customs dues, and other questions. As to the question of the Courts, if they had not continued the tribunals for a year, a condition of legal anarchy would have ensued. In assenting to a temporary renewal, they had shown that the question was fully before them, and that it would receive their best attention. As to the points mentioned by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), there was no intention on the part of the Government, through their troops, to be a party to any illegitimate interference with the right of public meeting and public discussion. On the contrary, the object of the Government was, as much as possible, to develop free discussion in Egypt. As for the larger issues that had been raised in the course of the debate, involving delicate and complicated questions of International Law, he had rather defer his reply till they could be more fully and fairly discussed on the Motion which was to be brought forward from the Front Opposition Bench. He hoped, in conclusion, that they had now arrived at a stage when they might be permitted to look more to the future than to the past. Differences might have divided various sections of the House in regard to the past; but they were all agreed, he thought, in the sincere desire that the delicate and difficult task of Lord Dufferin might be brought to a successful termination, and that the principles of liberty and stability, which had their champions equally on both sides of that House, might find at length, after many centuries, a home in Egypt. He had to assure the House that those views which had been put forward by the hon. Member for Carlisle—namely, those of consulting the views and wishes of the people of Egypt—now formed the animating principle of Her Majesty's Government; and he believed that in the future there would be little or no difference between them. As far as was in his power, nothing would be wanting to contribute to the happy consummation to which he had alluded.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he would not attempt, especially at that hour and in the present circumstances of the House, to follow the noble Lord through the remarks he had made on various points involving matter of controversy. The debate had arisen very suddenly and unexpectedly, and it was not looked upon as a Motion of a serious character, as was shown by the fact that hon. Members left the House at the time the hon. Baronet announced his intention of carrying his Motion to a division. As a division would be required, he desired to put on record the feeling which he himself, and, he believed, some others who sat around him, entertained on the subject. The feeling was that they should be compelled to vote against the Amendment of the hon. Member for Carlisle. The terms of the Motion expressed regret that they should be called upon to place increased burdens on the people in consequence of the recent military operations in Egypt. Anyone who reverted to the Amendment of the hon. Baronet which was dealt with on the 16th of last month would see that his present Motion, though slightly different in form, was practically identical with the one which the hon. Baronet proposed on the former occasion.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON explained that through an inadvertence he was unable to go to a division on that Motion.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that on his own part, and on the part of those who sat around him, he thought their position was best described by the Amendment which was lately moved from that (the Opposition) side of the House to a paragraph of the Address. They felt now, as they had felt then, that although there was a period when, in their opinion, the war in Egypt might have been prevented and military operations avoided, yet, at the same time, when the Government, acting on their responsibility, had decided that the operations were necessary in the interest of the country, they could not deem it their duty to record any opinion in opposition to the course which the Government then considered it requisite to pursue. The sentiments which hon. Gentlemen on his side expressed in the debate the other evening were those which they entertained on the present occasion; but the House had thought fit to negative them by a substantial, though not an overwhelming, majority. That being the case, and the House having negatived the views which it was then their duty to take, he and his Friends now found themselves in this position—that they were called upon, on the occasion of the Estimates being brought forward, to do that which would practically refuse to the House at a later date the means of carrying forward the operations which it had itself approved. Considering, then, that the general sentiments of hon. Gentlemen on his side upon the question were expressed on a former occasion, he wished now only to say that, while on the one hand they entertained the opinion which they had placed on record the other day, on the other hand, if the hon. Baronet went to a division, they would think it necessary to support the Government.

MR. ILLINGWORTH doubted not that the House would, by a large majority, decide to vote the expenditure incurred in the military operations in Egypt; but they had had evidence, both in the House and from the state of the Revenue, that both locally and Imperially the taxes were now at a height very difficult for the impoverished people of this country to bear; and he was most willing to express his sympathy for the overburdened taxpayers of this country, and his deep regret that it should have been necessary to have increased the expenditure and taxation of the country on account of the expenses of the military operations in Egypt. At the last General Election the Conservative Party suffered more from its rash and reckless foreign policy than from any other of its mistakes; while the Liberal Party were carried into power through the declarations as to foreign policy contained in the Prime Minister's Mid Lothian speeches, even more than by any of the domestic reforms indicated in their manifestoes. He was much concerned for the consistency and honour of the Government; and whilst he would not say that the Egyptian War was as reckless and wanton as those in which the late Administration engaged, he would say this—that he held that no Government was free from blame which did not keep the country entirely out of foreign entanglements. Every such discussion had an effect in preventing a Government from entering so lightly upon war. There was a great change in the judgment of many people, in the House and outside of it, as to the merits of the campaign. The Government did not hold the position it did in regard to the character of the rebel Arabi and the present Khedive. Would the Government deny that if the British troops were withdrawn the Khedive would not be obliged to flee? If so, were they not maintaining a Government distasteful to the Egyptian people? In that case he wanted to know if they were pursuing a policy of true Liberalism, or one consistent with the principles and professions they put forward? In voting with his hon. Friend, he would express a hope that the Liberals who would support the Government on this occasion were not going to throw their principles overboard; and, at the same time, he trusted a check would be put upon the readiness of the Government to engage in warlike operations.

Mr. GORST announced that if the hon. Baronet went to a division he should support him. It was natural to feel pride and satisfaction in the prowess which our soldiers and sailors had displayed in Egypt; but the fundamental question as to whether the war was necessary must not be lost sight of. He held that the war was unnecessary, and was due to the mistakes of Her Majesty's Government. Owing to the policy which was forced upon them by M. Gambetta, and to their dislike to operate in conjunction with the Sultan of Turkey, who was the Suzerain of Egypt, they found themselves face to face with what everybody now admitted to have been a national movement. It was no use to abuse Arabi. He was for a time the representative of the national movement, and he was forced into that position by the determination of Her Majesty's Government to quarrel with the Chamber of Notables and all the popular leaders. There was no doubt that that national feeling still existed in Egypt, and that the Khedive was only kept up in his position by the bayonets of the British troops. If that were so, Her Majesty's Government had been fighting against the Egyptian nation; and he was quite certain the House must regret extremely that this great, free nation should have been engaged in putting down by military force the budding aspirations of a free people. Therefore, he thought it was not unreasonable, before voting Supplies for that Expedition, that the House should express its regret, and thus place on record a lesson to this and future Governments.

Mr. BOURKE said, he was content to leave the matter where his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) had left it but for one consideration. From the first he had taken a strong view with regard to the policy that led to the war. He regretted at the time of the Vote of Credit that the policy of the Government could not be separated from that Vote. He believed that that policy was distinctly the cause of the war. That being so, the Amendment simply declared a truism, and, therefore, he felt the greatest difficulty in voting against it. At the same time, as one must be allowed one's own opportunity to express an opinion on a matter of so grave importance, he did not intend then to vote for it, as he had recently voted for the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour). There was one point which the noble Lord had cleared up in his speech regarding an unfortunate expression which occurred in several of the despatches of Her Majesty's Government. It had been stated in despatches and speeches that the only object of Her Majesty's Government was to return to the *status quo*. He always thought that a most imprudent observation; and it was a considerable relief to him when he heard the noble Lord say that that was not their only object, but that they intended to review the whole question. It was a comfort to those of them who felt an interest in Egypt that the Government were no longer to be trammelled by their previous imprudent pledges with respect to the *status quo*. But he wished it to be observed that they had heard this for the first time to-night, and it was a matter of interest to them to know what the future policy of Her Majesty's Government was to be. The noble Lord had also referred to the difficult task now in the hands of the Earl of Dufferin. He was perfectly well aware of that, and he did not know of any statesman whom they could more cordially trust than that noble Earl; but he should like to know how long the noble Earl was to remain in Egypt. He (Mr. Bourke) hoped that he would be left there for a considerable time, and that he would not be recalled to his post at Constantinople until Egyptian affairs were thoroughly organized. It was no use throwing dust in the eyes of the English people by saying the troops would be withdrawn from Egypt at present. He was perfectly certain that if they wished for liberty and for anything like good government in Egypt—if they wished foreign intrigue to be kept out of that country—an object which he believed to be of the greatest importance—it would be absolutely necessary for a considerable time indeed to leave the British Forces to keep order there, and to bring about a state of things which they all wished to see.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 94; Noes 24: Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 15.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

(In the Committee.)

PARLIAMENT—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN OF WAYS AND MEANS.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Pursuant to the Notice which I gave last evening, I move—"That Sir Arthur Otway do take the Chair of the Committee."

MR. RAIKES asked if he would be in Order in addressing the House, the Speaker having left the Chair?

MR. SPEAKER, having resumed the Chair, said: The Question before the House is, "That Sir Arthur Otway do take the Chair of the Committee."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Sir Arthur Otway do take the Chair of the Committee."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

MR. RAIKES said, he need scarcely say that he did not rise for the purpose of disputing the Motion made by the noble Marquess. He thought there were few Gentlemen who had sat in that House for any extent of time and had become familiar with his hon. Friend the Member for Rochester and the active and distinguished part which he had taken in the Business of the House, who would not be glad to see him at the Table. But as he believed this was the only occasion they would have of eliciting the opinion of the Government with regard to one or two matters connected with the Chairmanship of Committees in that House, he ventured for one moment to interpose, in order to obtain some statement from the noble Marquess, or from any other Member of the Government who might rise to speak on the subject, as to what where the intentions of Her Majesty's Advisers in regard to the conduct of Business in Committees of the Whole House. He was glad to have this opportunity of inviting Mr. Speaker to resume the Chair, and of calling public attention to the fact, which was too frequently ignored, that the Election of the Chairman of Ways and Means was an act not of the Government, but of the Whole House, and he ventured with all humility to throw out this suggestion with regard to future occurrences of the kind—whether it might not always be well to have the appointment made by Question put from the Chair. He was glad that one result of his intervention would be that his hon. Friend, when he took the Chair, would do so in consequence of a proceeding that would be placed on the Records of the House. It was not possible for any Member of the House to serve on any Committee without the Question of his appointment being put from the Chair, and without his nomination being confirmed in the most complete and solemn manner; and he thought the House would do well to confirm in the most solemn and conspicuous way the appointment of an hon. Member who would have to take so important a part in controlling its proceedings. He had spoken on this subject because he believed there was no question of equal magnitude so little understood out-of-doors. Statements referring to it had appeared in newspapers generally well informed which entirely perverted the truth and deceived the public. He had seen it announced in newspapers enjoying a large Provincial circulation that the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) had been displaced from the Chair at the Table of the House in order to make room for him, and that he himself had been displaced in order to make room for his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Edinburgh who had just resigned the Office of Chairman. He desired to take that opportunity of giving publicly the most positive and distinct denial of the truth of those statements. It was, of course, unnecessary to remind the House that his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had ceased to occupy the Office of Chairman of Ways and Means a long time before he (Mr. Raikes) had the honour of being elected to it. His right hon. Friend was succeeded by Mr. Bonham-Carter, who was not a Member of the House in 1874, the year in which that great honour was conferred upon him, nor was he (Mr. Raikes) a Member of the House when it became the duty of his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Edinburgh to succeed him in Office. The election to the Office of Chairman of Ways and Means had always been the special privilege of that House. It dated from the days of the later Stuarts, when the House had not confidence in every Speaker of the time. It was owing to the suspicion that the Speakers were, by the influence of the Crown, appointed to preside over the deliberations of the House, that the Office of Chairman of Ways and Means was established, and an Officer was appointed to control the proceedings of the House upon questions so important as those of Trade, Finance, and Religion. In his opinion, it was most desirable that the misapprehension which existed out-of-doors with regard to this subject should be removed. He ventured to ask if any Member of the Government was in a position to inform the House what steps would be taken in order to give effect to the intention expressed by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government with regard to the position of those hon. Members who would be what were called casual Chairmen. He understood that the Committee of Selection, who were entrusted with the duty of nominating the Chairman's Panel, would presently submit to the House the names of certain experienced Members of the House as having been appointed by them to be the Chairman's Panel of the Standing Committees; and he believed they were also asked to infer that it would be incident to the Office of Chairman of the Standing Committees that he would be the possible *locum tenens* of the Chairman of Ways and Means in Committees of the whole House. He did not know whether it would be necessary to obtain a Resolution from the House on that point; the whole question had been, he would not say designedly, but obviously, left in such a state of haze and confusion that the House had little knowledge as to the precise form in which these new Officers were to be called upon to assume their part. But he ventured to inform the House that, in the case of his supposition being true, they would be rather abnormally and anomalously placed. The Chairman of Ways and Means had been hitherto recognized as the natural Chairman of Committees of the Whole House, and, in his unavoidable absence, it had been the custom for some other Member of the House to take the Chair. Were they to understand that those Gentlemen, of whose capacity he wished to speak in the highest degree, were to be appointed to the important Office of Deputy Chairman of Ways and Means without the House having an opportunity of expressing an opinion as to their fitness for the Office? They had a Chairman's Panel with regard to Election, Railway, and Canal Business, and the Committee of Selection had been furnished with powers to select Gentlemen for the arduous and delicate task of presiding over private or semi-private Committees upstairs; and although the practice had on the whole worked well in the cases alluded to, it would be for the first time in the history of the House that Gentlemen would be able to take the Chair at the Table, while the House was to be formally precluded from having any say or any right of choice as to the Officers who were to take the place of the Chairman. This was a matter on which the House was entitled to ask for information. He did not doubt that the Committee of Selection would exercise their powers with that discrimination and prudence which had always distinguished them, nor did he doubt that the Gentlemen whom they would select for this Office would be greatly respected and esteemed by the House; nevertheless, the House should bear in mind that, for the first time in its history, it would in such case be presided over and controlled by Officers in whose selection it would be expressly denied any direct voice. Without touching upon other matters which would be more correctly considered when they came to discuss the question of referring the first Bill to a Standing Committee, he begged to thank the House for having allowed him, as far as he had ventured to do, to assert the historical independence of the ancient and honourable Office which his hon. Friend the Member for Rochester was now called upon to fill.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished on a question of Order to point out that the Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," had been put and agreed to, and that Mr. Speaker had accordingly left the Chair in sight of the whole House. The House was supposed to have gone into Committee of Supply; but the noble Marquess rose in his place when the Speaker was not in the Chair, and made a Motion that Sir Arthur Otway be Chairman of Committees. The Motion for Mr. Speaker leaving the Chair having been carried, he asked, first, whether the Order for going into Committee of Supply was not thereby discharged; and, secondly, if that was so, whether they were not sitting as a House?

MR. SPEAKER: In the course taken I have followed precedents established on similar occasions. On the last occasion of the nomination of the Chairman of Ways and Means being questioned by the House, the Speaker put the Question of the nomination from the Chair. I may also say that whenever a question arises which the Committee cannot determine, the Speaker, as a matter of course, takes the Chair; and, the Committee not having been completely constituted, it was my duty to take the Chair and put the Question as I have done.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: If the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Raikes) believes there is any misconception, either in the House or in the mind of the public as to the character of the appointment to the important Office of Chairman of Ways and Means, and also to that of Chairman of Committees of the Whole House, I think it is not to be regretted that he has taken this opportunity of endeavouring to put an end to that misconception by the observations he has just made. The nomination of the Chairman of Ways and Means is purely the act of the House, and is not dependent on the will of the Government. That has always been recognized, and although the nomination has usually been made, as pointed out by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister in the Autumn Session, in a merely formal manner, and attracts, as a rule, little attention, yet it was for the purpose of obviating that summary mode of proceeding and giving it a more formal character, that I gave Notice that on Mr. Speaker leaving the Chair to-day I should formally move that Sir Arthur Otway take the Chair. I do not think any other course could conveniently have been taken without departing from the precedents of the House. No doubt it would have been possible to give Notice of a formal Motion that my hon. Friend should be appointed to the Chairmanship of Ways and Means; but that would have been a course altogether without precedent, and I thought it desirable to follow as closely as possible the usual course, at the same time giving Notice of my intention to make this Motion in order that there might be no reason for any Member of the House saying that he had been taken by surprise. The right hon. Gentleman has taken the opportunity of asking some questions as to the appointment of those Gentlemen who are occasionally called upon to take the Chair in the unavoidable absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means. Sir, this is a subject on which we have not yet arrived at a final conclusion. And I think the House will see it is one which it is not desirable finally to settle until my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, who has taken so large a part in the discussions that have taken place on these matters is able further to take part in them. But I can assure my right hon. Friend that the subject will not be lost sight of. There are two methods open; either, as my right hon. Friend has himself mentioned, it might be resolved by the House that the Gentlemen who are appointed by the Committee of Selection to act as Chairmen should form a panel of Gentlemen on Committees qualified to take the Chair at the Table of the House, or else the practice might be adopted of naming specially to the House a panel of Members selected from all parts of the House, who might be qualified. One of these courses I think will probably be adopted; but in either case it appears to me desirable that the sanction of the House should be obtained to the proceeding. I trust there will be no immediate necessity of deciding the point, and I think I need only assure my right hon. Friend opposite that the matter will not be put aside, but will be definitely settled after the return of the Prime Minister to the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION (GRANT IN AID), 1882-3.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir Arthur Otway, it is my duty on this occasion to address to the Committee a few words with reference to the Supplementary Estimates of expenditure in connection with the Egyptian campaign. The Committee will, perhaps, allow me to remind them of what took place in reference to that matter during the last Session of Parliament. On the 24th of July last, a Vote of Credit was proposed by the Government, and was agreed to by the House on the 27th of July, for strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean; and this Vote amounted to £2,300,000, of which £900,000 was for the Army, and £1,400,000 for the Navy. The Vote was in the words I have quoted—"For strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean." At the same time, the Government of France proposed a Vote of Credit in connection with their Naval operations in Egypt; but that Vote of Credit was rejected by the French Chamber on the 28th of July, and in consequence the French Government resigned, and on the 31st of July the French Fleet was ordered to withdraw from Egyptian waters. We thus became alone charged with the task of sending, under a Vote of Credit, a special Expedition to the Eastern part of the Mediterranean. Our Fleet and our transports conveying the Expeditionary Force were instructed to call at Malta for orders, and on their arrival at Malta they were ordered to Alexandria, and at that place to undertake certain operations, partly there and partly on the Suez Canal. Those operations, as I need not remind the Committee, terminated on the 15th of September in the complete success of the Expedition and the ending of the war. The charges in connection with the Expedition continued however, beyond the 15th of September to the 1st of October, and those relating to the transport of troops which were not left in Egypt continued also until the greater part of the troops were brought back to this country. After the 1st of October the troops remaining in Egypt were no longer at the expense of this country, but remained at the expense of the Egyptian Government; and if hon. Members will refer to the present Estimates they will see that the sum of £279,000 is credited in respect of the troops remaining in Egypt after the 1st of October last—namely, £209,000 for the Army, and £70,000 for the Navy. These figures are calculated on the average of £4 per head—that is to say, £3 per head for the Military, and £1 per head for the Naval expenditure. And now I will explain what has been the estimated additional cost beyond the £2,300,000 voted for strengthening Her Majesty's Forces in the Mediterranean. With regard to the estimated expense of the troops sent from this country, from the garrisons in the Mediterranean, and from India, if reference is made to the statement by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister in November last, hon. Members will see that besides the Estimate of £2,360,000 voted in July for troops sent from England, the Estimate for the Indian troops was £1,880,000, making altogether a total cost of £4,180,000. My right hon. Friend informed the House that the revised Estimate for the troops sent from this country, including their transport, was £3,360,000, and that the estimated cost of the troops sent from India would be £1,140,000. So that it was estimated in November, as against the original Estimate of £4,180,000 for the charge against this country and India made in July, that the total expenditure would amount to £4,500,000. Now, since November last we have had experience of rather more than three months, and we are able to correct, although in a very small degree, the Estimate which my right hon. Friend then gave to the House. As against that Estimate of £4,500,000, we now estimate that the total expenditure of every kind on account of England and on account of India, including a small Civil Estimate for the transport of refugees from Egypt to Malta, is £4,575,000, showing an increase of £75,000. Of the charge against this country, there is a small sum of £12,000 in respect of the Army, and of £26,000 in respect of the Navy, which will not become payable in the course of the present financial year; and there remains to be voted in discharge of the balance due in respect of the charge for the Egyptian War, deducting the sums voted in July last, on account of the Army, £728,000, on account of the Navy, £350,000, and on account of the Civil Service, £17,500. And now, Sir, I come to the Vote in connection with the expenditure incurred by India. The total expenditure incurred by India is, as I have said, £1,140,000, and out of that sum Her Majesty's Government propose that £500,000 should be paid by this country to India, leaving £640,000 at the cost of the Indian Government. Adding that sum to the figures I have already stated to the Committee, the whole amount which the Committee will be asked to vote to-night will be £1,595,500, including the sum of £17,500 in connection with the Civil charges. Now, let me say a few words with regard to the proposed contribution from this country towards the charge on the Indian Revenue. I may remind the Committee that this subject was discussed at some length on the 31st of July last, when, under the terms of the Statute, a Vote had to be taken approving the employment of Indian troops in the campaign, and that the expense, in the first instance, should be defrayed out of the Indian Revenue. As was then explained in the course of the debate, the formal Vote did not bind the House to the Resolution that the Indian Exchequer should bear the whole burden of the charge, but left it open to the House, by a subsequent Vote, to relieve, if it was thought necessary, the Indian Exchequer from a portion of the amount. It was in order to make this proposal perfectly clear that I moved to insert certain words in the Resolution put from the Chair, and perhaps I may be allowed to refer very shortly to the words I then used, which were—

> "The Government propose that, assuming the duration of this campaign to be such as they have declared to Parliament, India shall bear that proportion of the expenditure which is represented by her troops."—(3 *Hansard*, [273] 305.)

We then inserted the words, "subject to any future decision of Parliament," after that part of the Resolution, by which the House consented that the Revenues of India should be applied for the purpose. The Resolution fully expressed the opinion of the great majority of the House. There was a minority who voted against the Motion, altogether disapproving of any arrangement under which India would bear any part of the charge; but I have carefully looked through the debate, and I find that, although there were several hon. Gentlemen who voted in that minority, the weight of authority was with those who thought that India should bear a portion of the charge. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who had been Under Secretary of State for India, stated that—

> "He had come to the conclusion that India might be fairly asked to contribute something towards the cost of the operations to be carried on in Egypt."—(*Ibid.* 289.)

And, in another part of the House, the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), who spoke at some length, with knowledge of the subject, voted for the Resolution on the ground that—

> "India had a very solid and substantial interest in the maintenance of the Suez Canal."—(*Ibid.* 300.)

And that some portion of the expenditure should fall upon India in consequence. Well, Sir, the Resolution, as it was amended on my Motion, was carried by a majority of 140 to 23; and the question now to be decided by the Committee is whether the sum of £500,000 which we propose should be credited during the present financial year to India leaves a fair proportion to the charge of India of the total cost of the Expedition. It is only right to say that while we propose this arrangement it is, of course, in the power of the House, not by increasing the Vote, because that could not be done under the Rules of the House, but by Address to the Crown, or some other Constitutional method, to bring about an increase of the contribution. We, however, should resist any such proposal. I may add that practically it will be impossible, under any circumstances, to add to the payment to

India during the present financial year. To-day and Monday are the last days upon which a Vote of this kind, to fall within the current financial year, can pass the House. Therefore, if the House should overrule the Government and express an opinion in some Constitutional way that a larger contribution should be made to India—a proposal to which we should be opposed—the payment would not come in the present financial year, but would have to enter into the financial arrangements of 1883-4. I would say one word as to the amount we propose should be contributed by India. The language of the debate from which I just now quoted was something to this effect—I mean of those who voted—that India should bear some part of the expense analogous to the assistance she rendered. Roughly speaking, the force from home which was actually engaged—whether in the advance on Cairo or the defence of Alexandria—amounted to some 27,000 men, of which India contributed 6,200 men. That proportion would justify us in asking India to bear a larger proportion out of the sum total expense we propose to ask India to bear; but I think we may fairly take into account that part of the Naval Force which contributed to the results of the war, and add them to the 27,000 men. That would make the Indian Force something like one-seventh of the whole Expedition, and £640,000 is just one-seventh of £4,500,000. I do not propose now to go over again the arguments put forward in July last for and against India bearing any charge whatever. The real argument for making a demand on her was her interest in the Suez Canal, the protection of which was the ultimate aim of the Expedition; and a Parliamentary Paper has appeared within the last few days on the subject of the trade through the Suez Canal to which I will refer. That Paper was evidently not written with the view of magnifying the importance of the trade or the amount of the traffic; but the figures show that, even according to the depreciatory calculations made by the writer, half the Indian trade passes through the Suez Canal. If, then, at the lowest estimate, India has such a pre-eminent interest in the Canal, the very moderate proposal we now make is reasonably justified. Before I sit down, allow me to show to the Committee what will be the financial result of our proposal. The Estimates of last year, with the Supplementary Estimates, passed in the last Session, authorized an expenditure slightly in excess of the then anticipated Revenue. The anticipated deficit was very small, so that you may practically say that the Estimates and the Supplementary Estimates of Expenditure about balance the Estimates of Revenue. The present Estimates for additional expenditure in Egypt, including the grant to India, will add between £1,500,000 and £1,600,000 to the expenditure of the year. There is also a Paper of Supplementary Estimates for the Civil Service relating to a great number of items, and amounting as usual, I am sorry to say, to a considerable sum; but we do not expect that these Supplementary Estimates will do much more than balance the savings which will be made upon other Votes. On the whole, then, the estimated expenditure for the current year, including the Votes which we now ask the Committee to take, is not likely to exceed the original Estimates and the Supplementary Estimates of last Session by more than £1,600,000. On the other hand, I must say there is not a large, but a sensible improvement in the Revenue as compared with the Estimates of Revenue made last year. I do not think it would be extravagant to say—speaking, of course, with caution and in general figures, for we are still a month from the end of the financial year—that that improvement in the Revenue will amount to something between £500,000 and £750,000. If these figures are compared—and hon. Gentlemen will have been able to compare them as I have given them—it will be seen that the result of the financial arrangements of the current year may probably be a deficit of something between £750,000 and 1,250,000. Of course, the Committee is aware that against that deficiency it would be out of the question that in the month of March we should propose any further taxation. For the moment we must leave that deficiency to be paid out of the balance at the end of the year; but it will be my duty, when making the Financial Statement rather more than a month from now, to deal with that deficit, as well as with the Revenue and Expenditure for the year 1883-4. I think that the Committee will agree with me that more than that I ought not to say on the present occasion. I hope I have made my statement perfectly plain to the Committee. I beg to move—

"That a sum, not exceeding £500,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, as a Grant in Aid of the Expenditure incurred by the Government of India upon the Expedition to Egypt."

After this is adopted, it will be the duty of my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), and of my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, to move the Votes in connection with this Estimate for the Army and the Navy, and to give any explanation that may be needed as to the details of those Votes.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £500,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, as a Grant in Aid of the Expenditure incurred by the Government of India upon the Expedition to Egypt."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

Mr. ONSLOW said, that, of course, it was not his intention to oppose the Vote on the present occasion; for, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, no doubt there would be an opportunity later on for those who held strong views on the subject to discuss the whole policy of the Government. Hon. Members were aware that the Indian Budget was generally taken during the first or second week in March, and the Viceroy in Council must be anxious that the Vote should pass. The right hon. Gentleman wished them to pass the Vote and leave the question of its policy for the future decision of Parliament. At the close of the debate in last July, he (Mr. Onslow) had voted with the Government on the question of the employment of Indian troops, and he had understood that the financial part of the question was left for the future consideration of the House. It was merely on the question that the Native troops should be employed that he, for one—and he thought many others had done the same—had given his vote. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he thought this a comparatively small sum for India to pay for the benefits she had received. That was rather a controversial matter, and it was not his (Mr. Onslow's) intention on that occasion to go into that part of the question; but, at the same time, he would make this remark—that he could not see why India had gained more advantage from the action of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt than had Australia or New Zealand, and some other of Her Majesty's Colonies. His contention, of course, was that if India had to pay any part of the expenses of the Egyptian Expedition, that Australia, New Zealand, and other Colonies should also be called on to pay a part. His idea was that the interests of the Suez Canal was an Imperial matter. It was not only for India, but for the whole of our Colonies, or those which required guarding by way of the Mediterranean. But he did not wish to go into these matters at this time. Half a loaf was better than no bread; therefore, he could not object to the proposal. They had agreed to give £500,000 towards the Indian expenses, and he should support the Vote; but his contention was—and he hoped in the future that he would be able to stick to his guns—that this war in Egypt had nothing to do with India, which had never been consulted about it from start to finish. It was not so much on financial grounds—though, of course, that was a matter of grave consideration—that he took exception to India paying any of these extraordinary charges, but as a matter more of principle—namely, that she had never been consulted throughout all these transactions. As he had said, it was not possible, at the present time, to discuss the matter thoroughly. When they had seen the Papers promised by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) to-day they would be better able to argue the question. They would then know what the Indian Government had from the first intended to do, and from the Viceroy's despatches what objection, if any, he and his Council had taken to paying anything at all. It was said that the Viceroy in Council agreed with the proposition of Her Majesty's Government; but he (Mr. Onslow) hoped he was not using un-Parliamentary language when he said it appeared to him that, if that was the case, by some means or other the Viceroy in Council had been "squared." The noble Marquess had told them in August that a telegram had come from the Viceroy objecting to the proposition of the Government, which at that time was that India should pay the whole of the cost—but, as he had said already, this was not the occasion to go into these matters of principle. They had not the Papers before them; but he felt that this Vote, as regarded India, was, at all events, a matter of emergency. It depended on the Vote given to-night what the Indian Budget should be. The result would be telegraphed to India at once, and he should be sorry to throw any obstacle in the way of Her Majesty's Government on the present occasion. He would cordially support the Vote.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, he was one of those who held the same view as the hon. Member who had just sat down, as to the undesirability of asking India to pay any part of the cost of the Egyptian War. He had never yet been able to understand that perversity of mind and intellect which had insisted that the Afghan was an European War, and the Egyptian was an Indian War. In the discussion which took place last year, it was understood that no decision would be arrived at until the House had had a fresh opportunity of expressing some opinion on the subject. The Chancellor of the Exchequer now came forward and said the Government were prepared to give India £500,000, and that any proposal to make a further grant must meet with their opposition and that any Address for the purpose of increasing the payment in aid of India, would have to be moved in a subsequent financial year.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I said that any further payment would have to be made out of the funds of the next financial year.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON said, that was tantamount to saying that no payment at all would be made to India, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that he would have a deficit of between £750,000 and £1,250,000 for the present year; and, as the prospects for next year were not very encouraging, he did not think the Government would consent to put increased taxation on the people of these Islands for the purpose of increasing the payment to India. They were in this position now—that if they did not raise the question of the policy of paying this £500,000 now, they would never have another opportunity of raising it. He must say he thought this contribution towards the finances of India a very paltry one. No one could pretend that this war in Egypt was in any way initiated or promoted on account of Indian interests, but solely on account of European interests; and it was his firm belief that if Her Majesty's Government had not wished to negotiate a Commercial Treaty with France they would never have found themselves in the position they were in now. So much as regarded that particular Vote, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had alluded to other Estimates. Perhaps, before he entered into these, the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to congratulate him upon having attained the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he had just addressed them for the first time on the subject of the Revenue. The right hon. Gentleman had attained his high position under very disadvantageous circumstances, because what was the position in which they found themselves? And he would recommend this to hon. Gentlemen who were economists, and who sat on the Ministerial side of the House below the Gangway. They had already voted this year £87,700,000, and they were now asked to vote a sum of £2,300,000, which would bring up the total to the enormous amount of £90,000,000, which, he believed, was by far—by many millions—the highest amount ever voted by this country in time of peace. [*Cries of* "This was a time of war."] The Prime Minister had informed them that it was not war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had informed them that making all allowance for saving on Votes already passed, and for increase of the estimated Revenue, there would still be a large deficit. There were certain facts which he felt himself bound to mention on this occasion, late as was the hour, as he was afraid if he did not do so now he might never have another opportunity. One of the main claims to Office of individuals who composed the Government was that they would economically administer the finances; and what was the result of three years of economical administration? He did not suppose there was a man in the country who did not wish, so far as finance was concerned, the old Tory Administration back which the Prime Minister so strongly denounced in Mid Lothian. He (Lord George Hamilton) had in his pocket a copy of the great financial speech which the right hon. Gentleman had made in Mid Lothian, and he would recommend it to the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because he would find in it a number of admirable principles laid down, every one of which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) had infringed from the time he came into power to the time he had given up the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The first principle laid down was that there should be as few Supplementary Estimates as possible. Well, how many Supplementary Estimates had they had this year? He (Lord George Hamilton) had gone into the Library to get them, and had been presented with a huge volume, from which he found that there had been a great number of Supplementary Estimates. There was one for Cyprus. ["Hear, hear!"] Well, hon. Members seemed to imply that the Government were not responsible for that. He did not blame them in that particular matter, and he believed that if they had been wise and had spent a little more they would have found a good return. He believed that ultimately they would be compelled to spend more money. There were now no less than six Supplementary Estimates before them—namely, for Civil Service, Army, Indian Civil Service, Aid to India, the Navy, and the Transvaal. How was it that all this increased expenditure had become incurred by a Government pledged to economy? How was it that ever since they had been in Office they had been compelled to increase taxation? There were some hon. Gentlemen who laboured under the delusion that the increased expenditure in question was caused by the unpaid debts of the late Government, and that if they could only get rid of the debts of the late Government they would have no Supplementary Estimates, and would be able to reduce the expenditure by many millions. That, he believed, was an entire delusion. Not only had the Government increased their expenditure, but the Prime Minister, when embarking on a policy of military adventure, had adopted the Napoleonic theory, which was that always when they made war against a country they had a right, if they could, to tax the country. We, now, having made war against Egypt, were about to make Egypt pay a considerable sum for the pleasure of having been subjugated by us. The Secretary to the Treasury would not deny this, because he was trying to reduce his Estimate for this year by making Egypt pay a considerable sum. Before they passed these Estimates, they ought to press the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Secretary of the Treasury to tell them a little more about how they intended to provide for Ways and Means. There was already a deficiency of £200,000 between the estimated Expenditure and estimated Revenue. Well, was it not a bold thing for the Government to ask the Committee to grant these Supplementary Estimates when there was already a deficiency of £200,000? No doubt it was; therefore he hoped that, before the Estimates were assented to, some Member of the Government would give them an indication of the Ways and Means by which it was proposed to meet the expenditure. Of course, it was impossible, in the absence of the Prime Minister, for any Member of the Government to go against any part of the policy laid down by the right hon. Gentleman, the main principle of which was that it was improper to meet any deficiency by raising Exchequer Bills. He hoped, however, that the Committee would not assent to the Vote without a clear understanding as to what were the Ways and Means by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to meet the deficit.

Sir **JOHN LUBBOCK** said, the noble Lord who had just sat down blamed the Government because there was a nominal deficit of about £1,000,000, and they must all agree that that was an unfortunate result. But the noble Lord forgot that when his own Friends were in Office, they had deficits for the last three years, amounting in 1880 to no less than £2,800,000, which was a much larger sum. Moreover, the reduction of debt in 1882 would be far larger than in 1880. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had explained that it was impossible to impose fresh taxes just at the close of the year. There were various other sums paid this year which did not belong to it, but to the years under which the administration was in the hands of the late Government. If these sums were deducted from the whole, the expenditure would be reduced to £81,500,000; and that, upon the noble Lord's (Lord George Hamilton's) own showing, was considerably less than the amount spent by the late Conservative Administration. While he very much regretted that the Expenditure was so large, and that there was a deficiency of £1,000,000, he must give credit to the Government for one thing—namely, that when they spent money, they raised money to pay the bill. It was proper that the public should feel that if they had wars, they had to meet the expenses out of the finance of the year. He commended the Government in this respect, and thought it would have been well if the late Government had adopted a similar plan. He considered the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) had put a colour upon the figures which they did not bear out.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he had listened with some interest to the observations which had fallen from the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock); and he agreed with the hon. Baronet that it was of great importance they should know from the Government that it was their intention that the expenses of the year should fall upon the year. He did not gather from the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) that that was his intention. The right hon. Gentleman simply informed the Committee that there would be a deficit on the year of something between £750,000 and £1,250,000; but he made no indication as to the way in which he proposed to deal with that deficit—he did not say whether the deficit was to be a charge on the balances—that was to say, the amount allocated for the payment of Debt—or whether it was to be dealt with in the ensuing financial year.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, that what he had said was that in the beginning of March it was impossible to propose any taxation to meet a deficit, whatever the amount might be; and that they would, therefore, for the moment, pay it out of balances, which were in a satisfactory state. He also said that in the Financial Statement, to be made a month or more hence, he would explain exactly how the deficit would be dealt with.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that was precisely what he had said—namely, that the Government gave the Committee no information whatever as to the way in which they proposed to deal with the deficit. He found no fault with the right hon. Gentleman on that account. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), however, assumed that the whole cost of the year would be borne out of the Revenue of the year, and he referred to the operation of the Terminable Annuities. The hon. Baronet must know very well that the Terminable Annuities were set up by Parliament, that they were automatic in their operation, and that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, who preceded the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had no more to do with them than the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) himself. The Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being had to observe the law, and make provision in the Estimates of the year for the Terminable Annuities set up by his Predecessors. The hon. Baronet must also know very well that the operation of Terminable Annuities was that towards the end of the period for which they were set up a larger amount of Debt was paid off than at the commencement of the period. A certain provision, year by year, was established and required, and, no doubt, the effect in this year was that a larger portion of Debt was paid off than last year. No Chancellor of the Exchequer could hesitate to make the provision which the Act of Parliament required. There was one remark he wished to make with regard to the observations which fell from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman said that the provision which was made by Egypt towards the Army of Occupation was at the rate of £4 per head per month; but he failed to give the Committee any information as to the period in respect of which the payment of £4 was made—the right hon. Gentleman simply said that £3 per head was to be paid in aid of the Army Estimates and £1 per head in aid of the Navy Estimates. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) did not realize or understand whether the payment had been received, or whether it had been undertaken to be paid, or whether it was simply intended it should be demanded from the Government of Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not explain whether the sum was received, or whether it was only a sum acknowledged as due, or when it was to be paid. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would give the Committee some information on the point. There was one other point to which he wished to refer, and that had reference to the contribution towards the expenses of the Indian troops recently engaged in Egypt. It was, he believed, understood that the excess of the cost of the Indian Expedition over the ordinary pay of the troops should be met by this country. He wanted to know whether the sum of £1,142,000 was the sum in excess of the ordinary cost to the Indian Revenue of the troops serving in India—that was to say, their ordinary pay—or whether it included the ordinary pay of the troops serving in India? There was, as he was sure the right hon. Gentleman would realize, a great distinction. It would appear to be perfectly reasonable that they should not relieve India of the pay of the Indian troops who were employed in Egypt; but it was a great question whether they had a right to call on India to pay £642,000 in excess of the expenses of the Army she employed for her own protection. Were the Committee to understand that the £1,142,000 was a sum in excess of the ordinary cost to India of the Indian Contingent of 6,200 men employed in Egypt, and which India would not have been required to pay if the troops had remained at home, or did it include the ordinary pay and allowances of the troops sent by India to Egypt?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he would answer the question of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) as clearly as he could. The Estimates of the cost of the troops proceeding from this country and of the troops proceeding from India were based on exactly the same principle—that was to say, they showed the excess upon the ordinary expenditure provided for in the Budgets of the two countries, so that the expenditure, in addition to the Votes taken last Session, was about—he was speaking now in round figures — £3,400,000 in the case of the English troops, and about £1,140,000 in the case of the Indian troops. Of the £1,140,000 the Government proposed to pay out of the Exchequer £500,000, so that India would have to pay £640,000 more than was provided for in her ordinary Army Budget. He hoped he had made that quite clear. The right hon. Gentleman then asked him about the contributions from Egypt. He could only repeat what he had previously said in regard to this question. If the right hon. Gentleman would refer to the Army Supplementary Estimate, page 2, he would see that the contributions from the Egyptian Government, from the 1st of October, 1882, to the 31st of March, 1883, in respect of the Army, was, roughly, £209,000. In the Navy Supplementary Estimates it would seem that the Egyptian Government contributed £70,000. The meaning of that was that the Egyptian Government had to contribute in respect of the Forces which were doing their work, from the 1st of October, at the rate of £4 per head per month, or, in all, £279,000. His right hon. Friend asked him if that was only a claim, or would it be paid? He was happy to inform the right hon. Gentleman that, on the 28th of this month, the money would be paid into the Exchequer.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had not the slightest intention of assisting in defending the extravagant Estimates of the Government; but he would express his sympathy with what had been said by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) regarding the propriety and expediency of paying or meeting the expenses of the year out of the taxation of the year. He must express some regret that even the present Government did not altogether practice what they preached; for he need not hardly remind the Committee that it was not only this £1,000,000 which had to stand over in the present year, but there was a sum of several millions in respect to the Afghan War which was not paid out of the taxation of the year. He was afraid the present Government had, to some degree, followed the bad example of their Predecessors. Reverting to the Vote now before the Committee, he must accept the settlement which had been made, and which, he understood, had been accepted by the Government of India. He could admit that that settlement was consistent with what passed in July last. He thought it was a fair and liberal settlement, if it was the fact that India had any interest in the affairs of Egypt, either financial, commercial, or administrative. But he denied that. He wished to put in a word of protest. India had really nothing to do with the affairs of Egypt. If she had not, he (Sir George Campbell) did not think it would be fair that India should contribute more than a small sum towards the expenses of guarding the navigation of the Suez Canal. He admitted that India had a commercial interest in the free navigation of the Suez Canal; and if he thought the war was undertaken in the interest of the Canal, he should consider that India ought to pay her share of the cost. He believed there were other interests involved, and in which India had no part whatever; and he believed that under Arabi the navigation of the Suez Canal would be quite as safe as under the Khedive. If it should be the case, some day or other, that Egypt should be reduced to such a state of anarchy as to endanger the Suez Canal, it seemed to him that a small force of gunboats, which might be contributed by England and other countries, and, to a certain extent, by India, would amply suffice to protect the Canal. It was with a certain amount of protest that he accepted the arrangement that had been made by the two Governments of England and India.

Mr. GORST said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answering the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), made so clear the manner in which Her Majesty's Government were treating the finance of India, that he could not help regretting very much that the Postmaster General was not present, because, if he were, no one would more eloquently protest than he against the injustice the Government were doing to the finance of India in this matter. He (Mr. Gorst) was never able to reconcile the duty of the Government in Office with the course taken by individual Members of the Government in Opposition; and he should think that a large majority of the Gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Bench found it perfectly impossible to reconcile to their intellects and consciences the particular course taken by the Government on the present occasion, with the principles which they, in common with the Postmaster General, laid down in the last Parliament and supported by their Votes, because it was quite clear that the Government not only took away from the service of the Indian Empire its troops, which were charged upon the Indian Budget for the purpose of the Indian Empire, but they had saddled the finances with a further sum of £640,000. Firstly, they deprived India of her troops; and, secondly, made her pay an additional sum for those troops; and, at the same time, did not condescend to inform the Committee of the precise benefits which that expenditure conferred on the people of India. In the debate last year, and in the present discussion, the Government confined themselves to generalities—they simply said India was interested in Egypt, and in sending Indian troops to Egypt they did not show how they had benefited the commercial interests of the people of India. Unless they could point out clearly and specifically, and not in general terms, how the people of India were benefited by these military operations, they had no right to saddle them with this immense charge, and he was quite certain that if the Postmaster General were in the House he would tell them so. Another thing which he wished to observe was that the speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) must have been extremely unpleasant to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because nothing was so unpleasant as undeserved praise. The hon. Baronet praised the Government for their steady adhesion to the financial principle which was laid down in Mid Lothian—namely, that all expenditure must be provided for in the Revenue of the year. That was exactly what they were not going to do; but in the coming year they were going to make some unknown arrangement by which to meet the expenses of the year. They were asking the Committee to vote a Supplementary Estimate of upwards of £1,000,000, when, by their own showing, there was a deficit to that amount upon the year. It was, therefore, evident they were not going to meet the expenses out of the taxation by at least £1,000,000. Of course, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was right in saying it was now too late to cure the evil. He (Mr. Gorst) supposed the Government were going to raise the money by Exchequer Bills or by something of that kind; therefore, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down to the House of Commons at the very end of the financial year, and asked for a Supplementary Estimate of upwards of £1,000,000, he ought not to put off the House of Commons by saying that in a month's time they would hear how he was going to meet the deficiency. It would be only respectful to the Committee of Supply, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had pointed out to the Committee the particular mode by which he meant to raise the Revenue necessary to meet the Supply which he asked them to vote. He supposed, of course, no one could dispute the present Estimate. In the first place, they must regret that the Government had laid this charge upon India without any explanation of the reason why the people of that country should bear it; and, in the second place, they could only lament the financial degradation of the present Government, in raising by the taxation of the year a sum less by £2,000,000 than that which was necessary to defray the expenses of the year.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he was perfectly at a loss to understand the perversity of intellect which could justify the taxing of the people of India to the extent of £15,000,000 or £20,000,000 to defray the expenses of a purely aggressive war—a war devised and planned in London, entered into in defiance of the wishes of those best calculated to speak on behalf of the Indian people—but could resist the proposal that the Indian Exchequer should pay a very small sum towards the expenses of a war which he ventured to say was, in the main, if not entirely so, for the benefit of our Indian Empire. ["No!"] He was quite aware the opposite opinion was the popular opinion in the House at the present moment; but that would not deter him expressing his opinion that, unless they had had an Indian Empire to protect, no Government would have ventured to propose, and he was quite sure the country would never have sanctioned, a war in Egypt at all. Every argument used by hon. Gentlemen opposite, indeed, every argument advanced in the House in favour of the Egyptian operations, or war, or whatever the recent events could be called, culminated in allusions to the Suez Canal and the danger to our Indian Empire, and he thought it only fair, just, and right that India should bear the small sum which Her Majesty's Government proposed to impose upon her in respect of the war. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) had raised the question of the general Expenditure, with special allusion to hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Ministerial side of the House. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler), and others, did object to the large Expenditure of Her Majesty's Government; but, at the same time, in discussing questions of this sort they should be fair in stating the figures. The noble Lord had said it was a delusion to suppose that any material part of the Expenditure of the present year was necessitated in order to defray the debts of the Predecessors of the present Government.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON denied having said that.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he understood the noble Lord to refer to the Expenditure of £90,000,000, and to say that that was the most enormous Expenditure ever incurred either in time of peace or war. He would only just ask the noble Lord to remember two sets of figures whenever he contrasted the Expenditure of the present Government with that of the late Government. He would ask him to remember that just before the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) left Office in 1880, he stated that the net aggregate deficit of his tenure of Office was something between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000. In order to meet that deficit he created Terminable Annuities, which were to run five years, and were to bear a payment of £1,300,000 a-year. To that the present Government had added £500,000 towards the contribution of India for the Afghan War; to that also had to be added the Terminable Annuities to defray the £2,000,000 which the late Chancellor of the Exchequer lent to India without interest; and these sums altogether represented an increase since the present Government had been in power of £2,000,000 to their Expenditure specifically to defray the obligations incurred by the late Government. That was the first set of figures he would ask the noble Lord to remember; and the second set of figures he desired the noble Lord to bear in mind related to the administrative Departments of State. In the Expenditure of the country provision was made for the Post Office and Telegraph Service, and the expenditure under these heads was nearly £1,000,000 more than it was during the administration of the late Government. Therefore, when they were contrasting the Expenditure of the two Governments—although he did not justify the Expenditure of the present Government, and he hoped that when they challenged the Government in regard to it they would have the support of the noble Lord and his Friends—they were bound to deal with the present Government fairly, and see what portion of the Expenditure really belonged to them and what belonged to their Predecessors.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, there were two questions he would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, connected with the troops sent from India. It would be satisfactory to the House and the country to know whether it was not the fact that Indian troops immediately they left their own country received double pay; and also whether the European troops sent from India to Egypt received the Indian pay, or whether, on their arrival in Egypt, they were placed on European pay? He believed there were only two European Infantry regiments which were sent from India—namely, the 72nd, who were now called the Seeforth Highlanders, and the 63rd, who were now called the Manchester Regiment.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON said, he did not wish to draw the House into an Indian debate, and, therefore, should only refer very briefly to the remarks made by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). Even granting the truth of the remarks of the hon. Gentleman, which he could not—assuming that the hon. Member was right in saying that the late Government left a deficit to the present Government of upwards of £2,000,000—they were justified in complaining that the present Government had, irrespective of the legacy of debt, very largely increased the Estimates. The country had now to provide for a much greater Expenditure than had ever had to be provided for before. He might also complain, as a taxpayer, that he had to pay a considerably higher scale of taxation than he had ever been required to pay before. These, however, were points which ought rather to be discussed on the Budget than on Supplementary Estimates. He rose principally, as a new Member, to remark upon the re-casting of the Estimates since he had anything to do with finance; and he ventured to offer, though rather late in the day, his protest against the present system of taking the extra receipts in aid of the Votes. He confessed he had some belief in the soundness of the old system; in his opinion, under the old system a better control was exercised over the great spending Departments than could be exercised under the present system. Not having been in the House for two or three years, he could not say whether the question had been threshed out and settled after considerable discussion; but he could not acquiesce in the change of system, although his opinion might perhaps differ from that of some of his hon. Friends around him. He was disposed to think the sum of £500,000 which had been ageed upon between the two Governments of England and India was an approximately fair sum for the Indian Government to pay; and, under the circumstances, he should not offer any opposition to this Estimate.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I only rise to answer a question put by the hon. and gallant Member for Horsham (Sir Henry Fletcher). He asks whether the Indian troops received double pay when serving beyond their own Frontiers? I do not recollect at this moment what the exact regulations are, but, no doubt, they received increased pay when they served out of their own country, though I do not think it was precisely double pay. As to the British troops taken from India to serve in Egypt, they, of course, received the same pay as the troops sent from this country to Egypt. It would obviously be impossible to have British troops serving together under the same circumstances, but under different rates of pay.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER regretted the closing remarks of the hon. Member for Wigan (Mr. A. F. Egerton) respecting the £500,000, for it seemed to him that this country ought not to impose on the people of India, who were not represented in that House, and had no opportunity of making their grievances known in Parliament, any taxation they could possibly avoid. In former years no one had more earnestly advocated the cause of the people of India than the Postmaster General, whom he was sorry not to see in the House at present, for he apprehended that that right hon. Gentleman would hardly agree with his Colleagues in the Government when they proposed a Vote diametrically opposed to the principles he advocated before he sat on the Treasury Bench. In former days he had always supported the right hon. Gentleman in his earnest advocacy of the interests of the people of India. He knew that the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) intended to raise this question at the proper time, and he thought it was incumbent on every hon. Member who felt that that House owed a duty to India in looking after the interests of that country, to raise a protest against the proposal of the Government. He thought the Government would admit his right to say this much, because he, differing with some of his hon. Friends, had supported their proposal for a contribution from this country for the Afghan War.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE), 1882-3.

(2.) £728,000, for Additional Expenditure for Army Services, consequent on the despatch of an Expeditionary Force to Egypt.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he should like to know where this money was to come from? When the Committee was asked to vote money in this manner—£728,000—there ought to be some explanation of the source from which it was to come. He would wish particularly to ask the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), who was one of the Gentlemen owing to whose presence on the Treasury Bench he felt some small amount of confidence in the Government. In a valuable speech that hon. Gentleman had said it was an exceedingly dangerous state of things when the gunpowder business was decided by the many, and the few paid for it. It was very well in this loose way to vote £700,000 odd; but there ought to be a clear understanding as to where it was to come from. He had seen it stated in the newspapers and other organs, that it was to be raised by an increase in the Income Tax. He could not suppose that the hon. Member for Liskeard would be a party, after what he had said in his valuable speech, to any such policy. For his part, he should like to see this money raised in one of two ways—one, by raising it from the landed interest, because, of course, as everybody knew, the landed interest owned their land upon a sort of feudal tenure, under which they were bound to provide for the defence of their country. But as he greatly feared that the Government would not adopt that plan, he would, in default, much like to see this money raised by a general tax on every individual in the country, poor as well as rich. Let every one of those shrieking Jingoes who went about calling upon the Government to go to war, now here and now there, understand that they would have to pay for the cost of these wars. Then, he thought, as his hon. Friend had said, they would be rather less inclined than they now were to advance the Jingo policy which he was sorry to see had been adopted by the Government, and which they had inherited from Gentlemen on the other side of the House. With regard to the special point before the Committee, he wanted to know something about one item. He found a "Special Gratuity" to the British Contingent of £90,000. He did not remember seeing among the numerous papers which he had received any statement as to how this money was to be distributed; but he had seen in the newspapers that it was to be distributed to the officers and soldiers. Of course, the soldiers' share would be very little, and the officers would get a great deal; but gathering that a Special Vote for Lord Wolseley was to be asked for, he wished to know whether any portion of this £90,000 was to be given to Lord Wolseley?

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he thought the more reasonable way of raising this money would be for the Government themselves to contribute largely to these extra charges. Observations having been made with respect to the action of the Conservative Party in promoting this war, he wished to free himself, as an inconsiderable Member of that Party, from such an imputation. Speaking on the Queen's Speech exactly a year ago, he had ventured to lay before the House the precise course that events were likely to take. Five months before the war began he had warned the Government that if they pursued the course they were then adopting they were bound to bring about a war; but they were unable to refrain from the error of their ways, and the war was brought about. The question now was, What was this sum to meet? What result was to be obtained from the payment of these charges? There were two results which the country desired at this moment to see—first, the predominance of British influence in Egypt; and, secondly, the good government of the Egyptian people. For the securing of both or either of these results it was absolutely necessary that the policy of the Government with regard to Egypt must be changed. Neither of these results could be obtained if the evacuation of Egypt was carried out within six months, as was suggested by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) a few days ago; and if the Government followed the advice of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), and left that unfortunate country, which they had reduced to anarchy, "to simmer, boil, and stew," they would refuse again to intervene to put down that anarchy, for the extraordinary reason that, having themselves deliberately nullified the results of their own previous expenditure of £6,000,000, they would deem it unadvisable to spend any further sum. He objected to granting this sum to the Government, because they had given no satisfactory statement with regard to their future policy in Egypt. No one knew whether the whole of this money would be dropped into the sea. Twelve months ago there was absolutely no necessity for this war at all. The whole of these charges might easily have been avoided if the Government had displayed a moderate amount of statesmenship and foresight. If they had refrained from the alliance with France, and treated the Turks fairly, or acted in time, the war might have been avoided and better results than had followed would have been attained by peaceful methods. The country had to thank the President of the Board of Trade and those who followed in his steps, for this unfortunate war. It had been stated that the Conservative Party were responsible for this war. In June and July the Conservatives urged firm action in defence of British life and property in Egypt, but only after the Ministry had allowed matters to drift into an *impasse* from which there was no other outlet. These two lines of policy were perfectly in harmony. When there was time to avoid the war, the Conservatives warned and implored the Government to take steps for that purpose; but when things had reached a climax, and when after the massacres it was impossible for us to withdraw without dishonour, then they did urge on the Government firmness and courage. They did not urge the bombardment of Alexandria, they only urged firm action; and those with whom he acted at that time advocated firm action in conjunction with the Sovereign of Egypt. In his opinion the bombardment of Alexandria was premature, and might perhaps have been avoided if a little time had been given to the Sultan and others to arrange the matter; but it was perfectly consistent with their previous conduct for the Conservatives to have advocated in June and July firmness of action—["Divide, divide!"] He had no wish to move to report Progress; but he should do so if he was interrupted by the barbaric shouts of hon. Members. It was perfectly consistent for the Conservatives to have advocated a firm policy in June and July, and yet now to condemn the war from the first as absolutely unnecessary. In view of the policy of the Government in the past and the many errors they have made, the apparent fruitlessness of the war, and the absence of any assurance that we should gain any good results, he thought the Government might fairly be asked to refrain from pressing this Vote to-night, and to hold it over till Monday, when there would be a better opportunity of considering it as it deserved. He should not move to report Progress; but he hoped Progress would be reported.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I hope the Committee will be disposed to vote the whole of these Supplementary Estimates relating to Egypt to-night. My right hon. Friend has made a statement on the subject, and I think, although the hour is very late, we are quite prepared to answer any questions as to details. The hon. Member objects to anything at all on account of this war, which he considers unnecessary.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Until we have some assurance as to results.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I think the hon. Member was not present this evening when we had an opportunity of voting with the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), who moved a Resolution expressing the regret of the House that it should be called upon to place any burden on the people. That appears to be the most convenient form in which the hon. Member could have expressed his opinion. I do not think I need follow the hon. Member in this question; but in reply to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), I think it was stated by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the course of last Session, that when the Estimates were presented the Government would propose a Vote for a gratuity to the troops and sailors engaged in Egypt. A Circular has been presented which states the principle upon which this gratuity will be applied. It will be issued according to the rank of the officers and men. The hon. Member asked what amount will be the share of Lord Wolseley? He will have £1,000, and the Chief of the Staff £500; other officers who were in command will receive amounts according to their respective ranks. The hon. Member asked a question respecting the annuity to be proposed by the Prime Minister for Lord Wolseley. That has nothing whatever to do with this; it is altogether a separate arrangement. I believe it is the intention of the Prime Minister at the proper time to make a proposal to the House, both on account of Lord Wolseley and of Lord Alcester, according to the invariable practice when Peerages have been conferred for Naval or Military services. That, of course, has nothing whatever to do with the share of this gratuity to Lord Wolseley according to usage.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he understood the noble Marquess to say that, if possible, the Government intended to get through the whole of these Supplementary Estimates relating to Egypt this evening. Of course, the House was very willing on special occasions to make personal sacrifices when the Public Service rendered that necessary, and in regard to the first Vote—that with respect to India—it was one that might be agreed to; but he hoped that if the Government met with the indulgence of the Committee, and were allowed to take that Vote, they would then consent to postpone the other Votes. He thought that would be a fair compromise at that time of night. On the other hand, he should like to ask the noble Marquess whether he would give some undertaking that either on the Report of Supply, or, still more probably, when the Army Estimates were brought forward, the fullest opportunity would be given for discussing points which would naturally have arisen now, but which hon. Members had postponed in consideration of the time of night, and the circumstances under which this Vote was proposed? For his own part, there were several questions which he should like to raise, but which it was impossible to raise at the present time. There was also a question on the new form of the Vote as it necessarily stood in the Estimates. He thought it very inconvenient to have various questions mixed up upon one Vote, and that they would be better distributed over several Votes. If the noble Marquess would give this assurance, there would be every effort made on this side of the House to assist the Government.

LORD HENRY LENNOX wished to make an appeal to the noble Marquess. He had no intention to discuss the question whether the Egyptian Campaign was right or wrong; he only wished to ask the noble Marquess to state now what was the condition of health of the troops still in Egypt, and whether there was any truth or not in the accounts published in the newspapers showing that the mortality among these men was on the increase? He should take an opportunity later on, in fuller detail, of presenting to the House his view of the action of the troops in Egypt; and his firm conviction was that had the necessary steps been taken when the war ended the frightful mortality which had occurred might easily have been averted. He did not, however, wish to detain the Committee now, but merely to ask whether the noble Marquess could give the country any reassuring account of the health of the British troops now forming the Army of Occupation in Egypt? On a later occasion he would state the reasons for his belief that a great deal of the mortality might have been avoided.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): An appeal having been made from the opposite Bench, I may say that it is practically necessary, unless the House intends to sit on Saturday, that the Supplementary

Estimates should be finished on Monday. These Supplementary Estimates consist of these three or four Votes in connection with Egypt, and of some small Supplementary Estimates relating to Civil Service and Revenue Expenditure. It is absolutely necessary that we should close these on Monday, and therefore I hope the Committee will consent to finish the Egyptian Votes now and take the other Estimates on Monday. With respect to what the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Stanley) said as to general questions arising out of these Votes, I think that is reasonable; but any questions upon small details we shall be prepared to answer at once, and any general questions might be asked afterwards. With reference to the question of the noble Lord (Lord Henry Lennox), I am not able to say more as to the present rate of mortality among the soldiers, than that it has been steadily on the decrease for some months past. As to his suggestion that we did not take proper steps to provide against insanitary conditions, I may say that as soon as the war was over we sent out a most experienced Engineer officer, General Sir Andrew Clarke, with *carte blanche* to do whatever was necessary in regard to sanitary arrangements. The health of the troops has steadily improved since then, and the sickness is now as low as 7 per cent.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he thought the suggestion of his right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) was that this Vote should be taken, and Progress should then be reported. He thought that a reasonable proposal, especially as it was distinctly understood that the Committee should not proceed after a quarter past 1. It would be unreasonable to take the Egyptian Votes with so small a House as there now was; and he should feel it his duty to protest against that, and to divide the Committee upon it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Do you object to taking the Egyptian Votes?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Yes, beyond this.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Does that mean that the Vote for the Navy should not be taken to-night?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Yes.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Unless we get through these Votes now, the House will have to sit a very long time on Monday, as there are a great number of ordinary Supplementary Estimates to be taken.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, he had been informed by the hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. Winn) that, as he understood, the Government did not intend to propose any Vote that evening after a quarter to 1 o'clock. It was now a quarter past 1, and, therefore, considering the understanding he had referred to, he thought they were justified in objecting to go further than the Vote then before the Committee.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, he had certainly not given any such promise such as that indicated by the hon. Member opposite. The only promise given was that the Government would not begin the Estimates after half-past 12 o'clock.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, there was a great deal of uncertainty as to the cost of transport during the war, and upon that subject the Committee had received no information. They were desirous of knowing what the total cost amounted to. There appeared on the present Estimate £20,000 for transport at home, and also a sum of £60,000 for transport abroad, and he would be glad to know what was the nature and extent of the transport which these items represented? This was a question which certainly deserved serious consideration on the part of the Committee. If hon. Members would turn to the end of the Vote they would see that a deduction was made of the sum of £40,000 for the sale of transport animals; and with respect to that credit, he ventured to say that if the original cost of the animals was £80,000, they were not likely to get for them so large a sum as £40,000 when they were sold. Therefore, he concluded that the cost of animals for the whole war was not that which appeared on the Estimates under the items he had specified. There had been great complaints as to the cost of transport in connection with the Expedition to Egypt, and he thought the Committee had a right to information as to what had been the cost of the animals employed, and, indeed, as to the whole cost of transport during the war. The two items of £80,000 and £20,000 were quite insufficient for this purpose, and he would therefore appeal to the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, if possible, to furnish the Committee with some explanation with regard to the enormous cost of the Transport Service in connection with the recent operations in Egypt.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, the item of £20,000 was for the conveyance of troops from various parts of England to the port of embarkation. The item of £80,000 was for the cost of animals. As the hon. and gallant Baronet would be aware, the Turkish Government had offered great resistance to our endeavour to bring mules from Smyrna and Beyrout, and that refusal on the part of the Turkish authorities had very much increased the cost of transport animals. The amount in the Estimate was the price of the animals, a great number of which were still engaged with the Army in Egypt. Some were at Malta, and a portion had been brought home.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY said, it was well known that some of the Cavalry regiments, and a great portion of the Artillery left at home after the despatch of the troops to Egypt, were denuded of their horses for the purpose of equipping the troops sent abroad. He saw an item of £60,000 in Vote 1, Sub-head M, for the purchase of horses, and he wished to know whether that sum was for the purpose of defraying the expenses of regiments and batteries left at home, or whether it had been expended on the purchase of an extra number of animals for the troops sent abroad?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, the sum just referred to included not only the cost of horses abroad, but also the cost of horses required to fill up the ranks of those regiments which remained at home. There had been great losses amongst the horses of the 4th Dragoon Guards—not less than 169—which had to be made up, and the cost of these was included in the charge.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he strongly objected to voting money in the small hours of the morning. However, as they had gone so far with this Supply Estimate, he supposed they must go through with it; but he hoped it would be on the distinct understanding that ample time would be allowed for future discussion of the Estimate on the Report. It seemed to him there had hardly been sufficient calculation when the last Estimates were framed, because the amount asked for under this Vote had been since almost doubled. He inferred from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the Government took credit to themselves for the correctness of their Estimates, when he said that the Estimates for this country were under-Estimates, and that the Estimates for India were over-Estimates, and that the two differences balanced each other. But he (Sir George Campbell) was not one of those who believed that two blacks made a white, and it seemed to him of very great importance that the responsible Officers should not be allowed to mislead the country into supposing that they could carry on war at a cheaper rate than was possible. He was ready to admit that the war had been carried on with a moderation of expense that was creditable to the Government; but he thought it would have been much better to have over-estimated than under-estimated its cost. He would like to know why, in view of all the circumstances, the original Estimate had been so much exceeded? There had been no continuation of the war beyond the period which Her Majesty's Government had contemplated. On the contrary, it had been brought to an end earlier than might have been expected. They were told, in fact, that the only error in the Campaign was that the battle of Tel-el-Kebir was fought one day earlier than was intended. The resistance of the Egyptians collapsed immediately after this event; and it seemed to him that, the war having been brought to a conclusion under most favourable circumstances, there was no justification of the under-estimate of its cost.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said he wished to know why civil medical practitioners, for whose services there was a charge in the Estimate of £4,000, had been sent out to Egypt? His reason for making this inquiry was that he thought under the new system ample provision ought to have been made for medical officers connected with the Army. And in making allusion to this subject, perhaps, as an old soldier, he might be permitted to suggest to the military authorities the consideration of the question as to whether they could not see their way to revert to the old system under which surgeons were attached to the regiments. He considered himself entitled to call the attention of the Committee to this subject while the present Vote was under discussion. He believed that the Indian Contingent and the regiments which came to Egypt from India were supplied with their medical officers on the old system under which he had the honour of serving many years ago. The present system of medical officers being attached to regiments for a few months only, he regarded as most detrimental to the Military Service. On the other hand, the old system, under which medical officers were permanently attached, was most favourable to the medical officers themselves as well as to the men and the commanding officers. Without wishing to speak too strongly on the subject, he was bound to say that the present system had not turned out altogether as well as could have been wished; and therefore he again urged the military authorities to consider whether it would not be well to return to the old system under which medical officers were permanently, instead of as now temporarily, attached. There was another item, respecting which he wished to ask for some explanation from his hon. and gallant Friend and old brother officer, whom he congratulated on his new appointment as Surveyor General of Ordnance. He observed a charge of £15,000 for timber, and would be glad to know where the timber came from and what had become of it? There was also a charge of £3,000, under Sub-head F, for fuel, which he presumed was for the engines sent out to Egypt. Again, under Sub-head C, there was a charge of £20,000 for metals, and he asked whether these were for the railway from Cairo in the direction of Tel-el-Kebir? He did not wish to offer any objection to these items, but simply asked for an explanation of them. There was also the item of £30,000 for accoutrements, to which the same remark applied. This was a large sum indeed, because it was always supposed that when troops were sent out of the country they were fully equipped and accoutred. He believed there had been extra clothing furnished to some regiments—some Kharkee had been supplied to them—but he hardly imagined that the cost of this amounted to £30,000.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON remarked, that all the items for gratuities appeared in the aggregate. With reference to the charge of £90,000 for Special Gratuity to British Contingent, he asked the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, if that included payments to the officers of the British regiments which came from India to Egypt? As the noble Marquess was aware, the mere fact of the Native regiments coming from India entitled them to double pay; whereas the European troops who came from India lost their Indian pay, although both these classes of troops fought side by side. There was another point upon which he thought explanation should be given, and he referred to a feeling which generally prevailed that the sick and wounded were not properly looked after. Could the noble Marquess state whether there had been any change in the Committee recently appointed?

Mr. BRAND said, in reply to the hon. and gallant Member for Horsham, that the item for timber was in connection with the increased work at the Woolwich manufactories. With regard to the accoutrements, his hon. and gallant Friend must recollect that 10,000 Reserve men had been called out whose accoutrements, which were taken out of store, had to be replaced.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, he hoped some larger suits of clothing would be kept in store. There was a man in his district so enormously stout that none of the suits in store would fit him, and he was in consequence unable to go out to Egypt.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, it was desirable that the Committee should have some clear explanation as to whether the English troops on the Indian Establishment received a gratuity, and, if so, whether they were paid out of this Vote or out of the Indian Exchequer? He presumed they were treated on the same terms as the troops sent from England; but he thought it desirable that the point should be made clear.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, the British troops that came from India received precisely the same amount of gratuity as the Indian troops, but so long as they remained on the Indian Establishment the gratuity was charged against the Indian Government. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had asked why the Vote of Credit had been exceeded. But he thought the hon. Gentleman must be aware that it was impossible to form a very accurate estimate of the sum required for warlike purposes. There had been some very obvious reasons why the amount estimated in July last should be exceeded. In the first place, the number of troops despatched considerably exceeded the number then contemplated. In the next place, there was a large increase in the quantity of Ordnance stores that were sent to Alexandria. Again, the estimate for horses was exceeded on account of the great mortality which prevailed amongst them during the campaign, and his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary had explained that there had been a considerable increase in the cost of horses in consequence of the Turkish Government refusing to allow mules to be despatched from Smyrna and Beyrout. Seeing, therefore, that there were so many items which it was impossible to estimate accurately beforehand, he did not think that the amount by which the July Estimate had been exceeded was a very large one. With regard to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Horsham (Sir Henry Fletcher) and the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) in reference to the medical arrangements and the treatment of the sick and wounded, he wished to say that his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, before he left the War Office, and almost immediately after the return of the troops, appointed a Committee to inquire into complaints which had been made of the failure of the transport and medical arrangements. That Committee, as was stated in reply to a Question put yesterday, had, he believed, entered very exhaustively into these questions, but had not yet made its Report, which, however, might be expected in a week or two.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, the Financial Secretary had replied only to a portion of the question of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) with regard to the amount credited at the end of the Vote for the sale of animals—namely, £40,000. It was well known that for weeks after the conclusion of military operations mules continued to come in by thousands — in fact, "it rained mules." The reply of the hon. and gallant Gentleman on the Government Bench did not state whether the sum of £40,000 represented the amount realized by the sale of all the animals employed in the war, or only applied to the animals for which there was the charge of £80,000. The distinction was a very important one, and the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex had pointed out that £40,000 was an unusual recoupment upon an outlay of £80,000. He therefore again asked whether the £40,000 applied to the whole of the animals purchased, or only to a portion of them?

Mr. TOMLINSON asked for an explanation of the item of £5,000 for losses under Sub-head M.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER said, this sum included the compensation to officers for the loss of their horses, as well as compensation to men for clothing and accoutrements lost; and, considering the dimensions of the Expedition, he did not think the charge excessive.

Colonel STANLEY said, the question had been asked in connection with Vote 4, why there was a charge of £4,000 for civilian medical practitioners? He had not understood that a reply had been given by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite; but he presumed the charge was incurred to replace the medical officers sent abroad with the troops.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER said, the sum of £40,000 was the whole sum realized by the sale of animals. The item for medical practitioners was, as the right hon. and gallant Gentleman supposed, to replace the medical officers whose services were required with the regiments sent out to Egypt.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, there was great curiosity to know what conclusion the War Department had arrived at with regard to the fuses for the shells used by the Navy in the bombardment of Alexandria. It might, perhaps, not be convenient for the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Vote to make a statement on the question at that moment; but he wished it to be distinctly understood that the matter would have to be dealt with either on the present or the forthcoming Estimates. A very satisfactory explanation would have to be given to the House and the country upon the point, as also with regard to such mysterious items under Vote 12, as £115,500 for Miscellaneous Stores. There had been a distinct failure of the stores supplied to the Navy by the War Department, and the Committee and the country ought to know whether they were to have efficient munitions of war in future, or whether they were to be liable to the very great misadventure which had recently occurred.

Mr. BRAND: I think it would be better if the right hon. Gentleman would defer his question.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, there must be an understanding that the question would be taken up at a time when more consideration could be given to it. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer must be aware that during the last two or three Sessions, Estimates had been passed at hours when it was impossible properly to enter into them. He had no desire to embarrass the Government; but his question referred to a matter of very great importance which had arisen in connection with the late war. If, therefore, the question were postponed, there must be a distinct understanding that an opportunity would be given for full discussion hereafter.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, there was the strongest desire on the part of the Government to give the most ample opportunities for discussing the Estimates. But he must remind the Committee that although the Government might be able to do much, they could not make time; and if the House insisted upon discussing the Address to Her Majesty for 11 days, a very appreciable inroad was thereby made upon the time at the disposal of the Government. It was impossible that they could then give so full an opportunity for discussion as it might be very desirable to afford later on in the Session; and all he could say at the present moment was, that the Government would make the very best arrangement they could for the discussion of the Estimates.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 5th March, 1883.

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE—NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS.

QUESTION.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I beg to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India, Whether he has received any intelligence respecting the meetings which have been held in Madras and Calcutta with reference to the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill; and also—which is the most important part of my Question—whether it is true that Her Majesty's Government have pledged themselves to carry the Bill through, and whether the Bill has received the formal approval of Her Majesty's Government in England?

The Earl of KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I have no official information respecting the meetings in Madras and Calcutta. As to the last part of the Question of the noble Marquess, I may say that he will find in the Papers I propose to lay on the Table to-morrow, and which I hope will be distributed in a few days, that the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council was formally given to the Bill.

BRAITHWAITE AND BUTTERMERE RAILWAY BILL.

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Earl of Redesdale.*)

Lord MOUNT-TEMPLE, in moving, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, it was so exceptional a Bill that it ought to be dealt with in an exceptional manner. It would disfigure the most beautiful and frequented part of the lake scenery without any advantage to the public. It would only convey slates that were then carried in 10 light carts without any suffering to the 10 horses. It had been received throughout the neighbourhood with the greatest dismay and apprehension. The peculiarity of this proposed railway lay in the fact that it ended in a slate quarry in Honister Pass, destroying the picturesque wildness of that celebrated ravine. It would lead to no town, and would accommodate no population. The population of the district was very scanty, consisting mainly of farmers who carried their market produce in small carts. No tourists would use it, because it could carry no one to the fine scenery, but only through it. The number of visitors was estimated at 5,000 annually. He appealed to their Lordships to protect the natural beauty of their favourite holiday ground, which refreshed and delighted the hard-worked artizans of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and repaired the mental exhaustion of professional and literary men from all parts of the country. The interests of the public were not represented before Committees on Private Bills.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Lord Mount-Temple.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that, so far as he was able to judge, there might be objection taken to the Bill on the ground that it was a private concern, and therefore ought not to have compulsory powers granted to it. He wished that some noble Lord had risen to take part in the discussion who was in favour of the Bill, so that the House might know what arguments could be adduced on its behalf. Any remarks he himself had to make would come in more appropriately after the arguments in favour of the Bill had been stated.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that the better way of dealing with the Bill would be to refer it to a Select Committee, so that the House might be put in possession of all the facts. He admired the part of the country through which the line proposed to pass as much as his noble Friend opposite (Lord Mount-Temple); but, at the same time, the promoters might be able to show that the railway would not disfigure the country and would be of some utility. He thought that the better course would be to allow the Bill to pass a second reading, reserving opposition, if it should then be thought desirable, for the third reading.

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 46; Not-Contents 11: Majority 35.

CONTENTS.

Selborne, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)

Bedford, D.

Lansdowne, M.
Salisbury, M.

Belmore, E.
Cairns, E.
Camperdown, E.
Dartrey, E.
Derby, E.
Devon, E.
Granville, E.
Kimberley, E.
Lathom, E.
Leven and Melville, E.
Lytton, E.
Minto, E.
Morley, E.
Nelson, E.
Northbrook, E.
Stanhope, E.
Sydney, E.

Cranbrook, V. [*Teller.*]
Halifax, V.
Sherbrooke, V.

Amherst, L. (*V. Holmesdale.*)
Brabourne, L.
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Carlingford, L.
Clements, L. (*E. Leitrim.*)
Colchester, L.
Colville of Culross, L. [*Teller.*]
De L'Isle and Dudley, L.
Ettrick, L. (*L. Napier.*)
Kinnaird, L.
Methuen, L.
Monson, L.
Penrhyn, L.
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Reay, L.
Saltersford, L. (*E. Courtown.*)
Sandhurst, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Sudeley, L.
Thurlow, L.
Tweedmouth, L.
Windsor, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Albany, H.R.M. D.
Westminster D. [*Teller.*]

Cowper, E.
Feversham, E.
Manvers, E.

Ker, L. (*M. Lothian.*)

Mount-Temple, L. [*Teller.*]
Ormonde, L. (*M. Ormonde.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L
Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Waveney, L.

Resolved in the *Affirmative.*

Bill read 2^a accordingly.

NAVY—PAY OF NAVAL OFFICERS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF BELMORE, in rising to call attention to the Rates of Pay of the officers of the Royal Navy, and to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he could hold out any hopes of an increase in those rates in accordance with the increased expense of living at the present day in comparison with that when those rates were fixed? said, that although this subject was one of great interest to those who were affected by it, the question was really a very simple one, and he need not take up much of their Lordship's time. He would begin at the lowest rank. The pay of a naval cadet was 1*s.* a-day, and that of a midshipman 1*s.* 9*d.* a-day. He need not, however, dwell on those ranks, as their pay did not represent their cost to the country, owing to the fact that they practically—if not literally—received a free education. He would pass on to the rank of lieutenant, the rank where the greatest grievance was felt. And here he would go into the history of the pay of lieutenants from a very early period. He found that prior to 1693 they received 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day, or 3*s.* in first or second rates. In 1693, 5*s.* a day, or 6*s.* in first or second rates. In 1700 this was reduced to 4*s.* and 5*s.* a-day respectively, and so it continued nearly all through the last century. In 1796 it was increased to 5*s.* a-day, but was the same in all rates except that there was 6*d.* a-day extra in flagships. In 1806 it was raised to 6*s.* a-day, with 6*d.* a-day extra in flagships. It so continued for 10 years until 1816, when it was increased to 6*s.* 6*d.* a-day, and 8*s.* 3*d.* for a 1st lieutenant of seven years' standing, with 6*d.* a-day extra in flagships. In 1840 it was raised to 10*s.* a-day, or 11*s.* for 1st lieutenants of seven years' standing, but flagship's pay was abolished. So it remained till this day, although the purchasing power of the sovereign was considerably diminished. Lieutenants in independent command received either 3*s.* 9*d.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day command money, according as they were attached to sea-going or harbour ships, or their tenders, and lieutenants appointed for navigating duties, and gunnery lieutenants received sums varying from 4*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day extra; but what he might call ordinary lieutenants, who had to maintain the position of gentlemen, only received 10*s.* a-day. If such an officer went into a Colonial port, such as Sydney, he would find artizans such as ship-caulkers receiving higher daily wages than his day's pay. When he (the Earl of Belmore) was at Sydney, ship-caulkers received 12*s.* a-day, whilst they had an inferior position to maintain, and, in fact, were so well off that they could not be relied on to stick steadily to work. But when he came to the half-pay rates, he found lieutenants receiving, according to standing, from 4*s.* to 8*s.* 6*d.* a-day. In these days many officers were lieutenants up to 37 or 38 years of age, and had themselves, and perhaps a wife and family, to maintain on 8*s.* 6*d.* a-day. He had seen a calculation made that only two lieutenants out of every nine could, on arithmetical principles, expect to reach the rank of commander. Perhaps this was rather an exaggerated estimate, as he understood there were 700 lieutenants, and that the Commanders' List was, or was to be, fixed at 150. This would give one only in every four and a-half who could hope for promotion. He was aware that there were different rates for retired lieutenants, but he did not propose to go into that part of the subject. This was varied for captains, commanders, and lieutenants from £600 down to £200 a-year. He now came to commanders. These officers received full pay at the rate of £1 a-day, with either 3*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* command money. But their half-pay, according to their distance from the top of the list, and whether or not, if near the top, they had served a year at sea, was either 8*s.* 6*d.* or 10*s.* a-day. On this they might have to live and maintain a family until 47 or 48 years of age. Captains received £1 13*s.*, or £1 7*s.* 6*d.*, or £1 2*s.* 6*d.*, according to their position on the list, with command money varying from 18*s.* to 5*s.* a-day. Perhaps there was not much fault to be found with the full pay of the captains, but their half-pay varied from about £301 to £228 a-year. He was aware that at the present moment a number of comparatively young captains were going on to the flag list; but these were officers who had entered the Service shortly before the Crimean War, and had had the benefit of the Crimean promotions and death vacancies. After a time captains would be getting up to 55 years of age. The noble Earl then stated the full and half-pay of chief engineers. He also said that he had been requested to draw the First Lord's attention to the case of Warrant officers. Having only received the communication since he came down to the House, he could only mention it. These officers complained as to their pensions, provision for orphans, and also that their rates of pay, or some of them, were the same as they were 80 years ago. He thought it better to content himself with drawing the noble Earl's attention to the subject, rather than asking their Lordships to agree to what could only be an abstract Motion, which was all that could be done in that House, as it was for the House of Commons to deal with the Navy Estimates. The noble Lord concluded by putting the Question of which he had given Notice.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY wished to call attention to the fact that a post-captain when named to a ship was expected, as a matter of custom, to spend money on its embellishment, and he was told that even lieutenants had contributed in the same way. That was a thing which should not be allowed by the Admiralty.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, that, in answer to the Question of the noble Earl, he was sorry he could not give any assurance that the rates of pay of the officers of the Navy would be increased, for the Estimates had been framed for the ensuing year without any such increase having been provided for. The noble Earl had given particulars as to the pay of various classes of officers, and undoubtedly this was a question of very great importance and must be always interesting to their Lordships and the other House of Parliament, although it must not be forgotten that those who entered the Military and Naval Professions, or sent their sons into them, were not influenced altogether—often, indeed, not at all—by pecuniary considerations, but by other motives. The question of the adequacy of the pay of officers must not be lost sight of. On inquiring into the history of the pay in the Navy, as he did on seeing the noble Earl's Notice, he found that successive Boards of Admiralty had bestowed great attention on the subject, and had from time to time made such alterations in the pay and allowances of the officers as they thought expedient, and thus the position of officers had of late years been considerably improved. He himself occupied rather a curious position, inasmuch as he had had the great advantage of serving as Private Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty when his noble Friend (Viscount Halifax) in 1856 was First Lord. His attention had, therefore, been particularly directed to these questions; he naturally looked back to the time when he was first connected with the Service for a comparison between the pay and allowances then and at present, and he found that the position of almost every rank of officers had been considerably improved since 1856. The allowances to admirals, commodores, and captains had been increased, and the pay and allowances of commanders had been considerably augmented. Although the pay of lieutenants had remained the same for a long time, yet since 1856 they had received a considerable increase in allowances. There was an increase in the allowances of lieutenants in command, and of 1st lieutenants of ships commanded by captains, and also for proficiency in gunnery and other matters. It was a necessity of the Service to have a reserve of officers, and that obliged a certain number to remain for some portion of their time on half-pay, when most of them would be only too glad, if opportunity offered, to serve their country in active service. He could assure their Lordships that the Board of Admiralty and he himself sympathized with those officers, but it was absolutely necessary that there should be a reserve. With respect to the half-pay, it had been increased for officers of the rank of captain. It remained the same for the rank of commander, but had been considerably increased for the rank of lieutenant. Extra half-pay was given to officers according to the number of years they had served afloat. While the half-pay had been improved, the pensions of officers of all ranks upon retirement from the Service had been very considerably increased in 1870 by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers), who was then First Lord of the Admiralty. That was an advantage given to officers to which the noble Earl had not adverted. In 1856 the highest pension of a captain was £456 5*s.*; it was now £600. In 1856 the highest pension of a commander was £191 12*s.* 6*d.*; it was now £400. In 1856 the highest pension of a lieutenant was £155 2*s.* 6*d.*; it was now £300. Their Lordships would therefore see that a very large increase in pensions had been given. That increase had proved a great advantage to the Navy. It had had the effect of inducing officers to retire, and, therefore, of reducing the numbers on the Active List in all branches of the Service. By reducing the number on the Active List, officers remained for a shorter time on half-pay. Therefore, the indirect effect of the increase in the rate of pensions was to improve very much the condition of the officers. And whereas in 1856 a captain took 10 years before he received the second scale of half-pay, now he took only five years. In 1856 a commander would have been 22 years on the list before he received the highest scale of half-pay, and now he would be only five years. In 1856 a lieutenant would not have got 7*s*. a-day, the highest scale of half-pay at that time, until he had been 43 years on the list, or the second rate until after 26 years; but now, in 1883, a lieutenant of nine years' standing could get 8*s*. 6*d*., which was now the highest rate of half-pay, if he had sufficient service. In 1856 there were 394 captains on the list, of whom 138 were employed; at the present moment a far greater proportion were employed. In 1856 there were 568 commanders on the list, and 199 employed; in 1883 the numbers respectively were 223 and 141. In 1856 there were 315 unemployed lieutenants; in 1883 there were only 136. It was difficult to supply a greater proportion of the lieutenants; but the Admiralty had by no means lost sight of the most important question to officers of that rank—namely, their prospects of promotion to the rank of commander. An addition of five had been made to the annual number of promotions, that number having been raised from 20 to 25, which had given an opportunity of promotion to some deserving officers who otherwise could not have obtained it, and six additional appointments in the Coast Guard had been allotted to lieutenants. Thus a very sensible improvement had been made in the position of the senior lieutenants. With respect to the general question of the prospects of a young man entering the Navy, he could only say that he had not found any indisposition on the part of fathers to send their sons into the Service. The expenses and prospects of young men entering the Navy would compare favourably with those of young men who went in for the Church, the Bar, or the Medical Profession. Indeed, having regard to the comparatively moderate cost of a naval education, and the subsequent advantages of a naval career, he could not say that a case had been made out for any considerable increase in the rate of pay. His noble Friend at the Table had commented on the practice of captains spending their own money on the decoration of their ships; but he believed that this was far more often the case with the 1st lieutenants and commanders than with the captains themselves. He believed that the practice was not nearly as common now as it had been before the increase of the Admiralty allowances of paint and other materials for the purpose.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, he hoped the noble Lord would give attention to the case of lieutenants on half-pay, and, if possible, would improve their position. He was of opinion that many men who would otherwise be valuable officers were driven from the Service by the inadequacy of their pay. It was true, no doubt, that the Navy was not regarded as a lucrative Profession, and that no one expected to receive a large income from it; but the pay ought, at least, to be such as to suffice for the proper maintenance of an officer and his family. He feared that officers had still to incur a great deal of expense in the decoration of their ships, and he hoped the Admiralty would consider the question of increasing the allowances to cover that expense.

IRELAND—PEASANT PROPRIETARY.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE, in rising to move—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that a Royal Commission be appointed to report as to the most effective means of giving to a larger portion of the people of Ireland a permanent proprietary interest in the soil by purchase of their holdings,"

said, he had hoped, till the beginning of the Session, that it would not have been necessary for a private Member of the House to call attention to the subject. The noble Earl the Leader of the House had last year intimated that the Government thought that the Bright Clauses of the Land Act needed revision, and the introduction of an amending Bill was very generally expected; but the speech of the Lord Privy Seal (Lord Carlingford) in the course of the debate on the Address had placed it beyond doubt that the Government did not now contemplate legislation in that direction. He mentioned this without any desire to complain of the Government. It was natural, certainly, after Parliament had been almost wholly occupied for three Sessions with Irish affairs, that the Government should be reluctant to embark once more on the stormy sea of Irish legislation; but he did think the House would have some cause to complain if the position taken by the Government with regard to the Bright Clauses were not rather more clearly defined. If the last word of the Government on this subject had been spoken, let it be known, for nothing would retard the operation of these clauses more than a belief that the whole subject remained an open one, and that there was a prospect of a considerable amendment of them. If, however, Her Majesty's Government were of the opinion which they held last year, and still thought that these clauses required revision, his suggestion was that they could not employ the next few months better than in such an investigation of the subject as he recommended. When he spoke of investigation, he wished to guard himself against it being supposed that he meant an investigation of the whole subject; there were portions of it that might be taken as no longer requiring investigation. It might be assumed as conceded that an increase in the number of proprietors of land was a desirable thing. Although the original proposal to this effect proceeded from Mr. Bright, it had been adopted again and again by leading statesmen of both political Parties. If not, why were the Purchase Clauses embodied with general approval in the Acts of 1870 and 1881? If not, why had Notice been given in "another place" by a conspicuous Member of the Opposition of a Motion with precisely the same object that he had in view? If he were to trouble their Lordships with reference to authorities on the subject, he would have to detain them for a long time. But it was not his intention to do so, except to this extent. He wished to refer to an expression of opinion which had fallen from one distinguished statesman, which it appeared to him was entitled to special attention. The Marquess of Hartington, whilst the Land Act of 1881 was under discussion, in the course of a speech made out of Parliament, expressed his opinion that the provisions of the Bill which related to emigration and to an increase in the number of landlords were the provisions most likely to effect a permanent improvement in the condition of Ireland. His Lordship spoke of the Tenure Clauses as designed to provide what was called a *modus vivendi* in the meantime. And again, in the present year the noble Marquess, addressing his constituents, spoke of the Act as designed to meet "a period of transition," which "must be passed before a better state of things could arise." These utterances appeared to show that the Bright Clauses were regarded by Lord Hartington not only as a solution, but as the solution of what was commonly called the Irish difficulty.

There was another proposition, which he thought might be taken as conclusively proved. It was, that the existing law, as embodied in the fifth part of the Act of 1881, was not sufficient for the purpose which it was intended by the framers of that Act to achieve. With regard to this, they had the opinion of a Committee of their Lordships' House, presided over by the noble Earl opposite. That Committee reported that all the witnesses examined by them held that the arrangements made to promote the purchase of holdings must be taken to have failed. The Committee proceeded to give reasons for the failure. The first was that the restrictions which the Act imposed upon the investment of the proceeds of the sales by limited owners were such as to make the bargain ruinous to the vendors. The next was that the difficulties arising out of the apportionment of head and quit-rents threw considerable impediments in the way of the carrying out of these transactions. The third was—and the Committee spoke of this as the main obstacle—that there was an absence of sufficient inducement to the tenant to buy his holding or to the landlord to sell it. The Committee recommended that enlarged powers of investment should be given to trustees of estates; that arrangements should be made for the redemption and apportionment of quit-rents; and that there should be a considerable improvement in the terms offered by the State to vendors and purchasers under the Act. These recommendations would be important if they stood alone; but they had since received a most remarkable confirmation at the hands of a body, whose opinions on these matters were entitled to the utmost respect—namely, the Land Commissioners in Dublin. In their annual Report the Land Commissioners said there was reason to believe that a considerable number of landlords were anxious to sell; that purchasers were not forthcoming; and that the reasons were to be found in the restrictions on the investment of the proceeds of sales, in the difficulties arising out of the apportionment of head-rents, and in the insufficiency of the inducements to landlords to sell and to tenants to buy. The Commissioners added that the tenants were also deterred from buying by a feeling of uncertainty with regard to the amount of their future rents, and also by that which the Commissioners spoke of as a "vague feeling of political disquietude." He would say a word presently about that vague feeling of political disquietude; but in regard to the three main conclusions, the Land Commissioners were absolutely at one with their Lordships' Committee, and these were substantially the conclusions, not only of the Land Commissioners and their Lordships' Committee, but of everyone who had paid attention to the subject. The simple matter of fact was this, that no tenant with a perpetuity of tenure, with the right of the free sale of his holding, and in a position to manage his farm very much as he pleased, was likely to give, in order to place his grandchild, perhaps, in possession of the fee of the farm, a price which any landlord could afford to accept. There was another consideration which was not financial, but which weighed with them all the same. The tenants were reluctant to exchange the landlordism of the landlord, from whom they had nothing to fear, and from whom they might have something to expect, for the considerably sterner control of the State, from which they would have nothing to hope, and might have something to apprehend. These were the reasons which deterred tenants from buying. They were reasons of a permanent character, and as long as the Act remained unamended in certain respects, so long would tenants be unwilling to buy. Mr. Shaw, the hon. Member for Cork County, who was Chairman of the Munster Bank, and who had been selected by the Government as a Member of the Bessborough Commission, ought to be a good judge, and Mr. Shaw had recently told an Ulster audience that if the Act remained unamended, the purchases by tenants in the next 50 years would be very small indeed.

If, then, it were conceded that it was desirable to obtain an increase in the number of proprietors, and if the existing facilities were not sufficient for the purpose, there only remained the question—could they afford to wait for a settlement of this matter? He would endeavour to show that it was not desirable that they should wait. If these clauses were necessary when they were inserted in the Act of 1870, if they were necessary in the Act of 1881, could they be said to be less necessary now? He remembered reading an admirable Report of a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1878 to inquire into this subject, and presided over by Mr. Shaw Lefevre. The language used in that Report was to the effect that a substantial increase in the number of proprietors of land in Ireland was necessary in order to promote thrift and industry among the Irish peasantry, and to give stability to the social system of that country. It seemed to him that the social system in Ireland was never more in need of increased stability than it was at the present time. He did not wish to underrate the improvement which had taken place in many districts, or the fact, of which he had had agreeable experience, that the conduct of some of the people had been exemplary in the face of great temptation; but, looking below the surface, what was the condition of Ireland? Was it one out of which social stability was likely to arise? Were they really nearer to a solution of the Irish Question than they were three years ago? He feared that of the old sources of mischief the worst and most deep-seated still survived. But the elements of future trouble had been intensified and strengthened by the events of the last few years. They still had in Ireland an agricultural community without capital and without industries; but capital had never been more effectually frightened away from Ireland than it was at the present time. They still had, on the one hand, a mere handful of owners, and on the other half-a-million of occupiers; but the owners were smarting under the bitter experiences of the last two or three years, and the occupiers had been taught in every village throughout the country the terrible lesson inculcated by the noble Earl the Secretary for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby), who had had the courage to place it on record, that "fixity of tenure was the direct result of Irish outrage and Party obstruction." As for the labourers, they were still worse housed and worse paid than any labourers in the United Kingdom; but they were now in too many cases, tainted by sedition and full of bitter resentment at the illusory advantages which the Land Act had dangled before their eyes. The agriculture of Ireland was still more thriftless and ignorant than the agriculture of almost any other country. Were these, he asked, conditions under which social stability was likely to arise? He was aware that rents had been largely reduced, and that this was in itself an immense boon to the occupiers of land; but of the tenants, probably about one-half were in a position in which the question of rent was really not a material one at all. When their Lordships looked at the West of Ireland, and had regard to the condition of the population in those densely-inhabited regions, could they fail to discover that these poor people, no matter whether their rents were raised or lowered, must still be in a position of chronic insolvency, and, therefore, of chronic discontent? The soil was exhausted, the cultivation miserable in the extreme, the staple crop rapidly degenerating. What was the Chief Secretary's description of the people of one of these Western Unions? He said the population was in a state of social and financial crisis. It was true that an Act passed last year contained some very well-conceived clauses intended to promote emigration from these Western districts; but emigration must be very gradual and slow in its operations. We could not take these people suddenly by the thousand from their miserable homes, and throw them pell-mell across the Atlantic. Emigration was a relief which could only come after the lapse of a considerable number of years. Was it proposed, then, he might be asked, to turn these Western cottiers into proprietors of their holdings? It might seem a paradox to say so, but he owned that he would sooner see these poor people brought face to face with the hard exigencies of their position, and made entirely responsible for their own and their families' sustenance, than he would leave them as they were at present, relying first upon their landlords, then upon the rates paid by their neighbours, who were on the brink of insolvency themselves, and finally clamouring for public works or relief out of the Public Exchequer. Be that as it might, could there be any doubt that it would be desirable to establish, as a counterpoise to these miserable Western populations, a body of men owning the farms which they cultivated, and placed in a position which rendered them independent and self-reliant, and naturally opposed to agitation and crime?

There was another reason which made him anxious to see a measure of this kind effectually carried out. There was the question of local government. They were given to understand that the Government had no present intention of formulating a scheme upon that subject, but they were pledged to deal with it sooner or later. His own opinion was that, although the defects in the Irish system of local government had been very much exaggerated, and though they were probably less than in England, still they were such as must be removed. Parliament would not be going far wrong if it endeavoured, by prudent and moderate legislation, to set matters right in this respect, instead of waiting till a fresh clamour arose for ill-considered and reckless remedial legislation. When the time came for dealing with this question of local government, would they be in a worse or in a better position if there were scattered over the face of Ireland a number of small proprietors interested in an honest and economical administration of rural government, instead of having the rates mainly paid by the landlords, and spent by the tenants for the tenants in public works and indiscriminate outdoor relief?

It might be urged, perhaps, that a fair trial should be given to the Tenure Clauses of the Land Act. It appeared to him, however, having paid some attention to those clauses, that they abounded in elements which were likely to lead to future complications and troubles. He would venture briefly to refer to two of these. In the first place, there was the restriction of the tenant's saleable interest in his holding. Out of Ulster, whenever a tenant applied to the Court to have a judicial rent fixed, the Court might simultaneously fix at a specified sum the value of the tenant right. Similarly, even where the holding was subject to the Ulster Custom, the landlord might, whenever the tenant sought to sell, exercise his right of pre-emption at what the Court might determine to be the "true value" of the occupier's interest, just as out of Ulster he would be allowed to buy at the "specified value" fixed by the Court. The landlord's right of pre-emption at the "specified value" was his only security against the incoming tenant paying a preposterous price for the tenant right, and being, therefore, practically rack-rented, in spite of the lowness of his rent. The landlord must, therefore, either accept a rack-rented tenant, or he would be obliged to say to the vendor—"It is true that you are able to get £200 for your interest in the farm; but I require you to sell it to me for £100 or £150." He entertained no doubt that this right of pre-emption would be a very fertile source of discontent and trouble between landlord and tenant; and he was convinced of the great importance of settling these matters, once for all, in as many cases as possible. He would pass to another source of future trouble and agitation. We were told to congratulate ourselves upon the rapidity with which the Sub-Commissioners were getting through the task of fixing judicial rents. One was almost tempted to say, in the words of Macbeth—

"If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well
It were done quickly."

But in reality it was not done, because the rent was fixed for only 15 years. He understood that applications which had now, for the first time, been brought before the Courts could probably not be dealt with till 1885 or 1886. There would, therefore, be at the outside a period of 10 years, between 1886 and 1896, during which the land would have peace from litigation of this kind, and at the end of that period the whole question of the rental of Ireland would once more be re-opened. That was a very serious prospect. If prices had fallen in the interim every tenant in Ireland would be looking for a reduction. If they had risen every landlord would be hoping for a rise. In any case he feared that the temptation to the tenant to put a poor face upon his holding on the chance of getting something off his rent would be irresistible. Then there was another matter to be considered. The present race of Sub-Commissioners, most of whom held office for a brief term, would have disappeared by that time; and there would be clamour, intrigues, and agitation for and against the appointment of particular persons to seats upon the new Commission. The difficulty would be bad enough if the present Government remained in power; but if the Party on the other side of the House happened to be in Office at that time, under what condition would they approach the difficult task of filling up these appointments? Supposing that the appointments of 1896 were conferred upon men whose antecedents rendered them a little less acceptable to the tenants than their predecessors, there would be almost a rebellion. In Ireland there was no such thing as a colourless politician. Everyone, unfortunately, belonged either to the landlords' camp or to the tenants' camp; and the consequence would be that whatever might be the antecedents of the men to whom Sub-Commissionerships might be given, yet if they were nominated by the Party opposite their awards would not command the confidence of the tenants of Ireland. This, he begged to say, was no mere bugbear of his own imagination. When the Solicitor General for Ireland was canvassing his constituents, he put it thus to them—"Supposing you had a Cabinet composed of Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gibson, and others, to administer the Land Act, what would that Act be worth? If a Conservative was returned for Londonderry, and if the Land Act came to be worked by a Conservative Party and Conservative Officers, what would become of it?" It was, he feared, the inevitable result that when a temporary tribunal was set up, the members of which were to be appointed by the Party in power, it should come to be believed that that Party would utilize it for its own purposes. This, then, was another serious source of danger in the future; and he wished to impress upon the House how desirable it was to take as large a number of the tenants as possible out of the reach of that danger, and to put them in a position in which their rents should not be variable at the will of a Sub-Commissioner, but fixed once and for all, and payable to the Government, the payments representing an annually-diminishing debt and an annually-increasing progress in the direction of absolute proprietorship.

So far he had rested his case on public convenience; but he should not be speaking frankly to the House if he did not express his conviction that the measure which he advocated was required not only by public convenience, but as a matter of simple justice to individuals. What was the position of owners of landed property in Ireland? They were owners of a kind of property of which only one class of customer was at all likely to become the purchaser, a class which recent legislation had effectually deterred from purchasing. A measure such as he had suggested was, therefore, necessary in order to do something to re-establish the value of landed property in Ireland. It was not merely a question of rent; he wished to avoid entirely the question of the action of the Courts in reducing rents. If not a single rent had been reduced, or even if Justice herself had a seat on the Land Commission, the value of land would not the less have been enormously depreciated by the legislation of the last two years. The value of landed property was made up of a number of incidents, the value of which was cumulative; and if any of those incidents were taken away the value of the remainder was diminished. But not only would nobody buy land in Ireland, but nobody would lend upon it. What had been the consequence? A number of the smaller landowners found themselves deprived of 40 or 50 per cent, perhaps more, of their available income, and were on the verge of ruin, unable to meet the charges on their property, to sell or to emancipate themselves from the miserable position in which they found themselves. It would be a public scandal if those men were allowed—many of them having purchased their property on the security of a Government title from the Landed Estates Court—to be ruined by the legislation of the year before last. His noble Friend (Lord Carlingford) might say that that was the result, not of legislation, but of the agitation which existed in Ireland.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL): Hear, hear!

THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE said, he was glad to learn that he was right in his anticipation. He admitted that such an agitation as that which had recently disturbed society in Ireland could not fail to have some effect upon the value of all property in that country; and it was not easy, when two causes had been at work, to assign the effect with precise accuracy to its cause. He, at any rate, believed that the effects of legislation which were universal and permanent were more serious than those of an agitation which, after all, was local and transitory; but, be that as it might, there was a very simple mode of testing the Lord Privy Seal's theory that the fall in the value of land was due solely to agitation. Let them imagine for a moment what the effect would be if the legislation which had been applied to Ireland were applied to England and Scotland. Was it not beyond question that in such a case the value of land in England and Scotland would at once have been enormously depreciated? There could be no doubt upon the point. It was, in fact, the case that the prophecy of Mr. Fottrell, late Solicitor to the Land Commission, was being fulfilled to the letter. In that famous pamphlet which had been so often referred to, Mr. Fottrell told the tenants of Ireland—

> "That the landlord who is wise will remember that he has now no probable purchasers but his tenants. . . . The landlords must sell to them or not at all."

The condition of affairs was therefore this—that the tenants at this moment not being likely to buy, the landlord found himself saddled with estates from which it was absolutely impossible for him to divest himself. He did not desire to conceal his own opinion, that no owners of any other kind of property could have been treated in this way without, at least, a full examination of their claim to be compensated for the loss which they had sustained. He had always regretted that that was a matter which had not received fuller consideration. He occasionally read the speeches and letters of Ministers to their constituents, discussing the Licensing Laws; and he observed that they were always extremely careful to point out that no interference would take place with the existing rights of the licensed victuallers without compensation being made. But, unfortunately, Irish landlords were only Irish landlords, and could not expect the treatment to which the licensed victuallers were to be entitled. They might, however, surely ask that what the Government in the Act of 1881 proposed to do should be made a reality and not a sham, and that the clauses in the Act to which he had directed attention should not remain on the Statute Book as a record of disappointed expectations and abortive legislation. It was under these circumstances that he asked their Lordships to agree to the Motion on the Paper. He did not take upon himself to say what course an inquiry of that kind should take. But there were four matters which required special investigation. In the first place, they should endeavour to ascertain what were the impediments which had stood in the way of the operation of the clauses; secondly, they should seek to discover what additional inducements were necessary in order to lead the landlords to sell and the tenants to buy; thirdly, it was desirable to determine whether the rent-charge due by the purchasers could be collected by some local agency, and not by the Central Government; and, fourthly, whether, in certain circumstances, one of the parties should not be allowed to require the other to purchase from him, whether that other wished to do so or not.

He was aware that those proposals were regarded in some quarters with considerable misgiving, and he would like to notice, before he sat down, one or two of the principal objections which had been raised to them. He had heard it stated that if the Purchase Clauses were carried out on an extensive scale they would get rid of the landlords altogether, and that this was undesirable. He was sure he might say, as an Irish landlord, that they felt grateful to those who desired to retain them in existence. It was comforting to know that if ever they were obliterated their obituary notice would be conceived in friendly terms. But what he wished to impress on their Lordships was his conviction that his proposals would have precisely the opposite result. There would be more resident landlords in Ireland, and not fewer. Those who never went near their estates and took no interest in them would disappear, and, perhaps, nobody would regret it. But those who did take an interest in and intended to live on their estates would find it easier and better to do so under the new order of things which would arise. They would probably get rid of the outlying portion of their properties, retaining only their homes—to which, let him say, Irish landlords were as deeply attached as their English and Scotch brethren—and such a portion of their estates as they could either keep in their own hands or manage much in the same fashion as that in which English estates were managed. Men who acted thus would consult their interests better, and would be more useful and happier members of society, than the nominal owner of a whole barony who came into contact with his tenants only through the medium of their periodical visits to the rent office.

He believed, therefore, that this objection was not one which rested on any good ground. There was, however, another which was felt by many persons, especially by the noble Earl at the Table, who spoke upon the subject the other evening — namely, that if a large number of these tenants were allowed to purchase their holdings, there would be some risk of a general repudiation of their debt to the State, and an extensive conflict between the Government and the tenants. He did not believe that the objection was a valid one. He would, in the first place, point out that whether the tenants purchased their holdings or not, the Executive Government would not escape the liability of being called upon to enforce the payment of rent. If the rents were once pronounced fair and just, the landlords would expect the whole force of the Executive Government to back them in their endeavour to enforce punctual payment. The noble Earl on the Woolsack had himself stated that "if you adjust the rents you must secure the rents you adjust." Therefore the enforcement of the law as to payment of rent in Ireland was a duty from which the Government could not extricate itself; he believed, however, the risk of repudiation to be an imaginary one. He never met anyone conversant with the Irish people who did not believe that if, in lieu of rent payable to the landlord, an annual and terminable rent-charge were payable to the State that rent-charge would be punctually paid. The "no rent" policy had at first been successful because of the weakness of the landlords, and he was afraid he must say also because of the reluctant support which they had received from the Government. They might, however, rely upon it that the tenants would be slow to engage in an unequal struggle against the forces which the Executive would have at its command, and that these obligations would not be repudiated. The fact that throughout the recent agitation those tenants who had purchased their holdings under the Irish Church Act paid their instalments with complete punctuality went far to confirm this view. It was very remarkable that in the case of these tenants the influence of the Land League had been exerted against, and not in favour of, repudiation. There was, besides, another consideration which ought not to be lost sight of. Year by year and step by step these purchasing tenants would be advancing on the road leading to the absolute ownership of their farms. They would be slow to take any action which might jeopardize the interest which they had already acquired in them. And it must not be forgotten that not only would each year bring them one stage nearer to the goal of complete ownership, but that each year the rate of their advance would become more rapid. He would recommend to the attention of those interested in this branch of the subject a very interesting table published, with a paper written upon it, by Mr. Shaw Lefevre. It appeared from that table that if the annual payment due by the purchasing tenant to the State were divided as between the interest payable to the State on the sum advanced, and the amount available in each year for the reduction of the principal debt, the calculation would stand, roughly speaking, as follows:—At the beginning of the fifth year—assuming that the whole debt was to be paid off in 35 years—two-thirds of the sum paid by the tenant would be charged as interest and one-third as repayment of principal. In the 15th year the whole sum would be equally divided between payment of interest and repayment of principal. But in the 25th year one-third only would be due for interest, and the whole of the remainder would be available in diminution of the principal. The financial position of the tenant would therefore improve with increasing rapidity year by year, and in the face of that he had very little fear of repudiation. At any rate, the risk would tend to diminish with great rapidity.

He would notice one more criticism frequently passed upon proposals such as these. He might be told that an increase in the number of owners of land was an admirable thing, but that their artificial creation was undesirable, and that the change should be left to be effected by natural laws. It appeared to him that those who made use of this argument were too ready to forget the facts of the case. If natural laws were being left to operate, or had ever been left to operate in Ireland, he should be very much disposed to rely on them still. But, in point of fact, Ireland had never been left to the operation of natural laws; she was the product of artificial legislation in the past, just as she was the playground of artificial legislation in the present. The laws with regard to the possession of land by Roman Catholics, the laws regulating the franchise, the laws affecting the transfer of landed property, all these had tended to keep the soil of Ireland in the hands of a few persons. The land legislation of the last 12 years had stereotyped the evil by rendering it impossible for those persons to extricate themselves from their position. He therefore submitted that we could not, in these circumstances, trust to natural laws, but that we must seek to remedy a purely artificial condition of things by artificial means. A wisely-conceived measure would terminate the confusion of interests which he had pointed out, would strengthen the bases of society in Ireland, and would do something to accelerate the advent of that "better state of things" to which Lord Hartington looked forward, but which was as yet undiscernible in the troubled distance of the future of Ireland.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, in seconding the Motion, said, that, whatever opinion might be held as to the advisability of appointing the Royal Commission, there could be no doubt whatever as to the great importance of the subject which the noble Marquess had brought before the House. With the exception of the more immediately pressing question of distress, it was the most important question connected with Ireland. He himself did not see in what way a Royal Commission could throw much additional light upon the subject. In the Report of the Committee on the working of the Land Act of their Lordships' House, and in the Evidence taken before that Committee, a great deal of information would be found; much valuable information was available also from other sources. It seemed to him that what was necessary to be done in order to enable the present occupiers in Ireland to buy their holdings was perfectly understood already. Everyone knew that tenants would not buy unless the instalments they had to pay to Government were less in value than the rents they at present paid to their landlords. One reason why tenants were so reluctant to buy was that, having already forced such great concessions from the Government, they hoped in the future to extort more from them. They would not be inclined to avail themselves of Purchase Clauses as long as they thought they could obtain further benefits by agitation. He should have thought, therefore, that this was a question for the Government to decide. A question for the House of Commons and the country to determine was, what amount of money they were willing to devote to the purpose, and for the Government to put forward their views as to the terms on which this money should be advanced. There could be no question about the fact that, whether the people of Ireland were to be assisted by means of loans from the State or not, some means must be found, and ought to be found, as soon as possible, of extricating Ireland from the condition in which she was now placed. The system of land tenure they had imposed upon her rendered it impossible for the country to improve, or even to maintain, the position she had now arrived at. On no country in the world had been imposed such a system of land tenure, and no country could get on under such a system. The noble Marquess quoted Lord Hartington to the effect that, it would be well for Ireland to look forward with hope to a time when she could emerge into a better state of things and enjoy a better system of tenure. He believed the Prime Minister, on introducing the Bill into the other House of Parliament, said that the most considerable benefit would be derived from freedom of contract in Ireland if the social condition of the country admitted of it. But whether the social condition of the country was improvable or not, there was no provision in the Land Act whereby Ireland could ever emerge from the extraordinary system placed upon her. There was nothing to look forward to but an endless vista of agitation for the reduction of rents and endless contention. It appeared to him now that in this idea of peasant proprietary lay the only possible solution of the difficulty. He had expressed in that House before his objections to peasant proprietary; but he confessed his views were somewhat modified and changed. Still, he did not look with any great favour upon such a system. There were two manifest objections clear to everybody. The tenants and occupiers must be, for a considerable number of years, in the position of tenants of the State; and circumstances might arise to place the State in great difficulty, on account of a long period of distress, making it impossible, or very difficult, for a large number of people to pay. Another objection was that, undoubtedly, in the natural course of events, many small owners would be unable to maintain themselves. They would get into debt, fall into the hands of usurers, money-lenders, and shopkeepers, and a class of landlords would arise that would not be beneficial to the country. These were two strong objections that arose in his mind as to peasant proprietorship. But, after all, it was a question of choosing the least of two evils. The difficulties that might be produced in Ireland under a system of peasant proprietorship would be less than those that must follow if the present condition of affairs was allowed to continue. Tenants were just as likely to get into the power of money-lenders now as they would be if they had complete ownership. The difference was that creditors would be much less likely to turn them out and take possession now than if they could, by so doing, obtain complete ownership of the land. As it was, the occupiers would become the absolute slaves of their creditors; they would be kept in a state of wretched poverty, and would not be allowed enough money to support themselves in decency or comfort, or even to till the land properly; but they would not be sold up. It would be far better for them and the country that they should be sold up altogether, and that would be more likely to occur under a system of peasant proprietary than under the present system. Moreover, by becoming the absolute owners of their little properties, the tenant would be more likely to become thrifty and prudent, and less likely to become hopelessly involved in debt than at present. The sense of real ownership would act beneficially on the character of the people; and under a system of small ownership they would be more likely to maintain their position in the country than under the system of judicial leases now existing. Those were the advantages and disadvantages which he could see in peasant proprietorship; but what weighed with him was the alsolute necessity of finding some way out of the present condition of affairs. It was absolutely impossible to suppose that Ireland, or any other country, could go on with the whole soil of the country held in perpetual solution, with no man owning it. Real ownership of some kind there must be. Either the land must belong to the State, according to the theory of Mr. George, or it must belong to private owners, large or small. But a tenure under which land belonged to no one was a condition of affairs that could not last long. No sooner would rents have been settled for one term of 15 years than another re-valuation for another term of 15 years would have commenced. The condition of Ireland would be one of incessant grumbling at the way rents had been fixed, and of incessant agitations for fresh reductions. The condition of Ireland was a transitory condition. It was one the people could not possibly remain in; and he submitted that the only way out of the difficulty was to complete the revolution as soon as practicable, and to take the ownership of the land from its late owners and put it in the hands of the present occupiers. A final settlement of the Land Question in the direction contemplated by the noble Marquess was desirable for Ireland, and it was equally desirable for England also. A great deal had been done to weaken the loyalty of many Irishmen. He did not so much mean that many men who were loyal two years ago had become less loyal; but the loyal classes throughout the country, with the exception of the North of Ireland, had completely lost all the influence and power they formerly possessed. That being so, they could not by any possibility restore it; all they could do was to try and build up, by degrees, another class of loyal men in their place. It was well known that small owners were very Conservative in their tendencies, in the larger sense of the word; and he had no doubt that such a class would be in favour of law and order, and either from a sense of gratitude, or from knowledge of the stability of this country, would be in favour of maintaining the Union between the two countries. England had always acted foolishly towards the loyal element in Ireland. She persecuted the class that was really the backbone of the country in former days, and had driven thousands of Presbyterians across the Atlantic, men who took no mean part in the struggle that lost us our North American Colonies. The Government had lately done all they could to discourage the loyal classes in Ireland. Those classes could never recover the power they once held; and the wisest thing England could do was to endeavour to repair that loss by raising up loyal men in their stead. It seemed to him also very necessary that those measures should be undertaken to do ordinary justice to the landowning classes in Ireland. He did not think that any class had ever suffered more severely or so severely on account of their adherence to a principle believed in and upheld by the Government than the landowning class in Ireland at the hands of that Government. They had lost about one-fourth of their property, and what many valued still more, a great deal of the affection and love of the people among whom they dwelt. They had also lost all their influence and power for good. For the future they knew that they were powerless. They would have to see poverty around them without the ability of alleviating it. They would not be able to consolidate their farms, or to encourage a better state of agriculture, but would have to sit by and see the country gradually going to ruin before their eyes. And all this was lost by their adhesion to the principles of the Union. Her Majesty's Government had an extraordinarily fatal tendency to be always in error in making any statements with regard to Ireland. He could recall no statement made by the present Government with regard to Ireland which had not turned out to be absolutely false and wrong. From the very beginning the Prime Minister's estimate of Ireland was as absurdly wrong as anything could possibly be. The letter written by the late Lord Beaconsfield to the noble Duke the then Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Marlborough) had proved to be absolutely correct, although that letter was greatly animadverted upon at the time. The present Prime Minister then described Ireland as being in almost a beatific state. In the same way, the Government estimate of the working of the Land Act had not been justified. Mr. Bright said that in nine cases out of ten there would be no change of rent, and yet changes had been made in all, or, at least, in 99 out of 100 cases. Then, again, they were told that the reductions would not affect the great estates; but experience had shown that the large estates had been affected. They were informed that the worst cases would come first, and that reductions would cease after a time; that had not been the case. Every statement of that kind that the Government had made with regard to the probable action of their own Bill and the condition of the country had proved incorrect. The greatest mistake of all that the Government had made with regard to Ireland was in their estimate of the agitation in that country. They considered that the agitation was against landlordism, and against rent being too high. The leader of the agitation told them the object was separation from England. Everybody in Ireland who knew anything of the country, the police, the stipendiary, and the unpaid magistrates pointed out the same thing. But Her Majesty's Government insisted that they were all wrong, and that it was a very proper agitation directed against excessive rent. Over and over again the Government had declared that separation—Home Rule—was a matter not even to be discussed in Parliament; and, if that were the case, he could not conceive why, at the same time, an agitation with that object out-of-doors could be legitimate. He could not understand the Government saying that Home Rule was a matter they could not discuss in Parliament, and, at the same time, permitting an agitation with that object to be promoted out-of-doors. He did not mean to say as far as he was concerned that Home Rule was not a fit subject for Parliamentary discussion; but if it was not, then neither was it fit to be the object of an agitation out-of-doors. Agitation meant one of two things, either a direct threat of an appeal to physical force, or an endeavour by the people to express opinions in order to influence their Representatives in Parliament. Nothing could be more absurd than to say to the people—"You are ruled under a representative form of government, but we will not allow the one thing you want—Home Rule—to be discussed by your Representatives in Parliament without saying, at the same time, that any agitation for the purpose outside is illegitimate and will not be allowed." But Her Majesty's Government did act in this way. They allowed an agitation to be conducted throughout the country for an object they would not allow to be discussed in Parliament. The agitation was consequently forced in, and concentrated against, the loyal classes. The consequence of the mistake of the Government had been that the Irish landowners, being loyal men, had suffered loss in their property, in the affection and love of the people among whom they lived, and in their influence and power in the country. He did not mean to suggest that compensation could be offered for those losses; they could not compensate men for the loss of affection and influence; but they could and ought to be compensated for the direct loss of their property. At any rate, the proposition of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lansdowne) would afford them some way of leaving the country, and of extricating themselves with as little loss as possible from a difficult, perhaps an intolerable position. A peasant proprietary ought not to be established on a large scale very suddenly; it should only be introduced gradually. But there was no danger that it would grow up too quickly. Whatever inducement there might be to tenants to buy their holdings, there was no reason to suppose that the landlords would rush into the market in a great body to sell. Some landlords would remain in the country, either from affection to the soil or from the hope of being able to do some good to the country. A great number would also be unable to leave from various causes; but a good many would go because, by getting a fair price for their property, they could free themselves from the money embarrassments from which they were at present suffering most severely; and some would go out of a natural preference for some country where the rights of property were still regarded, where a man might hope to do some good by his time and his labour, where honesty was not punished by an unwritten law, and where loyalty to the British Crown was not criminal. Something must be done to get Ireland out of the unfortunate condition in which she now found herself. It was coincident with—he did not say in consequence of, but coincident with—the legislation of the last 10 years that the condition of the country was getting worse and worse. Land was going out of cultivation with great rapidity, and the live stock of the country was diminishing also. If the live stock of the country had increased in proportion as land went out of cultivation it would not be so bad; but when they saw both processes going on together it was impossible to give stronger evidence of the deplorable condition of the country. Landlords could not lay out money; they could not be expected to do so, and to whom were they to look for the improvement of the country? They must endeavour to raise up a class which would take that necessary function out of the hands of the landlord class. It appeared mere common sense to say that true statesmanship would endeavour to hold out the greatest inducements to occupiers of land in Ireland to lay out their capital upon it. There could be no doubt that a man who was the owner of his land was more likely to develop his property by the employment of money or labour than the man who held it under any other system of tenure. Though he could not look forward with very bright anticipation to the formation of a large class of peasant proprietors, he saw in the formation of such a class the only possible way in which the country could extricate itself from the difficulties caused by an impossible land tenure; the only way in which a strong Conservative and loyal class could be created in Ireland; and the only way in which some justice could be done to those who were at present supposed to hold the land of the country.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that a Royal Commission may be appointed to report as to the most effective means of giving to a larger portion of the people of Ireland a permanent proprietary interest in the soil by purchase of their holdings."—(*The Marquess of Lansdowne.*)

Lord CARLINGFORD (Lord Privy Seal): My Lords, the speech of the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven), to which we have just listened, is a good, and, at the same time, a curious illustration of a practice to which we have become accustomed in this House. I mean that, whenever the name of Ireland is mentioned, every possible Irish subject is thought germane to the question immediately under discussion, and is dragged into the debate. Every observation that has been made 100 times before on the history of Ireland during the last few years is revived, and that, too, with very little relation to the subject immediately before the House. [*Laughter, and* "Hear, hear!"] My noble Friend was especially severe on the Government for the untrue—that was, mistaken statements he said they were always making on the subject of Ireland; and he made a number of statements, to which I should be inclined to apply the same terms which my noble Friend has applied to the statements of Her Majesty's Government. I cannot remember them all, but I wish to make a remark on two of those statements, which I confess have rather surprised me. My noble Friend said it was notorious that the amount of reduction on Irish rents now being made in the Land Courts throughout Ireland was not only not less than it had been during the earlier operation of the Courts, as it was thought would have been the case, but that it had even been greater. The notorious fact is precisely the reverse of what my noble Friend has stated. The fact is that the amount of reductions found necessary by the Commissioners has been gradually diminishing, and the percentage of reduction during the last few months has been considerably lower than at the time of the earlier operations of the Court. Then my noble Friend said that it was notorious that, contrary to our expectations and predictions, the largest estates in Ireland have been most severely dealt with. My noble Friend must have forgotten some of the most important parts of the evidence given before the Committee of this House, of which he was a Member, which sat on this subject last year. If he will refresh his memory, he will find the Commissioners, Mr. Justice O'Hagan and Mr. Vernon, both stated that, while the amount of rack-renting was greater than they had expected, and, consequently, in many cases, the reduction on what they fully admitted to be excessive rent, the large estates had been scarcely touched by the operation of the Courts. They also said that their experience of excessive rents was in the main, or to a very large extent, confined to the smallest class of estates. My noble Friend has, I think, treated the House to the gloomiest and most morbid view of the Irish situation that I have ever yet heard even in this House. I can only hope that your Lordships will not be influenced by any view so evidently exaggerated and so evidently morbid as that taken by my noble Friend. I now come to the Resolution proposed by the noble Marquess behind me (the Marquess of Lansdowne). My noble Friend on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Dunraven) stated that peasant proprietorship was very objectionable, but that the present tenure of land in Ireland was still more so, and that, consequently, he preferred the former. The noble Marquess, on the other hand, has adduced reasons of a much more substantial kind in support of his proposal than that. I must say I entirely agree with his mode of stating the object which the Government, as well as he, have in view—namely—

> "Giving to a larger portion of the people of Ireland a permanent proprietary interest in the soil by the purchase of their holdings."

The Government have in no way changed their opinion in favour of that object. They believe, as they have often said in Parliament, that that object is a highly desirable one in the interests of all classes in Ireland, and they have not abandoned the hope of attaining it. But the question which the Government have had to put to themselves, and which I have to put to the House, is a practical one—namely, whether an inquiry by way of Royal Commission, as proposed by the noble Marquess, is likely to tend to the promotion of that object; and whether, also, in the circumstances of the case, it would be wise to set on foot now a new formal inquiry into the working of this important part of the Land Act of 1881. I did not gather from the observations of my noble Friend that he brought this Motion forward with the intention of pressing for legislation during the present Session. There is nothing in his speech which gives that idea; and if it is so, the Government and my noble Friend are agreed to that extent. My noble Friend referred to the opinions of the Irish Land Commissioners, and I also should like to refer to them. Last summer the Land Commissioners informed the Government and the Committee of your Lordships' House, in the same terms, that, in their belief, nothing effectual could be done at present in connection with the Purchase Clauses. They told the Government that the minds of the Irish tenants were fixed upon obtaining a settlement of their rents, whether in or out of Court, and had not as yet been turned at all to the question of purchasing their holdings. The Commissioners laid down then, very strongly, that there was nothing useful to be done in connection with the subject of purchase, and that is the opinion which they still entertain. That is also the view of the Government, founded upon all the information we can obtain. The Government feel that in this matter, if they wait for the present, they will, before long, be in a far better position to judge as to what are the necessities of the case that call for legislation, and what amount of change will make these Purchase Clauses available for the Irish tenant and induce him to make use of them. But that time has not yet come. Great progress is being made in the settlement of rents in Ireland, and we have good reason to believe that the minds of the mass of Irish tenants are settling down in a way which, compared with the last two or three years, is highly satisfactory and full of hope. When that process has gone further, as it is now going, we are convinced that it will be far easier to decide what the shortcomings in the Purchase Clauses of the Irish Land Act are, and in what way those clauses ought to be dealt with, so as to make them effective for the object in view. Until then, our belief is that there is nothing which can usefully or effectively be done; and I am not at all sure that my noble Friend the noble Marquess would not agree that the subject does not call for immediate legislation. But my noble Friend may say—"Though this may not be the moment for legislation, you may make use of the interval for the purpose of inquiring with a view to coming legislation." Upon that point I have two observations to make. First of all, the Government do not think that this is a case in which a fresh public inquiry would help them in their task. There has been a large amount of inquiring, investigating, and reporting upon this subject already. It has been inquired into and reported upon by two Royal Commissions before the passing of the Irish Land Act, and we have that information and those opinions before us. We also have, and shall have, the advantage of the experience of the Irish Land Commission. There is also the evidence taken by the Committee of your Lordships' House, and the Report of that Committee, which will be one of the materials of judging when the matter comes to be dealt with. Remember what the aim of such an inquiry as this must be. It is not to inquire whether the object is a desirable one or not; upon that we are all agreed. It would not even be an inquiry into the general mode of attaining that object—it would be an inquiry into the details of the process, into the machinery by which the object is to be gained, and especially it would be an inquiry which would greatly concern the financial duties and responsibilities of the Government, and the safeguards which it would be necessary to adopt, in case a large number of tenants were to come into debtor and creditor relations with the Treasury of this country. The Government are convinced that such a work would be better done by the Executive Government itself than by any Royal Commission that could be appointed. But, in the second place, they are convinced that while a careful investigation into this question of machinery, and into questions relating to the financial responsibilities of the Government on the one hand, and the interest of Irish landlords and Irish tenants on the other, would be much more safely and wisely dealt with by the Government itself, they think that, by now once more opening a new public inquiry into this large branch of the Irish Land Act of 1881, an unsettling effect would be produced upon the minds of people in Ireland. These are the grounds upon which the Government are not able to come to the conclusion that the proposal made by my noble Friend would tend to the better attainment of the object which he and they both have in view; while, at the same time, they believe it would be liable to many disadvantages in the process. I should be sorry to say one word which might give the utterly false idea that I, on the part of the Government, intend to throw any cold water on the object which the noble Marquess has in view; but I submit to the House, and I trust the House will share the view of the Government, that the mode of action proposed would not promote that object, while, at the same time, it would, in the opinion of the Government, seriously interfere with that responsibility of their own of which they cannot divest themselves.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that he regretted the Government had not accepted the Motion. He, for one, did not wonder at the passion which had been shown by Irish landlords in the course of these debates, because no class of men had ever been treated as Irish landlords had been treated by their Lordships' House. He could not understand how the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal could say that the figures quoted by his noble Friend who had seconded the Motion (the Earl of Dunraven) were incorrect, when it had been proved, over and over again, that the figures of the Commissioners were incorrect. The noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal had stated that the reductions in rent in the Land Courts were not now so large as they formerly were; but the impression in Ireland was general that these reductions were going on upon very much the same scale as before, and in some cases upon a greater scale. He knew himself a case where two estates were reduced, one 20 per cent, and the other 40 per cent, and they were exactly the same class of land. As to the large estates not being touched, why the estate of the noble Duke (the Duke of Abercorn) had been very largely touched.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, that Mr. Justice O'Hagan, in his evidence before the Committee of their Lordships' House, had stated that the large estates had been but slightly touched.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that, when Mr. Justice O'Hagan gave that evidence, the Land Commission was only beginning its work, and the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal himself said that they ought not to have an inquiry, because there were such few cases. Everybody knew that the great estates had been just as much reduced as the small ones, and that the reductions had been made upon rents that had been fixed for many years. He was glad to hear that the Government favoured the working of the Purchase Clauses; for he (the Marquess of Waterford), with others, had been inclined to believe that the Government wished for delay. Did they wish to delay until the value of the landlords' property was so depreciated that they could buy it for a trifle? As a Member of the Select Committee of their Lordships' House, he wished to say a word on that point. The Land Act had absolutely prevented the sale of land in Ireland, and many properties had been put up for sale in the Encumbered Estates Court without a single bidder. At the same time, while the fee-simple of the estate was not saleable, the tenants' interest fetched a great deal more than it had ever done before. The noble Lord might suppose that that was owing to the agitations, or the agricultural distress; but the facts did not bear out that view. No doubt the difficulties the tenants had in borrowing the purchase-money was one of the greatest impediments in the way of purchase. But when the tenants had something almost as good as fixity of tenure, and knew that they could not get a better occupation by purchase than they had already, and that they would even lose by purchase, it was not to be wondered at that they did not come forward and purchase the landlords' estates. The Treasury had thrown every obstacle in the way of working these clauses. They had refused, or almost refused, to advance money at all. They had done everything in their power to prevent them working; and if the fountain head was against the working of those clauses, he did not see how it was possible for them to be worked. Then the Land Court, overburdened by work as it was, could not possibly be expected to work those clauses properly. That Court, which had to assess the value of the rents, could not be expected to act fairly by the landlord and tenant in the matter of purchase, because it was natural that they should be inclined to a further reduction of rent. There was a Court in existence, however, a Court with all the necessary machinery, with officers perfectly acquainted with the value of land, and with power to give a title to property—he alluded to the Encumbered Estates Court—and he ventured to say that if the properties to be purchased passed through the hands of that Court the result would be satisfactory. The adoption of that suggestion would certainly save expense, and would greatly facilitate the working of the clauses in question. He could not wonder that these clauses of the Act had been much more a dead letter than they were under the Act of 1870. Landlords were now obliged to retain their properties, whether they would or not, and possibly for the benefit of the mortgagees alone. Immense stress had been laid upon the working of the Bright Clauses. When the Act of 1870 was passed, the Government at that time believed that if a peasant proprietary could be established throughout the length of Ireland it would add enormously to the loyalty of the population, and that the agitators would not have the hold upon the people which they had had up to the present time. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Lansdowne) had alluded to some remarkable words which were made use of in a speech of Lord Hartington, and which were to the same effect. But if that view of the case were true, why was it the Government did not take steps to have those statements carried out? They knew perfectly well that the Purchase Clauses were a dead letter, and yet they sat quiet and asked for delay. Many considerations seemed to mark out the course proposed as being a proper one to pursue. The landlord of the future would be no more than, and only a rent-charger. He could not lay out any money for improvements, because he knew very well that his money might be confiscated and sold by the tenant the next moment; and he had, in fact, no interest in his estate. He would probably be an absentee, and from time immemorial absentees had been looked upon as a curse to

Ireland. It was said that the absentee landlords had done nothing for the tenants, that they had drawn the rents out of the country and spent them elsewhere; and lately they had heard—he did not know how true it was—that a great part of the cause of the agricultural distress in this country was due to the fact that the land was held by so few persons. He would, at any rate, be one of the too few owners of the land to whose exclusive ownership much of the agricultural distress had been often attributed. The Act of 1881 would tend to perpetuate and to aggravate all these unfortunate social and economic conditions. It would have the effect of turning the great bulk of the landlords of Ireland into absentees, and, at the same time, of keeping the proprietorships in the hands of a few; because, however ready they might be to sell, they would not be able to dispose of a single acre. It came to this, then—that those who believed that the land of England was held by too few persons had succeeded in passing for Ireland a measure which kept the land in the hands of a few, for it forced the landlords to retain their property, and prevented them from developing its resources; while, at the same time, rendering them practically useless members of society. His own belief was that the Purchase Clauses might be made operative very speedily, and without any loss to the State, if the Government could only be persuaded that there was not the slightest risk in advancing the whole of the purchase money to the tenants. A certain sum of money might be set apart for this purpose every year, and the result would be that while the second or third batch of tenants were borrowing the money the first batch would have repaid it. He entirely agreed with what the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lansdowne) said on that point. He believed that the instalments which would have to be paid to the Government would be looked upon by the tenants as so much of an investment; and if he repudiated it he would lose, in addition to his farm, all the money he had paid up to the time he ceased payment. He (the Marquess of Waterford) could not see, therefore, that there would be the slightest danger of the State advancing the whole of the money to the tenants; and he was quite satisfied that it would have such a beneficial result upon Ireland, that, even if there was a risk of its costing the State any money, it would be amply repaid in the improved state of things which would follow. They must do something to render land saleable again, for as things were, land in Ireland was simply unsaleable at any price. Properties must change hands; but, at the present time, they could not be sold, because buyers had been frightened away, not by the depreciation of the value of the property, but by Imperial legislation and nothing else. He therefore thought, under these circumstances, it was incumbent upon the Government to take steps to give effect to the Purchase Clauses of the Act, which promised to be most effectually remedial. The noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal had said that the Government was as anxious as he was that the Purchase Clauses should be worked. If that was so, what was the difficulty in the way of its being done? He knew it was believed that, if that were done, every tenant in Ireland would at once become a proprietor; but if the Government had any doubt upon that, could they not moderate the use of the clauses by an annual grant of so much? By so doing, the first lot of tenants would almost have paid the first instalment, before the latter part had received any money at all. Of course, not every tenant in Ireland could become a proprietor, and not every landlord would wish to sell. He knew, however, that in Ulster the tenants were more anxious to buy than in the other parts of Ireland, and that there they were looking with the greatest interest to the Motion of the noble Marquess, and he had received a telegram from an influential meeting there, praying the House to accede to the noble Marquess's Motion. They were most anxious to purchase their holdings in Ulster; indeed, no landlord could be more deeply interested in the question than the Ulster tenants, and he believed that before long they would have both landlord and tenant in Ireland anxiously agitating for a change that would render those clauses really workable. He sincerely wished Her Majesty's Government had acceded to the appointment of the Royal Commission, for though the Irish Land Question had been the subject of many inquiries, most of the information had been obtained before the passing of the Land Act, and the state of things had been completely changed since that time. An inquiry now, at any rate, would show the country that Her Majesty's Government were really anxious that the Purchase Clauses should be rendered workable; and that they were anxious in some manner to mitigate the evils which had followed the violent change in the Land Laws—of that which they had seen — evils which he believed would increase in volume every day that they remained unremedied.

Earl COWPER said, he deeply regretted that the Government had not assented to inquiry in respect to this matter. He was rather sorry that everybody who had advocated that inquiry had coupled his remarks, more or less, with observations derogatory to the Land Act. He thought it would be a pity that it should be supposed that the two things were in antagonism, or that an inquiry was to be vindicated only on the ground of its repairing an injustice done by that Act. He considered the Land Act had materially reduced the grievances of the Irish people, which the Purchase Clauses by themselves would not have done. That Act, in his opinion, was certainly a good and just measure, but it had one drawback. They knew that although the improvements on holdings, as a rule, had been made by the tenants, there were some landlords who did make improvements themselves, and they felt that the Act had had the effect of causing landlords to stop making these improvements. The consequence was that the tenants carried out all those improvements, and landlords would undoubtedly more and more, year after year, get into the condition of mere rent-chargers; and what he said was that these mere rent-chargers should, if they chose, be allowed and even encouraged to sell their estates, and that the tenants now who had made all the improvements in the land should have the additional responsibility of ownership. One objection to the scheme put forward for placing the tenant in the position of an owner was that the State must, for a certain number of years, itself become the landlord. He did not, however, see any objection to such a system of tenancy, and there would not be any difficulty in collecting the rents, as the Government had the power to enforce them. It was, however, said that would excite odium against the Government, but he did not share in that opinion. On the contrary, he thought they would incur less odium in enforcing their own rights than they did in enforcing the rights of others, and certainly would find it much easier to do so. His noble Friend (the Marquess of Lansdowne) had stated that the Government had acted with reluctance in enforcing the payment of rent to the landlords; whereas the fact was, there was no one occasion on which they had not helped them. If a landlord wrote to Dublin Castle to say he wanted such assistance, a force of military and of police were sent to help to enforce his rights; but sometimes when they had gone long distances they found when they got to their journey's end there was no occasion for their services, for arrangements had been made at the last moment by the landlord, agent, or bailiff, and the men had to march back again. There was want of joint action on the part of the landlords; for if they had only agreed among themselves in any locality where they might require assistance, the Government could have afforded it them more easily. The work was done sporadically. It had been impossible for the authorities to render the assistance they might have done if they could have dealt with a county or a district at a time. There would have been great advantages if the Government had had the whole power of collecting the rent; and the Government could scarcely have incurred more odium in enforcing its own rights than it had incurred in enforcing those of other people. He was very sorry that the Government had announced that it was not their intention to grant the Commission asked for. He thought that if they stated it was their intention to make sufficient inquiries on the subject, it would answer the objects of the Resolution. It would have been much more satisfactory if the Government had undertaken inquiry with the view of settling all the details that could possibly be settled as to the number of years over which payment for a loan should be spread, the Court which was to carry out the scheme, and all matters which needed so much inquiry. The noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal said it would be better to allow things to settle down. He (Earl Cowper) doubted very much whether, if there was a postponement and there was a marked change in the country in the way of improvement, the English people would be inclined to re-open the question until it was again forced on their attention. There were many reasons why the Bright Clauses should be made more workable. He must repeat that he regretted very much that the Government did not consider it necessary to make inquiries. There was no more proper time to make those inquiries than at the present moment, when the landlords were anxious to sell. It would be a boon to them, and the tenants would buy cheaply; and, for that reason, he did not see why the Purchase Clauses should not at once be made workable.

Lord WAVENEY, after reading a Petition from the Ulster Tenant Right Association, praying that their Lordships would accede to the Motion of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lansdowne), and also quoting several resolutions passed at meetings in Ireland, in its favour, said, he heartily joined in the regret that had been expressed by several speakers that the Government had signified its intention of not offering any assistance in the matter, as he believed it to be of the greatest moment that the fullest light should be thrown upon a subject of such vast importance to the future of Ireland. He contended that it was urgently needed to supply Government with data for supervising the new legislation, which was designed to effect a revolution in the economical condition of the country. In his opinion, the best arrangement that could be made in the circumstances would be one by which the farms would be transferred to a peasant proprietary, with a modified reduction of their interest that would be equivalent to the copyhold system of this country. Such an arrangement was especially required as regarded the tenants in Ulster.

Lord DENMAN said, he would refer their Lordships to his Protests put upon the Journals of the House at the time of the passing of the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881, in which he had foreshadowed many of the difficulties which had since arisen respecting it, and had predicted that the purchase of holdings would cause disputes between the purchasers of a valueless tenant right and those who entered farms at the end of the first or second 15 years' lease. He had a farm which, in 1817, paid £120 yearly rent; this was reduced, first, to £90, and latterly by his father, in consultation with him, to £60; but, the land being exhausted from the tenant's acting as a carrier of lime, that rent could not be paid, on which he (Lord Denman) cultivated the farm, and the son of the tenant, in 1817, was his caretaker. It now was in good condition. Bearing this in mind, and referring to his Protests, he did not think that the present Motion of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Lansdowne) would lead to any good result.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE, in reply, said, he wished, in the first place, to explain with regard to the remarks made by the noble Earl the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Cowper), that when he (the Marquess of Lansdowne) said the Government had reluctantly supported landlords in enforcing the payment of rent, he did not intend to apply the words to the action of the Executive in Ireland. He had rather in his mind the fact—which he still believed to be a fact—that the Government did not, at first, clearly apprehend the character of the struggle which was going on between landlords and tenants in Ireland, and that the moral support which landlords received was not of a very cordial character. That was evident from the fact that in 1880, immediately after their accession to Office, they introduced a Bill imposing heavy penalties upon landlords who attempted to enforce their undoubted rights by eviction. He could not regard the reply of the noble Lord the Lord Privy Seal as being in every respect satisfactory; but, nevertheless, those who were interested in this question might gather some crumbs of comfort from what was said by the noble Lord. He understood the noble Lord to state that Her Majesty's Government were still in favour of an effectual measure for increasing the number of proprietors in Ireland, but that they reserved to themselves the duty of revising the shortcomings of the Land Act, and that they would do so at the proper time. If the noble Lord had said that the Government would bring in a Bill next year, his answer would have been entirely satisfactory. His (the Marquess of Lansdowne's) contention was that indefinite delay was unfortunate—first, because nothing with regard to the operation of the Purchase Clauses was so prejudicial as uncertainty as to the extent to which they were to be amended; and, secondly, because there were many owners of land in Ireland who were not able to wait for an indefinite time. These men, if not extricated from the embarrassing position in which they stood, would before long be in a state of absolute ruin. He did not, of course, intend to press his Motion, because an inquiry of this sort, if forced upon the Government, would lead to no useful results. He would only beg the Government to address themselves seriously to the consideration of this matter, and to do so with as little delay as possible. In conclusion, he begged to withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*).

House adjourned at Eight o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 5*th March*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—New Member Sworn—Robert Abraham Brewster French-Brewster, esquire, *for* the Borough of Portarlington.

Supply—*Considered in Committee*—Navy (Supplementary Estimate), 1882-3; Transvaal, 1882-3; Civil Services and Revenue Departments (Supplementary Estimates), 1882-3—Class I.—Public Works and Buildings; Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

Resolutions [March 2] *reported*.

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Public House Licensing Committees * [110]; Clerical Disabilities (House of Commons) * [111].

Second Reading—Municipal Corporations (Unreformed) [6]; Seed Advances (Scotland) (No. 2) [108], *debate adjourned*.

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund, &c. (Permanent Charges of Redemption) Act (1873) Amendment * [107], and *passed*.

The Marquess of Lansdowne

QUESTIONS.

ARMY (INDIA)—VETERINARY DEPARTMENT — GLANDERS IN CAVALRY REGIMENTS.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that a regiment of Bengal Cavalry, infected with glanders for some time, and without being accompanied by a veterinary surgeon, was sent to Egypt; that the horses were not medically inspected before embarkation from India; that some of them died or were destroyed for glanders on shipboard before the regiment reached Egypt; that many were destroyed while in Egypt, and a troop had to be placed hors de combat at Suez, the horses of the other regiments and corps being placed in great peril of infection; that on the return voyage to India, and subsequently, many more of these Bengal Cavalry horses have been destroyed for glanders; and that an officer of an infantry regiment died at Lucknow of glanders, as well as two natives, these persons having been on board ship with these horses returning from Egypt, and there becoming infected; and, whether it is also the fact that with more than 7,000 animals despatched with the expeditionary force from India to Egypt, there were only two veterinary officers, while the proportion in the Imperial Army is one veterinary surgeon to two hundred and fifty or three hundred animals?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, an inquiry was made two months ago of the Government of India, as to the precise extent to which glanders prevailed among the Bengal Cavalry during the recent campaign and previously. Their detailed Report may be shortly expected. No information has reached the India Office of any officer or other person having died of this disease after their return to India; but inquiry will at once be made on this and other points raised by my hon. Friend. British veterinary surgeons are never employed on the establishment of the Bengal Native Cavalry, but instead each regiment has on its establishment two "Salootrees" (a very competent body of men), and these accompanied the corps to Egypt. The recently organized transport service is also provided with "Salootrees," and the full war establishment was attached to the transport in Egypt. Each battery of artillery had its British veterinary surgeon, and a veterinary surgeon on the staff accompanied Sir Herbert Macpherson as superintendent.

NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE (for Mr. BULWER) asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, What is the cause of the great length of the preface to the last volume of the National Manuscripts of Ireland; did the unusual length of that preface substantially add to the price of the volume (£5 5*s.*); and, is that preface now published as a separate volume, and sold at the small price of two shillings?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the work in question being published under the sole superintendence of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, I have communicated with his Honour on the subject. He informs me that the increased length of the introduction is rendered necessary by the nature and history of the documents of which it contains facsimiles. No comparison, he says, can be justly made between them and those facsimiled in former parts, in judging of an introduction or an appendix to them. He thinks that only a few passages of the introduction could with advantage have been omitted, and had the introduction been altogether omitted, the reduction in price would have been only 6*s.* or 7*s.* The introduction has been published separately in a smaller size, and is sold for 2*s.* This has been done for each volume, and is considered to help the sale of the larger work.

POST OFFICE—AMERICAN MAIL SERVICE.

MR. BAXTER asked the Postmaster General, with reference to the complaints of the mercantile community as to the outgoing American Mails, If it is a fact that equal "regularity" and greater "efficiency," that is greater speed, have been attained by the system adopted by the Government of the United States, of sending the Mails by all fast steamers than by our arrangement of sending them by the steamers of the White Star, Inman, and Cunard lines alone; if the Inman Company are at present employing chartered steamers of inferior power; if he is aware that the "Catalonia" and "Pavonia" and other steamers of the Cunard line, as a rule, make passages several days longer than such vessels as the "Alaska" and the "Arizona," which have not the honour of carrying Her Majesty's Mails; if the American plan has resulted in the Mails being delivered in England never later than ten days after leaving New York, while frequently the outward Mails take fourteen or fifteen days in the passage; and, if these statements be correct, what is there to prevent our Government following the good example of the United States?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, I fear I could not give a full answer to the Questions of my right hon. Friend without troubling the House with many details. I shall, however, be very glad to make an inquiry into the subject, with the object of ascertaining whether it would be possible to effect any improvement in the Mail Service between England and America by employing other lines of steamers in addition to those by which the mails are now sent.

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY —VENTILATING SHAFTS ON THE THAMES EMBANKMENT.

MR. BUXTON asked the honourable Member for Truro, Whether he has sanctioned the proposed opening of eight shafts along the Thames Embankment which the Metropolitan District Railway desire to build; whether some of these shafts will seriously diminish the space now allotted to public gardens on the Embankment; and, whether this House will have any opportunity of considering such a proposal?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: Sir, I beg to inform my hon. Friend that the shafts referred to were provided for in a Bill promoted by the District Railway Company in the Session of 1881. The Metropolitan Board and the Corporation of London vigorously opposed the Bill before both Houses of Parliament; and the Board, through their engineer, Sir Joseph Bazalgette, offered evidence to show that the ventilation could be managed by mechanical means in a way which would not be detrimental to the public. The opposition, however, was unfortunately unsuccessful; and, in accordance with the terms of the Act, the matter has recently been before the arbitrator appointed by the Board of Trade, before whom evidence for the Board was given by Sir Joseph Bazalgette, myself, and others, and whose award is now being carried out. There is no doubt that these shafts will seriously diminish the space now allotted to public gardens on the Embankment, and will also interfere with the road space; but I am afraid that, as matters stand, the Board is powerless to prevent the erection of these hideous structures.

Lord ALGERNON PERCY asked the hon. Gentleman if he would inform the House whether the Metropolitan District Railway had paid the Metropolis or any local authority any sum of money for the ground taken for these ventilators?

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: In the original inception of the Thames Embankment a sum of £200,000 was paid by the District Railway Company for the accommodation then afforded; but not a penny has been paid for the destruction of the gardens and obstruction of the roadway. If I am rightly informed, the Company has let land which they might have applied for the purposes of ventilation, and then made application to Parliament for the powers they obtained last year.

Mr. J. R. YORKE asked the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade whether there was anything to be hoped from the interposition of the Board of Trade?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: If the hon. Member gives me Notice I will have the matter further looked into; but, as at present advised, I am afraid we have no authority whatever.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would state what is the cause of the delay in making payments to landowners under the Arrears Act, when the tenants have lodged the year's rent, and there is no dispute as to the facts?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received a Report from the Land Commissioners, of which the following is the substance:—An erroneous impression is conveyed by describing the procedure with reference to joint applications as merely one of "making payments," and by stating that in any application the facts are undisputed. The duty of investigating every case is imposed upon the Commissioners by the Act, and they consider that it would be impossible to simplify or curtail their present procedure. Every application must be registered, examined by an investigator in the Commissioners' Office, and inspected by the Treasury Representative in Dublin. If the result is satisfactory, and no local inquiry is considered necessary, an order for payment is paid out as soon as possible, and its substance communicated both to landlord and tenant. But before this can be done a large amount of clerical labour is unavoidable, and this involves some delay. After the notification of the order to the landlord there is not an interval of more than three days in making actual payment, provided that no question of title is involved. I have to-day received the following telegram on this subject from the Land Commissioners:—

> "It is confidently anticipated that, by the end of May, landlords, in 100,000 out of the 135,000 cases lodged, will have been paid."

Rent lodged with the Commissioners by a tenant to his landlord's credit is paid by the Commissioners when applied for. There is no delay as regards money so lodged, except the delay of one fortnight caused in giving public notice by advertisement pursuant to Section 1, Sub-section 5, of the Arrears Act.

NAVY—THE ROYAL YACHTS.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If, in view of the fact that Her Majesty already possesses three yachts in full Commission, in addition to the "Victoria and Albert" (one of them, the "Osborne," being of large tonnage), he will consent to postpone the proposed expenditure of £45,000 for repairs to the "Victoria and Albert;" whether the estimate for the repairs is for the hull only, or if it includes new boilers, overhauling of machinery, cabins, and other equipments; also regilding of the hull; whether, before sanctioning the outlay, at a time when the revenue is declining, he would recommend the sale of one or more of the four yachts; and, further, if he will grant a Return showing the orginal cost of all the four vessels, together with the amounts expended upon them for repairs and maintenance since they were built, and how often the two larger yachts have been employed in conveying Her Majesty across the Channel during the past ten years?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in answering the Question of the hon. Member for Sunderland, I wish to be allowed to correct a statement I made on this subject a few days ago. The estimates which at that time had come up from the Dockyard of the cost of repairing the *Victoria and Albert* amounted to £43,000, and I accordingly told the House that the cost of repairs would be about £45,000. Subsequently, however, a more detailed estimate has been received, including not only a thorough repair of the hull, but also new boilers and the complete repair of her engines, and amounting to £55,000. This estimate will not be approved until the Admiralty officers have made an accurate survey of the condition and requirements of the vessel, and no part of these repairs will be undertaken within the present financial year. My hon. Friend suggests that if this outlay is incurred one of the other Royal yachts might be sold. The vessels maintained for Royal use consists of two yachts and two tenders. No increase has been made for 20 years in the accommodation provided for Her Majesty's service; and it hardly seems that the moment when we propose to lay up one of the two yachts for an extensive and complete repair is an opportunity to be taken for depriving the Queen of the use of the only remaining full-sized yacht. There is no objection to furnish a Return of expenditure on the Royal Yachts if the hon. Member will move for it; but the particulars alluded to in the latter part of his Question can hardly be given in a Parliamentary Return.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN.

MR. MONK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention had been called to a statement in the "Standard" of February 27th, to the effect that, at the sitting of the Senate at Madrid on the previous day, the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to an interpellation, said that the negotiations now pending with England for a Treaty of Commerce permit of the hope of a satisfactory conclusion being arrived at; and, whether he can confirm such statement on the part of Her Majesty's Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Lord Granville has received a telegram from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid to the effect that no such statement as that referred to by the correspondent of *The Standard* with regard to the commercial negotiations with this country was made by the Spanish Minister of State.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CAVAN UNION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what grounds the Local Government Board refused to have the contract for milk in Cavan Union reopened, seeing that it was proved another tender had been misdelivered by the Post Office of Cavan, and which offered to supply the quantity of milk required for £160 less than the tender which was accepted; whether it is a fact that the Guardians who accepted the higher tender had notice prior to their decision that another tender had been sent; whether the Local Government asked for the decision of the same Board of Guardians who had given the first decision, to which exception had been taken; and, whether he will instruct the Local Government Board to hold a sworn investigation into the whole case?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the facts of this case are as follows:—Upon the day appointed for receiving tenders the Guardians had only one before them, which they accepted. They were informed by a Mr. Hewitt that he had sent a lower tender; but the Guardians assert that the prices he named were not known to them until after they had accepted the other tender. It subsequently appeared that Mr. Hewitt's tender had miscarried in the Post Office, and he complained on the subject to the Local Government Board, who immediately wrote to the Guardians asking if they wished to put an end to the contract which they had made. This might legally have been done with the consent of the Local Government Board. The matter was especially considered by the Guardians after due notice, and they decided, by a large majority, to abide by the contract. It is to be borne in mind that, if both tenders had originally been before them, they would not necessarily have accepted the lower. Having regard to all these facts, the Local Government Board saw no sufficient reason to interfere further in the matter, and there are no grounds for directing a sworn investigation.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been drawn to the non-delivery of a letter addressed to the Guardians of Cavan Union, posted on 15th January last, and indorsed "Tender for Milk;" and, if so, what action he proposes to take regarding the alleged misconduct of the postmaster?

Mr. FAWCETT: It is the case, Sir, as stated by the hon. Member, that the letter was not delivered, and I much regret the circumstance. The postmaster has been censured for his carelessness, which I trust may not be repeated.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACTS — GALMPTON SCHOOL—DISMISSAL OF A PUPIL.

Mr. STEWART MACLIVER asked the Vice President of the Council on Education, If his attention has been drawn to a statement made at Plymouth, on the 28th instant, by Canon Wilberforce, to the effect that the managers of a school at Galmpton had dismissed a female pupil teacher named Trant for wearing the colour of the Blue Ribbon Army; and, whether such interference, if correctly reported, with the dress and opinions of teachers is approved by the department?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Sir, the girl Trant, who was dismissed from the Galmpton School for wearing a blue ribbon, was not a pupil teacher, but a scholar. Subsequent to her dismissal, three other children were dismissed for the same reason. When the Question appeared on the Notice Paper I caused inquiry to be made of the managers as to the facts of the case; and I am glad to be able to report that, before my telegram reached them, Mr. Bolitho, the owner of the school and the principal manager, had censured the mistress, who, under a mistaken sense of a rule of the school, had dismissed the children, and ordered their immediate re-admission. In a very sensible letter which I have received from Mr. Bolitho this morning, he explains that the expulsion of the children took place in his absence and without his consent; and he expresses a hope, in which I cordially agree, "that such an act of stupidity, not to say intolerance, will never again be possible in this country." I think I ought to state, in justice to Her Majesty's Inspector, who seems to have been reflected on in Canon Wilberforce's speech, that although he visited the school immediately before the dismissal of the children, he was not consulted on the matter, and was as entirely ignorant of, as he is entirely opposed to, what was done.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ANTRIM ARTILLERY—MAJOR JOHNSTON.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that the Junior Major (Johnston) of the Antrim Artillery is the same person who, when a Captain in that Regiment, formed one of a party that went to the hotel for the purpose of making an attack upon one of the Officers (Major Craig) who had rendered himself obnoxious to him because of his devotion to religious matters; whether a serious breach of the peace was prevented by the intervention of two other members of the Regiment; whether, in consequence of the noise and disturbance upon that occasion, the police were not placed opposite to the hotel; and, whether he, under these circumstances, has approved of the promotion of Major Johnston?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, I have made inquiries into this matter, and I find that nothing is known at the War Office of the circumstances referred to in the hon. Member's Question, and to which no date is attached. The General Officer commanding the Forces in Ireland, who has been communicated with, reports that the records of the regiment in his office have been searched from the date of Major Johnston's appointment as captain in February, 1873, to the date of his promotion in June, 1881, and that they contain no trace of the alleged occurrence. Major Johnston's promotion was approved after he had been strongly recommended by the district authorities and the General Officer commanding the Forces in Ireland. This is all the official information which I have received; but the following telegram has just been received from Lieutenant-Colonel Craig with reference to this matter:—

"A practical joke happened nine years ago. I did not think the affair of sufficient importance to report it officially."

Major Johnston has also written to his commanding officer to say that he was not one of the party who took part in the joke. I think the House will consider that it was scarcely worth while to have disinterred this incident, which took place nine years ago, for the purpose of throwing discredit on an officer who was not concerned in it.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — EXTRADITION OF P. J. SHERIDAN.

Mr. **PULESTON** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a demand has been made on the American Government for the extradition of P. J. Sheridan; and, if so, whether the grounds upon which it has been made can be given to the House?

Lord **EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: In reply to the first portion of the hon. Member's Question, I may inform the House that a demand has been made for the extradition of P. J. Sheridan; but I regret that I am unable to make any further statement.

Mr. **PULESTON**: Is the noble Lord able to state whether any reply has been received?

[No answer was given to this Question.]

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — JUSTICES OF BALLYMAHON.

Mr. **JUSTIN M'CARTHY** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that in the district of Ballymahon, county of Longford, cases entered for hearing before the justices of the peace have remained unheard for more than three months because it was necessary that they should be heard by two justices; and, during that time, although there is a court every fortnight, only the resident magistrate attended; and, whether, if this be true, he will take any steps to secure a better attendance of magistrates?

Mr. **TREVELYAN**: I find, on inquiry, that one case, being a charge against a caretaker for overholding possession of a cottage, has remained unheard during the past two months for the reason stated, and that the non-attendance of a second magistrate was caused on two occasions by the illness of a local justice who usually acts, and on the third by a heavy snowstorm, which prevented a resident magistrate from arriving from another district. It is expected that the case will be disposed of this week.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE MARTINI-HENRY RIFLE.

Viscount **LEWISHAM** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can inform the House how soon the Martini-Henry will be served out to the Volunteers?

The Marquess of **HARTINGTON**: The present reserve of Martini-Henry rifles is below the number which it is considered desirable to keep in store for the Regular Army and Militia. In view of the contemplated change of pattern which is now under consideration, it is not desirable to increase the manufacture of the present pattern. Although we are very anxious to issue the superior arm to the Volunteers as soon as possible, I am afraid that we cannot promise them this year.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—OUTDOOR RELIEF.

Colonel **COLTHURST** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state how many unions out of the total number of sixty or thereabouts who were authorised to dispense with the workhouse test during the years 1880-81, did in the opinion of the Local Government Board abuse their power of granting out-door relief; and, how many of such unions are comprised in the counties of Clare, Donegal, or Sligo?

Mr. **TREVELYAN**: Sir, the Local Government Board inform me that it would be impossible to answer this Question accurately without longer Notice than has been given of it, as it would involve an examination of the Union records; but they give it as their opinion that outdoor relief was lavishly and capriciously disbursed in some Unions. I will give an answer on Thursday; but I can say at once that the strongest cases were in Mayo and Roscommon.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—LOANS TO OCCUPIERS.

Mr. **BIGGAR** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what grounds the Board of Works have delayed making advances to a large number of farmers in North Leitrim who have paid the preliminary expenses and fulfilled the necessary conditions to entitle them to receive loans under the Land Act of 1881.

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, I have inquired into the condition of the applications for loans to occupiers in County Leitrim, and learn that, except in one case, there has been no excess over the time found to be normally required for making the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates, and for giving the notices required by law. That single case involved two holdings on different properties; and the proposed works were more complicated than usual, which accounts for the longer time which has been occupied in dealing with it. The preliminary expenses, being met by deduction from the first instalment, cannot be paid before an advance has been made.

MUNICIPAL REFORM (METROPOLIS).

MR. STUART-WORTLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is true that, as stated in the "Morning Advertiser" of Saturday 24th February, so lately as the week ending on that day—

> "A request was issued from the Home Office to the Metropolitan Board of Works, the District Boards, the Corporation of London, and the Vestries, to furnish accounts of their receipts and expenditure, as well as reports from the different officers connected with their institutions, as to the working of the departments;"

whether such Reports, when received, will not necessarily be of immense volume and complexity; whether their due examination by the Home Office will not occupy a long time; and, whether it is intended to defer, until after due examination of such Reports, the bringing forward of the promised measure for the reform of the Corporation, or whether it is intended not to give to such Reports any sufficient examination at all?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, this Question, like some others, has been founded on a misapprehension of the reasons for which these Reports have been asked. The material facts they will contain have long been under the consideration of the Government; but it was necessary that the details should be verified. With regard to the last portion of the Question, I am afraid, in the present state of Public Business, there will be more time for the examination of those documents than I desire or can in any way want.

NAVY—THE MEDITERRANEAN SQUADRON.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any Report has been received from the Mediterranean Squadron of the result of the test of active service to our ships and guns, and dockyard and ordnance material; and, if he will communicate any such Report to the House?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in answer to the right hon. and gallant Admiral, I have to say that Reports have been received on some of the points mentioned; but they are necessarily confidential, and cannot be made public.

NAVY—H.M.S. "NEPTUNE."

MR. NORWOOD asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the statement that has recently appeared in the public press as to the "extraordinary discovery" of serious injury to the bottom of Her Majesty's Ship "Neptune" at Portsmouth, is substantially correct; whether it is a fact that this ship was built on the Thames for the Brazilian Government under the name of the "Independenzia," and that an accident occurred in the attempt to launch her; that she stuck on the ways for several days with a portion of her hull overhanging the river, and unsupported at low-water, and that she was thereby subjected to great strain; whether it is a fact that, owing to the very great structural injury she was believed to have sustained, a claim was made on her Underwriters for a total loss, which, after much debate, was compromised by the payment of a sum of about £77,000, being 35 per cent. on the insured value of £220,000; whether, notwithstanding these circumstances of general notoriety, Her Majesty's Government subsequently purchased this ship in the year 1878; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the Surveys by the Dockyard Authorities, and of the recommendations, official or otherwise, upon which the purchase of this ship was made; together with a statement showing the price paid for her by Her

Majesty's Government, the cost of the repairs and alterations subsequently effected on her, and an estimate of the probable outlay now necessary to make Her Majesty's Ship "Neptune" seaworthy?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, I have already said, in answer to the right hon. and gallant Admiral the Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay), that the statement in the public Press regarding the discovery of defects in the *Neptune* is greatly exaggerated, and there is nothing to prevent her from going to sea as intended. No outlay will be required at present. My hon. Friend recites a number of facts connected with the history of this ship, and her purchase by the late Board of Admiralty, and asks me if they are correct. Some of these facts were, I believe, matters of public notoriety at the time; but of the accuracy of others, as stated in my hon. Friend's Question, I have no knowledge, nor am I acquainted with the reasons which led my right hon. Friend opposite the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) and his Colleagues to make the purchase. If my hon. Friend will move for a Return of the cost of the *Neptune* up to the present time I shall be happy to lay it on the Table. I understand that there was no survey of the ship by professional officers before its purchase, for this reason—that no survey could be made, the ship being fitted and ready for sea. A thorough inspection was, however, made by the Board itself. As to the official recommendations on which the ship was purchased, these were, of course, of a confidential nature and cannot be produced.

EGYPT—THE KOURBASH.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to an article in the "Echo" of the 28th February, signed J. Seymour Keary, descriptive of the infliction in Egypt of the tortures of the Korbach and Bastinado on persons who have not paid their taxes; whether the English Controller, Sir A. Colvin, has not habitually represented that the use of the Korbach and Bastinado had altogether ceased in Egypt, for at least two years past; whether he has observed a telegram in the "Standard" of the 28th February, asserting that the use of the Korbach was only "abolished last month by a circular from Ismael Pacha Ayoub," and stating that a certain one of the Provincial Governors had not remonstrated against the circular, because he was "especially notorious for his free use of the Bastinado;" whether he has also observed an officially recorded statement by Mr. Rowsell, the British Administrator of the Domains, dated 18th February 1882, as follows:—"Deprived of his Korbach and of his power to imprison, the Governor of an Eastern Province can do little with a population accustomed for centuries to strong, personal, direct government," also stating that he called on the Egyptian Mudirs to "suppress the strike at four villages," by imprisoning certain Sheiks, "on my demand, as persons who prevented the villagers from working;" whether, since one of the effects of the British Victories in Egypt has been to send Mr. Rowsell back to his post as Administrator of the Domains, Her Majesty's Government will recommend that he be removed from office; and, whether he will state what measures have been taken to secure the total abolition of the use of the tortures of the Korbach and Bastinado, as well as arbitrary imprisonment throughout Egypt?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have seen the article in *The Echo* alluded to by my hon. Friend; but I am not aware that Sir Auckland Colvin has made the statement alluded to. Ismail Eyoub Pasha, in assuming the duties of Minister of the Interior, issued a Circular on the 16th of January to the Provincial authorities, peremptorily forbidding the use of the Korbach and the Bastinado, which the Circular states has been applied in spite of repeated orders against their use. In regard to the alleged statement of Mr. Rowsell, it does not appear that he was expressing any opinion of his own in favour of the Korbach. The other statements to which the hon. Baronet refers and their explanation will be found at pages 42 and 43 "Egypt, No. 7, 1882." Her Majesty's Government have lost no opportunity of remonstrating against the continuance of the practices alluded to by my hon. Friend; and a despatch of Lord Dufferin's, which I hope shortly to present to Parliament, will, I feel sure, give him much satisfaction.

EGYPT (RE-ORGANIZATION)—THE BUDGET AND CONTROL.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Sir E. Malet, on February 15th 1882, declined to sanction the voting of the internal Budget by the Egyptian Parliament, on the ground that the Egyptian decree establishing the control "had the nature of an International engagement," and "could only be modified by the consent of the Governments of England and France;" and, whether Her Majesty's Government obtained the consent of France before they advised the Khedive to issue the recent decree abolishing the control, and whether that consent was also obtained to the appointment of Sir Auckland Colvin as financial adviser to the Egyptian Government?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, my hon. Friend will find the exact statement made by Sir Edward Malet in a despatch dated the 13th of February, 1882, which appears at page 27 of "Egypt, No. 7, 1882." At that time the Control was still in undisputed existence. The views of Her Majesty's Government as to its character and the circumstances which justified its abolition are fully given in Lord Granville's despatch contained in "Egypt, No. 20." The consent of France was not obtained by the Khedive to the issue of the Decree abolishing the Control, or to the appointment of a European Financial Adviser.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: Has the consent of France been given to abolish the Decree under the law called the Law of Liquidation?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I must ask for Notice of that Question.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked, whether the noble Lord intended, in answering Questions in that House, to confine himself to references to dates and Papers, instead of giving an answer to the Question?

[No reply.]

IRELAND—EXTRA POLICE TAX IN KERRY.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the extra Police Tax at present being demanded from the ratepayers of the parish of Mollahiffe, in the county of Kerry, is at the rate of two shillings in the £1 per annum; and, whether the police hut in which extra constables are quartered was erected on the farm of Mr. Jeremiah Leahy, despite his protest, and because he had given the site for a hut to an evicted tenant of Lord Kenmare; and, if he would explain what is there in the present state of the district to warrant the retention of the extra police force?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the extra police tax is at the rate mentioned. The site of the hut is in the possession of Lord Kenmare, having been surrendered to him by Jeremiah Leahy, in June, 1881. It is, therefore, not the case that the hut was erected on Leahy's holding against his will. The district is reported to be one of the most dangerous in Kerry. There are a number of persons in it who have to be specially protected, and the extra police cannot be removed at present.

Mr. PARNELL: Can the right hon. Gentleman inform us how many agrarian outrages of any kind have taken place in this district since last May?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I will be glad to inform the hon. Member if he gives Notice of the Question.

Mr. O'BRIEN: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, how many police protection huts there are on the estate of the Earl of Kenmare; and, whether the sub-agent of Lord Kenmare and the constable in charge of one of these huts have been returned for trial for one of the offences which, it is alleged, has rendered these extra police necessary?

Mr. TREVELYAN: If the hon. Member will put the Question on the Paper I will answer it. I cannot do so now.

STATE OF IRELAND—INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE—MICHAEL BANICAN.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a communication signed Michael Banican, Tallyard, Crossmaglen, county Armagh, published in the "Belfast Morning News" of Februay 23rd, to the effect that the writer was summoned out of his bed by the police at about twelve o'clock at night without being shown any warrant, and was taken to a police station about two miles away, where he was told that certain prisoners now in

Armagh Gaol were going to swear against him, and was urged to save himself, and that he and his family would be well done for; and further, that "they tried to get him to make statements incriminating some of the prisoners in gaol from his neighbourhood on a charge of treason-felony;" and, whether the statement of Michael Banican has any foundation; and, if so, whether such practices on the part of the police have the approval of the Irish Government?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, my attention has been called to this matter. I have considered a long Report upon it, and have reason to believe that the statements referred to are unfounded. I cannot say any more.

MR. O'BRIEN asked, whether Banican had written to the right hon. Gentleman calling for an inquiry, and offering the sworn testimony of himself, his wife, and mother-in-law?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he had received a letter to that effect.

IRISH CHURCH ACT, 1869—PURCHASERS.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he expects to lay upon the Table of the House the Report of the Land Commissioners on the condition of the tenants who purchased under the Irish Church Act, 1869?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I must remind the hon. Member that I made no promise to lay the Report referred to on the Table of the House, nor can I now undertake to do so, as the question it deals with is a very large one indeed, involving very important transactions, which will require to be considered very carefully by the Cabinet beforehand. I have received the following telegram from the Under Secretary, which I will read to the House—

> "As the Land Commissioners state they are not agreed on the subject of the tenants under the Irish Church Act and only send a Report from their solicitor, I think it would not be advisable to present their letter."

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, he certainly understood the right hon. Gentleman to promise that he would lay the Report on the Table.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—APPLICATIONS.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will state the number of applications to fix fair rents now pending in the county of Limerick, and the number now pending in the county of Clare; what provision is made to have those pending in Clare dealt with within a reasonable time; and, what was the number of such cases disposed of for Clare and Limerick respectively since the appointment of the Sub-Commissioners, and how disposed of, whether by settlement, withdrawal, dismissal, or fixing of fair rents by consent or decision?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the number of applications pending are—county Limerick, 589; county Clare, 2,097. The Commissioners inform me that they hope to be able to expedite the progress of business in Clare; but they cannot at present state what measures it will be in their power to take for that purpose. The numbers of cases which have been disposed of are as follows:—County Clare—Rents fixed after hearing, 559; rents fixed by consent, 45; dismissed and struck out, 59; withdrawn, 33; total, 696. County Limerick — Rents fixed after hearing, 595; rents fixed by consent, 143; dismissed and struck out, 148; withdrawn, 87; total, 973.

TURKEY—SERVIA—DETENTION OF PRISONERS.

SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that during the last twelve months numerous arrests of Old Servians charged with political offences have been made at Prishtina, Uscub, and other places; whether, notwithstanding the promise of the Porte to release them, they are still detained in loathsome dungeons without trial, and forbidden to communicate with their friends; and, whether it is true that other arrests of Old Servians have lately been made?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, numerous arrests of Old Servians charged with conspiring against the Turkish Government were made last year in the Vilayet of Kossova. Lord Dufferin, on learning that they were being ill-treated in prison, made representations on their behalf to the Porte in October last, and received a promise that instructions would be sent to the local authorities to desist from ill-treating the prisoners, as was reported, and to give them a fair trial; but it has lately transpired that these men, who had been condemned on the evidence of a renegade spy, were to be deported to Acre, and imprisoned in the casemates of the fortress—a sentence which was described as one of slow death. Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affairs, acting on instructions from home, addressed a letter to the Porte last month, and made a strong verbal appeal to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to cause some mitigation to be made in the punishment it was proposed to inflict on them. Reports have reached Her Majesty's Government of arrests being made in parts of Albania; but no official information has yet been received on the subject. I may observe that the district of Old Servia is one of those entitled to the execution of the Organic Statute mentioned in Article XXIII. of the Treaty of Berlin, which has not been put into force by the Porte.

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—THE BELFAST CENTRAL RAILWAY.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Why, in the Board of Works Return of Loans to Irish Railways, the loan to the Belfast Central Railway Company is omitted; and, what is the amount of the loan, the rate of interest, and terms of repayment?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the loan in question was not included in the Return because it was not made by the Board of Works, but by the Public Works Loans Commissioners, under the old system. Its amount is £100,000, and the whole is to be repaid in May, 1886. In consideration of the guarantee of the Imperial Credit Company and of the early date of repayment, only 4 per cent interest is charged. I am not aware of any similar loan; but I will inquire into the matter.

EGYPT—MURDER OF PROFESSOR PALMER AND PARTY.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Why so many gaps marked by asterisks are in the Correspondence relating to the Palmer Expedition; if he has seen in the "Times" of the 2nd instant letters and depositions of Colonel Warren and other persons which have been omitted from the Correspondence submitted to the House; and, if he will supply these omissions?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the passages omitted from the published Correspondence relating to the Palmer Expedition either refer to matters unconnected with the subject, or to individuals whose names it was undesirable to introduce. There are only one or two exceptions, in which passages were omitted for other reasons; but the published Correspondence contains everything material to the question, and especially everything connected with the proof of the guilt of the culprits. Some further letters have arrived from Colonel Warren, which will, if desired, be laid upon the Table.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—WICKLOW ASSIZES.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he received any remonstrance from the people of Wicklow complaining of the manner in which the special juries were empanelled there at the last Assizes; and, if so, whether he has any objection to lay the remonstrance and his reply upon the Table of the House?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I did receive a communication of the nature referred to; but I do not think that any good would result from laying it on the Table of the House. It belongs to a class of communication of which I receive many hundreds in a year; and my reply to it is, that I cannot enter into an argumentative discussion with the authors.

Mr. W. J. CORBET: May I ask if the right hon. Gentleman is aware that the population of Wicklow consists of 57,000 Catholics and 16,000 Protestants; and that the cases from which Catholics were excluded were not even of a political and agrarian character?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was not aware of the number of Catholics and Protestants in Wicklow; but he presumed the numbers mentioned by the hon. Gentleman were correct. Amongst the cases complained of was one where a peasant landlord appeared against a relative for stealing a door and other fixtures, and it could hardly be said that political considerations entered into such a case.

MR. W. J. CORBET: Is that the only case?

MR. TREVELYAN: That is the only case referred to in the Memorandum.

WAYS AND MEANS—ESTIMATES OF REVENUE.

MR. SCHREIBER asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, with respect to the sum of £46,530,000 included in the Estimate of Revenue for the current financial year, under the joint heads of "Customs" and "Excise," Whether he is in a position to furnish to the House any reliable estimate of the proportions in which that sum is now contributed by the classes who live on weekly wages, and by those who pay direct taxation?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, I am afraid I can only refer the hon. Member to the various attempts which have been made by statisticians at different times—notably by the late Mr. Dudley Baxter—to solve this very difficult problem. The absolute solution of it has never been found practicable, and I do not think that an official *cachet* could properly be given to what at the best would only be an elaborate conjecture.

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the impediments now placed in the way of British Trade in the Portuguese Settlements on the West Coast of Africa will be extended to the Congo, if the alleged claim to Sovereignty over that river by Portugal is formally recognised by Her Majesty's Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; they will not. As I stated in reply to my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) on Monday last, the commercial aspects of these negotiations are securing the closest attention of Her Majesty's Government.

BOARD OF INLAND REVENUE.

MR. GORST asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will lay upon the Table a Circular recently addressed by the Board of Inland Revenue to officers serving in that Department, prohibiting them from communicating on matters affecting their official position with their representatives in this House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, Sir; I find that about two months ago a General Order was issued to their officers by the Board of Inland Revenue on the subject of the solicitations addressed to Members of Parliament to obtain for them increase of salaries, advancement in the Service, or other advantages. This Order was founded on two Treasury Minutes embodying the well-understood Rules on this subject, those Minutes having been issued in 1866 and 1867 by Boards of Treasury taken from each side of the House. If the hon. Member will move for these Minutes and for the General Order, and also for an Admiralty Order of 1869 on the same subject, he shall have them as an unopposed Return. Perhaps he will speak to me as to the words of the Motion.

MR. GORST asked, whether the General Order was issued with the knowledge of the Government?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS), in reply, said, that it was issued before he had succeeded to the Office he now held, and he, therefore, could not answer the Question. He would, however, inquire.

EAST INDIA (MADRAS)—TENURE OF LAND BY RELATIVES OF CIVIL SERVANTS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he will inquire whether, during the acting Governorship of Mr. W. Hudleston, in 1881, the Government of Madras passed a Resolution that relations of "Members of Council" should not hold land; whether this prohibition applied to land within the Madras Presidency only; whether this order received the sanction of the Viceroy and also of the Secretary of State; and, what was the date of the Resolution?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I have replied to this Question before, stating that there was no knowledge at the India Office of the matter in question. Mr. Hudleston, who is, I understand, at present in England, will be asked whether he can in any way explain what the hon. Member refers to.

INLAND NAVIGATION (IRELAND)—THE RIVER FERGUS.

Mr. KENNY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it is a fact that the Board of Works, Ireland, have no jurisdiction, responsibility, or have they authority to execute works for improvement of the navigation of the River Fergus to Clare Castle, although they have to their credit a sum of £3,169 11*s.* 0*d.* (receipts over expenditure), dues received by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, on account of Clare Castle Pier and Harbour in the years 1879, 1880, and 1881; and, whether any decision has been come to with regard to the proposal under consideration since August 1881, for transference of control of said Pier and Harbour to a Local Harbour Board, with power to make any necessary expenditure to remedy the present deplorable state of the Fergus River?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, this Question has been put down without Notice; but I learn by telegram that the Board of Works have no jurisdiction over the navigation of the River Fergus. As regards the financial position of this harbour, the balance of receipts over expenditure is not quite so large as the figure given by the hon. Member, but amounts to £2,900. On the other hand, above £5,000 is in course of being spent in making a new quay. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question, I have to state that I think we see our way to a Bill dealing with the Shannon navigation, under which the suggested transfer will be possible, and I hope to introduce it before long.

IRISH AND SCOTCH MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in addition to the promised inquiry from the English Local Government Board, regarding the demand for Irish migratory agricultural labourers, he will ask the Scotch Poor Law Board to make similar inquiry as to the cause of the decrease in number as appeared in 1882, and will suggest that they might follow up the statements regarding migratory Scotch Celts, embodied by their former President Sir J. Macneil in his Report of (885), and ascertain whether there is a probability of a continued demand for the services during half the year of the small farmers who return to their Irish crofts, the other half under a system which gives mutual satisfaction to the employers and the employed, such as Sir J. Macneil describes?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have written to-day to the English Local Government Board, and I have no objection to write to the Board of Supervision.

MAIN ROADS (SCOTLAND)—THE GRANT IN AID.

Lord COLIN CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the attention of the Government had been drawn to the regulations made by the Local Government Board with respect to the distribution of the sum of £250,000, voted by Parliament in aid of disturnpiked and main roads in England, Wales, and Scotland, and to the exclusion, under those regulations, of certain counties of Scotland from a share of the grant; and whether there is any intention to revise the regulations, and to give to the counties so excluded a share of the grant?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): The portion of the grant appropriated to Scotland will this year be administered by the Home Office, and the principles on which it ought to be allocated are now under consideration.

Lord COLIN CAMPBELL asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman was able to give an assurance that the authority of the Local Government Board would not be again extended in a similar direction?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) believed he was in a position to give that assurance.

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—REVENUE ACCOUNTS OF THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT.

Mr. MOLLOY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is a fact that the Revenue Accounts of the Egyptian Government extending over several years, presented and signed by the European Controllers, show receipts of money from the Egyptian cultivators under the operation of the Moukabala Law amounting to £17,000,000; whether the receipt of this £17,000,000, paid by the peasants of Egypt to redeem one moiety of their land tax or rent, was ever disputed or objected to previously to the Report of Sir Rivers Wilson, in which the repudiation of these advances by the peasants was made known officially to this House; whether there is any evidence to support the suggestion made by Sir Rivers Wilson and others, that part of these £17,000,000 (mentioned in the National Budget Accounts as received by the Egyptian Treasury) had not been received, and to some extent represented fictitious payments; whether the Government of this Country will now advise the repayment of these £17,000,000, or any part thereof, or, if the money cannot be returned, will advise that the redemption of land tax so purchased by the Egyptian peasantry under solemn contract with the Government may now be carried into effect; and, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take any steps in this matter; and, if so, when and to what extent?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the registers of the Egyptian Finance Ministry assume payments amounting to nearly £17,000,000, but there is no reason to suppose that any payments approaching to that sum were really paid, more especially as certain influential landowners succeeded in obtaining a reduction of one-half of their land tax without making any effective payment at all; while the increased charge upon the land, which was to continue for a term of years, ceased entirely a long time before the expiration of it. This question was exhaustively considered by the Commission of Inquiry in August, 1878, and was determined by the Law of Liquidation in July, 1880, which, by its fourth chapter, established annuities to compensate the owners for the payments actually made. How far those annuities have been properly paid is a matter to which the Egyptian Government will, no doubt, direct its attention.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: Can the noble Lord state exactly how much was paid?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Government is unable to state the exact sum paid.

Mr. MOLLOY: Can the noble Lord say where the facts stated by him are to be found?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I referred the hon. Gentleman, in reply to a Question which he asked a few days ago, to the Papers which have been presented to Parliament, which contain all the information we have on the subject. I may state, in regard to the payment of the annuities to which I referred just now, that there is rather a deficiency of information. I may, however, point out that Her Majesty's Government is in no way responsible for that.

MOROCCO—ILL-TREATMENT OF JEWESSES.

Colonel ALEXANDER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention had been called to a paragraph in the "Pall Mall Gazette" of the 2nd instant, in which it is stated that eight Jewesses had been bastinadoed by order of the interpreter to the British Consul at Casabianca—

> "That this barbarous act has aroused the indignation of all classes of Europeans on the coast, especially as the instigator is in receipt of an English salary;"

and, whether he proposes to institute an inquiry into the matter?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Minister at Tangiers was instructed, on the 26th ultimo, to make immediate inquiries on the subject of this paragraph. I may, however, inform the hon. and gallant Member that we have been unable as yet to identify the place mentioned, where certainly no British Consular officer exists.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked, whether the noble Lord had seen an account of these transactions given in the last number of *The Jewish World?*

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If the hon. Member will send me a copy of the paper I will look into it.

IRELAND—DISTRESS IN SLIGO.

Mr. PARNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the starving condition of the people in the parish of Cliffoney, county Sligo; whether he is aware that many families there and on the fishing coast of Mullaghmore are at present in a state of starvation; whether it is the fact that the Poor Law Guardians of Cliffoney represented to the Local Government Board the great want and destitution existing on the island of Innesmurry; whether a gunboat was some time afterwards despatched by the Board with some provisions; whether her cargo only consisted of 4 cwt. of Indian meal, barely a mouthful for the one hundred famishing souls on the island; and, whether the Government purpose taking any steps to allay the distress prevailing among these poor people?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Local Government Board informed me that in the month of December last they had before them a representation from the Guardians of Sligo Union that there was distress on the parts of the coast named (Cliffoney and Mullaghmore). They then satisfied themselves that there was no exceptional distress which could not be met by the ordinary operation of the Poor Law, and they have now no reason to alter that opinion. On the 30th of January the ratepayers of Cliffoney called a meeting, and asked the Guardians to call on the Government to extend the benefit of reproductive works to all tenants who pay rates; but there was no special mention as to distress. With this exception there has been no more recent representation as to the mainland; but the state of the people of the Island of Innesmurry has been specially investigated. A gunboat was placed at the disposal of the Local Government Inspector (Major Spaight) to enable him to visit Innesmurry; but, owing to the dangerous character of the coast and the continuance of stormy weather, four weeks elapsed before he was able to get an opportunity of landing. He took with him 10 cwt. of Indian meal; but after visiting all the families in the Island, numbering 14, he did not consider it necessary to leave more than 4 cwt., which amount he distributed between three families. He reports that there is not, in his opinion, any danger of any of the people on the Island suffering from starvation.

CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

Mr. W. H. JAMES asked the President of the Board of Trade, What operations in connection with the Channel Tunnel are in progress at Sangatte; and, if any commencement of a submarine driftway from the French Coast has been commenced; and, if so, to what extent it has been carried?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, the Board of Trade have received information that at the end of January the length of the gallery or heading at Sangatte was some 1,267 mètres, but that, owing to its following the coast obliquely, the head of the working was only some 350 mètres from the shore. These works are, of course, only preliminary, and, by the terms of the concession granted in 1875 by the French Government, the preliminary works were to be completed in five years; but provision was made for this period to be extended to eight years, and this was done in 1880. I understand that unless by the 2nd of August next the French Company not only presents final plans, but also proves that it has come to an arrangement with an English Company furnished with the requisite authority to construct and work a submarine railway, starting from the English shore, the present concession will lapse, and can only be revived by an Act of the French Legislature.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — PARLIAMENTARY OATHS ACT (1866) AMENDMENT BILL.

Mr. SCHREIBER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Second Reading of the Affirmation Bill will be taken before Easter?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I think it would be for the convenience of the House to find as early a day as possible for taking the second reading of this Bill. At the same time, viewing the demands of other urgent Business, and especially the demands of Supply, I think it is but fair to say to the hon. Gentleman that we do not see any reasonable prospect of being able to proceed with the Bill before the Easter Recess. The pledge of my right hon. Friend that ample Notice shall be given of the second reading will be adhered to.

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS).

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked, Whether the Government had received information with regard to a meeting that appeared to have been held at Calcutta last week to protest against the new legislation, giving to Native Judges jurisdiction over Europeans in criminal cases?

Mr. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, the Government had received no information other than that which appeared in *The Times*.

CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked, After what hour the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would proceed with the Motion in reference to the Channel Tunnel? It was an exceptional and unusual proposal, and ought not to be proceeded with at an hour when it could not be fully discussed.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Not after 11.30.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BILLS—MEMORANDUM OF PURPOSES AND ENACTMENTS.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: I wish to put a Question to the Speaker, in reference to the Procedure of the House. I notice that there is attached to the Bill which has been introduced for restricting the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday a statement of its object and purpose. What I wish to know is, Whether it would be possible to extend that practice, so as to provide that hon. Members, in introducing a Bill, may have liberty to state its objects and purposes? If such a liberty were granted, I believe it would have a considerable effect in inducing hon. Members to dispense with preliminary speeches, and would consequently save the time of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: A memorandum or statement explaining the subject-matter of a Bill has been occasionally allowed to be presented with a Bill; but it has been limited solely to the contents and purposes of the Bill. The hon. Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne seems to desire a further extension of that practice; but I do not think I should be justified in authorizing an extension of the practice without the authority of the House.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: I beg to give Notice that, on the first occasion of going into Committee of Supply, I will call attention to the matter, and move a Resolution authorizing the extension of the practice.

QUEEN'S SPEECH — HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Lord KENSINGTON) *reported* Her Majesty's Answer to the Address, as followeth:—

I have received with satisfaction your loyal and dutiful Address.

You may rely on My hearty desire to co-operate with you in the promotion of Measures which have for their object to secure the well-being and contentment of My People.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION (SPECIAL REPORT).

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY *reported* from the Committee of Selection, That they had selected the following Five Members to be the Chairmen's Panel, and to serve as Chairmen of the two Standing Committees to be appointed under the Standing Order of the 1st December 1882:—

The Right Honourable George Joachim Goschen,
Richard O'Shaughnessy, esquire,
The Right Honourable Lyon Playfair,
Sir Matthew White Ridley, and
The Right Honourable George Sclater-Booth;

to lie upon the Table.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

* * *

SUPPLY—NAVY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE), 1882-3.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £350,000, be granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the sums already granted by Parliament, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for additional Expenditure arising out of Military Operations in Egypt."

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT wished to say a word or two in regard to this Vote. He saw that there was a large contribution from the Egyptian Government towards the maintenance of the Army of Occupation. He intended to have mentioned the subject the other night; but when they reached the Army Vote the hour was so late—between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning—and he knew that nothing would be reported in regard to any discussion which might take place—that he did not feel himself justified in making any remarks upon the contribution of Egypt towards the Army of Occupation. But it did seem to him, in regard to the large contribution Egypt was called upon to pay for the Army of Occupation, that some explanation ought to be given by Her Majesty's Government. For instance, the Committee ought to know whether this was the whole expenditure, or whether there was any other expenditure besides that which was asked to be voted in the Estimates. Having said so much, he would like to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that the statement of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, the other day, with regard to the occupation of Egypt, was that it would only last for six months. That statement had produced, as far as could be judged from the papers, a most disastrous effect in Egypt. It was stated that money would not now be lent—in fact, that money was going out of the country; that applications for money to be taken to Egypt were now withheld; and that a feeling of insecurity was daily increasing in that country. He should like, then, to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, whom he was glad to see in his place again, and with hopes that he had quite recovered from the illness which took him abroad, if the Government had come to any definite determination with regard to the occupation of Egypt? That was a very serious question, and the answer to which was anxiously looked forward to by all classes in this country, as well as by all classes in Egypt. Everyone was anxious to know what the determination of the Government was, and what their aims were. He believed that this was a legitimate opportunity for asking these questions, and he was quite sure that this country would not be satisfied unless they knew that the results of the expenditure, both of life and money, caused by the rebellion in Egypt were of a practical and substantial character. The country would desire to be assured that among the practical results which would accrue from the sacrifice of life and treasure, Egypt herself would be placed in such a position that no future intrigues would be likely to occur in that country. At any rate, we ought to have control over the Canal, and no interference with the Suez Canal should be allowed to take place. Unless the occupation of Egypt was such as would render these things certain, all that they had done would be thrown away. He had no wish to raise an Egyptian debate; but he wished to know if any determination had been arrived at by the Government in regard to the occupation of Egypt?

Mr. GOURLEY said, he wished to make one or two observations upon this Vote. In the first place, he desired to call attention to an item of £50,000 for "a special gratuity to Seamen and Marines." He wanted to know from the Secretary to the Admiralty how the money was to be distributed—whether it was to be paid to seamen on board of Her Majesty's ships as an award, in larger proportion than they had been in the habit of receiving? Then, again, under the head of "New Works, Buildings, &c." there was the very large item of £76,000 for "purchase of house and land at Port Said." He should like to know what that £76,000 was for, and whether it had any connection with the formation of a new depôt? Was it intended by Her Majesty's Government that they should, for diplomatic purposes, remain permanently at Port Said, or was it intended to create a military depôt? If so, he was at a loss to understand the statements which had been made in regard to the Suez Canal as an international highway. He quite agreed with what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), that before they were called upon to vote so large a sum of money as £76,000, they ought to have from Her Majesty's Government some explanation as to what their policy really was in regard to Egypt—whether they intended to give up all control over the affairs of that country for all time, or whether they proposed to retain possession of the Suez Canal as a protection to the road to India? If it was intended to give up all control, which was certainly indicated in the despatch of Lord Granville, then he was at a loss to see for what purpose they had been at war with Egypt at all. There was another question upon which he also desired information. There was the large sum of £15,000 in the Estimates for "piloting and towing Her Majesty's ships." That was a very large additional sum for Her Majesty's Government to ask the Committee to grant for such a purpose. He had always held the opinion that many officers of the Navy, instead of being kept in a state of enforced idleness on half-pay on shore, should from time to time proceed to sea in order to acquire a knowledge of duties of this nature; and above all things he considered it necessary that they should be educated in the duties of piloting our ships of war, and there would then be no necessity to go outside the Navy at all, or for so large an expenditure as this. Under Vote 17 there was another item of £1,600 for pilotage in connection with the conveyance of troops, making the total charge for pilotage and towage £16,600. That was a sum asked for, for the services of men altogether outside the Navy. It was quite true that a portion of the money was to be returned by the Army Department; but he did not think there ought to be such a thing as charges for pilotage except in waters where it was compulsory. There was still another item to which he wished to direct attention—namely, £4,000 for Medals for Seamen and Marines. He thought that, considering the very efficient services rendered to the country during the recent war by the officers and men of the Mercantile Marine in carrying out our troops to Egypt at a moment's notice, and with such signal success, the services rendered ought in some way to be recognized by the Government. Something like 250,000 tons of shipping had been employed in conveying the troops to Egypt, and the duty had been accomplished without the loss of a single man. He therefore thought that the services of the Mercantile Marine ought in some way or other to be noticed and recognized. It was proposed to give to the men in the Navy and in the Army a distinguishing medal, and he thought it would be a wise policy on the part of Her Majesty's Government to make a similar recognition of the services of the officers and men of the Mercantile Marine. Seamen being cosmopolitan, recognition of their services would tend to increase their loyalty.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he did not agree with his hon. Friend the Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) that more money ought to be expended in medals. In fact, in his opinion, a good deal too much had already been spent in that way. If a man could not be attached to his country and Queen without occasionally being given a medal, it was of no use seeking to attach him. There were two points upon which he desired information. The first was the item of "Wages to Seamen and Marines—special gratuity." When the Vote for the military employed in the Egyptian Expedition was before the Committee on Friday last, he asked what portion of the £90,000 that was to be granted for military services was to be given to the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Wolseley. He had done that with a specific object, because the Committee had been told that an additional grant was to be voted for Lord Wolseley and Lord Alcester. He supposed he must take it from the Prime Minister that full Notice would be given of the day on which that grant would be brought forward. What he wanted to know now was, what portion of this £50,000—[An hon. Member: £90,000.]—the sum included in the present Vote was £50,000; and he wanted to know what proportion of that amount was to go to Lord Alcester? There had been a statement in the newspapers in regard to the way in which this money was to be apportioned to the Army and Navy; but he did not think there had been any statement laid upon the Table of the House. He would suggest that before the Vote was taken for a special grant of money to be given to Lord Wolseley and Lord Alcester, they should have some statement in an official form laid upon the Table, to show how the money had been expended. There was one other point to which he desired to call attention. He observed a charge of £76,000 for the purchase of a house and land at Port Said. Now, he believed that this particular house and land had been offered to the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, some little time before, for £30,000. He quite admitted that the Government might be required to give more than a private individual; but the difference between £30,000 and £76,000 was so enormous that he should like to have some explanation of the matter.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he desired to ask, before the Secretary to the Admiralty answered the questions which had just been put to him, if he would inform the Committee whether what was generally stated was accurate or not—namely, that this purchase was made by the Admiralty officials without any previous application to the Treasury, and without the sanction of the Treasury?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, his hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had asked some questions as to the contributions from the Egyptian Government towards the cost of the Army of Occupation, and upon those questions he had founded an inquiry as to the policy of the Government in the future with respect to Egypt. Although he quite admitted that his hon. and gallant Friend was entitled to ask any questions of this sort upon the Vote, still he had to point out that the particular item in the Vote now before the Committee referred only to the present financial year, and had nothing to do with the maintenance or withdrawal of the English Forces at the period stated by his noble Friend the Secretary of State for War. It merely covered the extra charge involved upon us by the maintenance of the Force which was now occupying Egypt up to the end of the year; and, of course, it included the Transport Charges, the charges connected with the bringing home of invalids and time-expired men, and the sending out of drafts. He believed the contribution, as far as the Navy was concerned, would cover the entire cost entailed upon this country. His hon. Friend the Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) put a question to him in regard to the gratuity to seamen and marines. It was not in the nature of prize money, and was, therefore, not distributed under the Prize Acts; but for convenience they had followed the prize scale, in order that they might have something to guide them in the distribution. The unit with which they started was, in the Navy, the ordinary seaman, and in the Army the private. In each of these cases the amount would be £2 per man, and the prize scale would be increased to warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and commissioned officers, according to their rank, up to the Commander-in-Chief. He believed that the Military Commander-in-Chief would receive £1,000, and Lord Alcester £927 9*s*. With regard to the Dutch house at Port Said, it was a large house erected on ground acquired from the Suez Canal Company, and when operations on the Canal were undertaken, it was found absolutely necessary to secure some sort of basis of operations on shore. The house in question had been used as a hospital and headquarters, and the difficulty of the operations would have been immensely increased if no such place had been obtained. Therefore the Government had thought it right to purchase this house. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Whose property was it?] He believed that it was purchased from the Dutch Government, or from the representatives of the late Prince Henry of the Netherlands. Exception had been taken to the price which had been paid for it. He was quite ready to admit that the price was high, in this sense—that it was quite conceivable a person who had had the opportunity of watching the market, in order to secure this property as an investment, might have bought it for a smaller sum than £76,000. He believed that Prince Henry of the Netherlands paid £35,000 for the land, and the building cost £103,000, so that it was by no means a disadvantageous bargain to get it for £76,000, especially when it was borne in mind that it was absolutely and essentially required for the purposes of the Expedition. It was not necessary for him to support the purchase on the ground of its being commercially an excellent investment. That was another question altogether. The purchase was made at a time when warlike operations were on the point of commencing, and it was unnecessary to say that at such a time they could not hope to make such a deliberate and careful bargain as they might have done on another occasion. There was no reason whatever for thinking that too much money had been paid for this property, when it was considered of what great value it had already proved in connection with our military operations. He had discussed the matter only within the last few days with Sir Anthony Hoskins, who was the Admiral in command at Port Said, and that gallant officer assured him that it would have been simply impossible to have carried on the operations without having possession of this house. His hon. Friend the Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) asked questions about certain items of the Vote for pilotage and towage in the Suez Canal. Now, a great deal was done by the officers of the

Navy; but there were certain charges—dues and fees for towage and pilotage—which were necessarily included. They were really expenses incurred during the war. The only other point he had to answer was, the question which had been put to him in reference to medals. His hon. Friend wished the Government to consider whether a medal could not be given to the officers and men engaged in the Transport Service. He believed that such a thing had never been done hitherto. At any rate, he did not know of any case in which a medal had been granted for services of that kind. He could, however, assure his hon. Friend that the matter should be fully considered. He quite agreed with all that his hon. Friend said of the great service which had been rendered to the country by the officers and men engaged in the Transport Service, and the admirable manner in which they had discharged their duty.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty had not answered the particular question which he had put to him, and which he felt was a very important one—namely, whether, when the purchase of the house at Port Said was made, there was no previous consent on the part of the Treasury? To that question he had received no answer. He had now several other questions to put to the hon. Gentleman. He thought most hon. Members would agree that the statement of the hon. Gentleman with respect to the house at Port Said was extremely unsatisfactory. A large sum of money had been expended in the purchase—no less a sum than £76,000; and the hon. Gentleman must have known that such an item would have itself attracted the attention of the Committee. Nevertheless, the hon. Gentleman, knowing that fact, came down to the House, and, instead of being prepared to give every information as to the purchase, he did not even know of whom the purchase had been made. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) did not think that there was any precedent for such a want of information with respect to the expenditure of so large a sum of money. [MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There is a precedent.] The hon. Gentleman said there was a precedent. He was obliged to the hon. Gentleman for the information. At the same time, that was no answer to his complaint, which was that a full explanation had not been given to the Committee in this particular case. Another thing he should like to know was, who bought this house? Who was the particular person? Who was the purchaser first of all? Who was it, and what authority had he for making the purchase? Was any man of business employed in England or in Egypt? The Secretary to the Admiralty said that the Admiralty were not in a position to watch the market. Now, it was a notorious thing, if his (Lord Randolph Churchill's) information was correct, that the matter had been hanging about for some years. In point of fact, this house had been hawked about to Hotel Companies, and it was offered to the Anglo-Egyptian Bank for less than one-half the sum the Government afterwards paid for it. He thought he was entitled to ask for this information before the Committee voted the money. There was one more question he desired to ask—namely, what were they going to do with the house now? Did the Admiralty authorities contemplate selling it? Was it occupied at present, and, if so, by whom? All these were matters on which the Committee should insist upon having information before they consented to vote the money; and in order to get this information in a more explicit form from the Government, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £76,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £274,000, be granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the sums already granted by Parliament, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1883, for additional Expenditure arising out of Military Operations in Egypt."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH remarked, that objection had been so frequently taken in former years to investments by Her Majesty's Government in land and house property for Embassies in foreign countries that he was not surprised by the course which had been taken by the noble Lord and others with regard to the large sum of £76,000 which had been given for the purchase of this house at Port Said. He was not going to quarrel with the Admiralty in regard to the exact price they had given for the purchase, although he believed that the property might have been acquired, on a previous occasion, for a much smaller sum. He did not know who effected the purchase on the part of the Government—whether it was the Naval authorities on the spot, or the Board of Admiralty at Whitehall, or the Treasury. Whether it was an excessive purchase, no doubt, would be determined partly on the use already made of it, and partly on the use to be made of it hereafter. He had had an opportunity of visiting Port Said not many weeks ago, and he found this house occupied, with great advantage, by the Marines. It was used at the time as a Marine barrack, and he was glad to hear that it had been very effective for the purpose of a barrack, and that the health of the Marines had been remarkably good since they had been there. But he had heard since his return to England that the Marines had been withdrawn. Therefore, at this moment, as far as he was aware, the house was of no use to the Government. He should, as he had already stated, make no complaint in regard to the price paid. He was told that it was part of the policy of the Government to retain this commanding position for such uses as might hereafter crop up during our occupation of Egypt. He had no objection to the purchase if that were to be the case; but he hoped he should not be told that this property, which had been purchased so expensively, was now to be sold, and that the responsibility of the Government in respect to it was at an end. He was sorry to hear the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty, in reply to his hon. and gallant Friend behind him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), as to the observations made by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, upon a recent occasion, in reference to the term during which the troops might be retained. He confessed that he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) was one of those who, when he heard the noble Marquess's observation, imagined it was a mere slip of the tongue, and that he had not really intended to pledge the Government to any time whatever for the withdrawal of the troops. He hoped that some notice would be taken of the question of his hon. and gallant Friend. Perhaps this discussion was not the best mode of raising so important a question; but he hoped, if any answer was made, to find that no definite term had yet been fixed, and that as long as British interests required our troops to be kept in Egypt they would be retained. It appeared to him impossible, at the present moment, for any man to say at what time the withdrawal of the troops ought to take place.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I quite admit that it is the natural and primary duty of the Committee to scrutinize closely any investment on the part of the Government in any case, and especially when so large an outlay as £76,000 is involved. But then, viewing as I do, and as I think the Committee will do, our duty of scrutinizing such purchases with jealousy, it must be borne in mind that this house was acquired under circumstances of real necessity; and I think it would be premature if the Government were to go the length which the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down invites them to go, and to declare that it is our intention to retain the building as permanent Government property. On the other hand, it would be a great mistake to suppose that any definite conclusion has been arrived at. Any proposal on the subject will have to be considered on its merits. The time the property was purchased was, undoubtedly, a time of urgency. There is certainly no question of urgency now, and we shall be able to make a deliberate inquiry as to the best step to be taken. With respect to the question put to me by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) I think I shall state the case correctly if I say, in general terms, that there was no prior application to, or intervention, on the part of the Treasury in regard to the purchase of this property; but there was an early explanation to the Treasury of the circumstances under which it took place. The explanations supplied by the Admiralty were of such a character as to satisfy the Treasury, on examination, that there was no good reason for passing an unfavourable judgment on the transaction. The noble Lord may say, and on general grounds *primâ facie* he is right, if he says that an *ex post facto* application to the Treasury is not the kind of application contemplated in the regular business of the Government. But this was a peculiar case, and I am bound to say that the Naval authorities, provided they used—and I believe they did use—their best discretion in the matter and act for the best, were perfectly right in proceeding without a prior application to the Treasury. This was a measure, on the first blush of the case, of military necessity. What would have happened if an application to the Treasury had been made? If such an application had been made it would have been the business of the Treasury to require, in a regular and formal document, all the considerations in favour of the purchase to be stated. What would have been the effect of drawing up a document of that kind, to be submitted to the Treasury and considered by the Treasury? Considerable delay must have occurred in the carrying out of measures that were necessary for the purposes of the Expedition, and it would have been in the highest degree pedantry on the part of the Treasury to have looked for any communication of that kind. It was, therefore, in my opinion, quite within the discretion of the Treasury for the Naval authorities to act without having reference to the Treasury.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Who did actually buy the property?

MR. GLADSTONE: The Naval authorities on the spot arranged the transaction, and, as we believe, they exercised their best judgment, and acted upon the best information in their power. I do not admit at all that there is in the facts of the case any reason to suppose that there was any error committed. As my hon. Friend near me (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) has stated, although this is a very large sum, and although at a certain time the property might have been in the market at a lesser price, and that in the end we were forced to purchase it at double the price at which it might have been originally obtained, that is not the ground on which we can pretend to look at the matter. It must be looked at altogether as a question of military necessity, and questions of property become of secondary importance when a real necessity is involved in the matter. That is the way in which we ought to look at the question. I do not wish to appear disrespectful in passing by, without notice, the appeal made by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) on the subject of our general policy. But I think I make a reasonable reply to it when I say that, in regard to a general appeal of that kind, the circumstances of the case preclude our giving anything but a general answer. Anything in the shape of a specific answer would be liable to be misunderstood. My noble Friend the Secretary of State for War referred to a certain period within which he thought it possible we might withdraw from Egypt, and that statement has been understood by hon. Members opposite to mean that we were to withdraw from Egypt within that particular period. But what my noble Friend stated was simply his hope. That hope was derived from the impression which he had received from such a review of the circumstances of the case as in the present development of those circumstances was practicable. What my noble Friend felt, and what all the Government feel, is that, in the first place, we have an important purpose to accomplish in Egypt; and that, in the second place, when that purpose is accomplished we shall be sincerely desirous to withdraw. But, in regard to the definition of the time, it is impossible to go beyond the expression of a hope, because it is evident that the purpose we have in view must regulate the time to be employed, and a fixed and arbitrary time must not be permitted to interfere with the attainment of that purpose. Now we may say this—that the definition of the objects for which we are in Egypt has been explicitly explained upon more than one occasion in this House. We are there for the establishment of order and stability; we are there for the improvement of the institutions of the country; we are there to secure, as far as depends upon ourselves, the equal fulfilment of international engagements; and we are there undoubtedly in a principal degree in reference to the freedom and security of the great passage by the Canal from one sea to another. If these are matters which are entirely and absolutely matters in our own hands, it might be right, and part of the duty of the Government, that we should from time to time state exactly the point we have reached in the adjustment of them. It must, however, be borne in mind, that we are not in Egypt as masters, but as friends and advisers, in the first instance, of the Egyptian Government, and that, with respect to many of the purposes, for which we are there, other nations have interests, and not only interests, but rights just as definite and as undeniable as our own. Nor are the Government aware of any separate or selfish interests on the part of this country as severed from the general interests of the world, and of all civilized nations which we ought to prosecute in a selfish and a narrow spirit. I may further venture to say that, in the opinion of the Government, through the ability and indefatigable action of our Civil Agents and Representatives, which has been worthy, I may say, to be classed—and certainly I could bestow no higher eulogy upon them—with the admirable services rendered by our Naval and Military Commanders—we believe that through their ability and indefatigable action reasonable progress has been made, and that, viewing the nature of the case, everything has been done thus far which could possibly have been expected. But the Committee is very well aware of the importance and delicacy of the relations in which we stand in regard to those many parties who are interested in Egyptian affairs; and they will, I think, believe with us that the Government would not be contributing to the acceleration of our rate of progress were we to undertake to give explanations to the House of Commons of a premature character with reference to these proceedings. I hope the Committee will think that this is all that can fairly be expected from us; that that disclaimer, on the one hand, of separate objects, and the expression, on the other, of determination with the support of Parliament, which has already been granted to us to accomplish, as far as depends upon us the purposes, important for Egypt and the world, which we consider the proper object of all civilized communities, will be regarded as sufficient.

Sir JOHN HAY remarked, that, in regard to the purchase of the house at Port Said, he was glad to hear what had been said in defence of the gallant Admiral by whom the purchase had been effected; and after the statements which had been made he hoped his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) would now withdraw the opposition which, perhaps, on not unnatural grounds, he had offered to the Vote. No doubt, the Suez Canal, as a basis of operations, had been of vital importance to the success of the Expedition. The operations themselves were of a most delicate character; and, as far as he was acquainted with the particulars of the operations, the gallant Admiral whose duty it was to superintend them had done so in a manner to prevent irritation either on the part of the great Company who made the Suez Canal, or the foreign countries who were interested in it. It was quite certain, he believed, that there had been an intention on the part of M. de Lesseps to occupy this particular house in order to prevent its being made a basis of operations, and the gallant Admiral in charge of Port Said telegraphed to the Admiralty for authority to purchase it without delay. The Board of Admiralty at once gave their consent to the purchase of the house, and then the matter was referred to the Treasury. As a basis of operations it had proved of the utmost service. He believed that the gallant Admiral might have seized the house, have placed his Marines in it, and paid nothing for it; but, although France and other nations were accustomed to acts of violence of that character at the commencement of a war, it was not considered advisable to copy their example by this country. It must be borne in mind that the Naval officers engaged in the Suez Canal had very delicate operations to carry out; and he was sure that at this moment, when they remembered the successful issue of those operations, they would not feel inclined to reflect upon Admiral Hoskins for the arbitrary measures he was obliged to resort to. He (Sir John Hay) knew it was right that the Treasury ought to have been communicated with; but it would have taken a long time to get the Treasury to agree to the purchase of this house, and in the meantime it might have been taken possession of by other people, so that, in the end, they would have been compelled to resort to violent measures in order to make use of it for their own purposes. Those violent measures had, happily, been avoided; and if the purchase had cost the country £76,000, instead of £35,000, there was very little doubt that they had been saved the extra £40,000 by the judicious steps taken by Admiral Hoskins, and the manner in which that gallant officer had been seconded by the Board of Admiralty. The possession of this particular site had been of the utmost advantage so far as the health of the persons who occupied it was concerned. He trusted, after the explanations that had been given on the matter, his noble Friend would withdraw his opposition to the Vote.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was not at all going to dispute for one moment the position which had been taken up by the Secretary to the Admiralty. In the first place, the Admiral in command believed that it was necessary, upon military grounds, to take possession of this house and site. He admitted also that the Treasury might very well not have been communicated with, in the event of an immediate decision being required. He thought the Committee were bound to accept those two points; but there was another point which must not be overlooked. They were not contesting these two particular points, nor had the noble Lord who moved the rejection of this Vote contested them. No one disputed the statement of his right hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Sir John Hay), as to the gallantry of the Admiral and the splendid success of our Forces. No doubt, they were matters on which they often congratulated the country and the Army and Navy; but what he wanted to point out was this—that whenever they engaged in warlike operations they found those who had administered the affairs of the country rushing into expenditure without the slightest check or control; and unless the House had these transactions constantly brought under their notice, in regard to the loose and reckless manner in which certain officers of the Crown, placed in responsible positions, handled the public money, nothing would be done to discourage practices by which the country might lose millions. Let the Committee carefully examine the question which had just been raised. Here they had the fact before them that a large mansion, built by a foreign Prince for a considerable sum of money, had been acquired by the Government; but if used for any other purpose it was not worth a mere fraction of the outlay that had been made upon it by this foreign Prince. He dared say there were hon. Members to be found who would advocate the application of large sums of money in the purchase of property, which, if ever it came into the market, would be looked upon as a sort of white elephant. There was every reason to believe that up to a recent period this building, being even unsuitable for an hotel or anything else, was hawked about for sale at a very low sum, and then, in an emergency, it was purchased at a figure very much in excess of that for which it had been offered. What he wanted to know was, how the transaction had been carried out? Who was the reputed owner of the property when the Government purchased it? Did the Admiralty carry on the transaction directly with the owner of the property, or did they, as he thought it was probable, employ a go-between? If they did employ a go-between, that fact might possibly, to some extent, account for the difference between the sum originally asked and the sum paid by the Government—a considerable portion of it having very likely found its way into the pocket of the go-between. He certainly thought that explanations ought to be given by the Government, because, upon the face of the matter, it was possible that, by better management, a good round sum of money might have been saved in the purchase. He thought the Committee ought to be told whether the Admiralty purchased the property from the actual owner, or in what way the negotiations were carried on.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the property, as he had already stated, belonged to Prince Henry of the Netherlands, and it was purchased from the representatives of Prince Henry. As to the question whether the intervention of commercial agents would have led to a lower price being given, there was no time for any such proceedings, or, indeed, for any protracted negotiations. The essence of the whole thing was that if the Government were to have the property at all they must have it immediately; and, therefore, the immediate occupation of it was secured on the best terms the representatives of the Admiralty could make. Before the negotiations were carried out, a Report was made to the Board of Admiralty by the Director of Works, General Pasley, whose opinion was taken as to the value of the property. It was only upon his advice that the purchase was completed. He could only repeat that there was no time to go into elaborate negotiations through a commercial agent. He did not think that if such negotiations had been permitted they would have been effectual in carrying out the purposes of the Admiralty.

MR. RITCHIE was bound to say that he agreed with the hon. Member who had just sat down that these things could hardly be regarded in a carping spirit, or from purely a mercantile point of view. Looking at the very serious position of affairs, and the value of the property, which, in common with other Members of the House, he had himself seen, he was bound to say he could not agree with the strictures which the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had passed upon the bargain. It was quite possible that more money had been paid for the property than it was commercially worth; but, looking at all the circumstances of the case, its admirable position and the value of the property, he did not think the Committee should look upon the bargain with dissatisfaction. He also wished to say that he thought the country was indebted to his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) for having obtained from the Prime Minister the answer which he had given to the question of his hon. and gallant Friend. Of course, the Committee had no wish whatever to force from the Government any premature declaration as to what their policy was to be, or what the duration of their occupation of Egypt was likely to be. He was perfectly satisfied with the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of withdrawing from Egypt until they obtained what they wanted to secure—namely, that peace and good government should be restored in Egypt, and be placed upon such a sound and permanent footing as would give a guarantee for their continuance for a long time to come. He could not but think that if they were to withdraw from Egypt before those objects had been secured, the money and the sacrifices they had made would be entirely thrown away, and all that they had done, at such a large expenditure of life and property, would simply have to be done over again, at a largely-increased cost, in a few years. He was satisfied that it was for the good of this country and of Europe, and of the people of Egypt, that our occupation should continue until good government was secured. So far from the Committee desiring to force any premature declaration from Her Majesty's Government, he would say, in reference to that point, that it was to guard against the evil effects of the premature declaration of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War that an explanation had been asked for. Undoubtedly the impression had gone abroad, and had done much mischief in Egypt, that the Government, on reviewing the situation, had come to the conclusion of withdrawing their troops from Egypt in the course of six months. Seeing the harm which that declaration had done, the noble Marquess ought to be thankful for the explanation given by the Prime Minister, which would certainly afford satisfaction both in this country and in Egypt. There was another matter upon which he wished to say a word, and that was in reference to the grant of £13,500 to the family of Professor Palmer and the expenditure incurred by Colonel Warren in searching for Professor Palmer and his companions. He did not propose to criticize this item in any adverse spirit. The Papers which had been distributed lately showed that every care had been taken to endeavour to discover the whereabouts of these unfortunate gentlemen, and that every effort was made from every quarter to secure some intelligence as to their fate. He was sure, however, that few people would rise from an inspection of these Papers without feeling that sufficient security was not taken before the Expedition was sent out that these gentlemen were properly protected. In the first place, it was quite apparent from the Correspondence which had been published that, even at the best of times, when the country to be traversed was in a state of profound peace, and when there were no large sums of money in the possession of the travellers, such an expedition as this would have been attended with considerable risk and danger. But when they came to consider that it was a time of war, and that these gentlemen were entrusted with a very large sum of money in gold, it did seem to him that it was the height of folly to allow the Expedition to go out without some efficient and proper protection. With reference to Professor Palmer, there could be no doubt that he felt confidence in his friendly relations with the Sheikhs of the district. His previous acquaintance with them inspired a certain amount of confidence in his mind; and, no doubt, the consequences that followed were due, in some degree, to that confidence.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON rose to Order. He understood that an Amendment had been moved by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) in reference to the purchase of the house at Port Said; and he wanted to know whether that was a proper opportunity for discussing the Expedition of Professor Palmer?

MR. RITCHIE understood that the Question put from the Chair was that the whole of the Vote be granted to Her Majesty.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question now before the Committee is that the Vote, reduced by the sum of £76,000, be granted to Her Majesty.

MR. RITCHIE understood from the answer of the Chairman that he was perfectly in Order, or it would have been intimated to him that he was pursuing an irregular course. He would, therefore, proceed with the few remarks he wished to make. He was about to say, with reference to Professor Palmer, that he went out very much in the character of a volunteer, and that he was prepared to take the risk in consequence of the friendly relations he had with the Sheikhs. But that was not the case with Captain Gill and Lieutenant Charrington. They were ordered to proceed with the Expedition; and those who ordered them ought to have taken reasonable care to see that they were properly protected in the mission they had undertaken. So far from being properly protected, there was not the smallest attempt to protect them in going into the Desert in a hostile country with a large amount of specie in their possession. He understood that, so far from being on friendly terms with the Sheikhs of the country, the Sheikh under whose guidance they proceeded was not even connected with the tribes of the locality through which they had to pass. He was a man of no influence whatever among them; he had been taken from a different part of the country, and was the Sheikh of a small district with a very small amount of authority. Therefore, there was not even the precaution taken of seeing that these gentlemen proceeded on their expedition under the guidance and guarantee of a Sheikh of some influence and authority over the district through which the passage was to be made. Indeed, there was not the smallest precaution taken to secure the lives of the gentlemen who had been ordered out on the Expedition by Her Majesty's Government, notwithstanding that the Expedition itself was attended by great peril. He had no fault to find with what was done after the catastrophe which happened to the Expedition. No doubt, every effort had been made to rescue Professor Palmer and his companions, and, since their fate was discovered, to bring their murderers to justice; but he thought that great blame and responsibility attached to the Government in having allowed the Expedition to go out without the smallest attempt to provide for its protection.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he thought it would have been a better course to proceed to a decision upon the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) before entering upon the question of the Expedition of Professor Palmer. At the same time, his hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) had made certain specific statements to the Committee which he thought ought to be replied to at once. The hon. Gentleman said that he quite understood the position of Professor Palmer; that Professor Palmer was well acquainted with the Desert and the Bedouins, and had formed a somewhat sanguine estimate of the prospects of the Expedition. But the hon. Member contrasted the position of Professor Palmer as a volunteer with the character in which Captain Gill and Lieutenant Charrington joined the party, and he said that they were ordered to join the Expedition. Now, he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) ventured to say that in all matters connected with the Expedition which had ended so unfortunately, it was desirable they should be correct in all their statements. First of all, he would take the case of Captain Gill. In answer to a Question put to him in November last, whether Captain Gill was ordered to join the Expedition, he had distinctly stated that Admiral Hoskins—and this, be it remembered, was Captain Gill's own account—gave him directions at Port Said to go to Ismailia and consult the telegraph engineer there as to the best mode of cutting the telegraph. His only business was to consult with the telegraph engineer; but when he got there he met Professor Palmer, and in consulting with that gentleman he came to this conclusion, which he afterwards wrote—

> "I have decided to do the business myself, as it seems the best and surest way, and I have arrived at this conclusion after a long consultation with Professor Palmer. I am very glad that I have come down here, for I have more confidence than I had before seeing him that Palmer has not overrated his power; indeed, from our conversation this morning, I am convinced that he thoroughly understands the business on which he is engaged."

It would thus appear that he had discussed with Professor Palmer the manner of doing the business, and that there were certain reasons which induced him to go with him. This plainly showed that Captain Gill was not ordered to go with the expedition. He would not say that Captain Gill was not right in going. It was a very gallant act on the part of that officer, and no doubt he was, of all men, best qualified to judge which was his best course; but he was not ordered, any more than Professor Palmer was ordered, to go upon the expedition. He now came to the case of Lieutenant Charrington. Professor Palmer was going to start upon this expedition, and he asked Admiral Sir William Hewett to allow a naval officer to go with him as a guarantee that he was acting on behalf of the British Government. Most of the young naval officers were anxious to be allowed to go; and Admiral Hewett permitted Lieutenant Charrington, who volunteered among the rest, to go on the expedition. He would ask his hon. Friend, who must know the relations which existed between an Admiral and his flag lieutenant—relations almost of a filial character—if it was at all likely that Sir William Hewett would have ordered Lieutenant Charrington to go on an expedition if he thought he would have been incurring undue risk. He had seen a letter from Sir William Hewett himself, in which he expressed himself a good deal hurt at the insinuation that he had neglected proper precautions. The expedition was accompanied by Professor Palmer and Captain Gill, two men who, it was generally allowed, were most qualified to form a judgment as to the risk that was run; and it was by their deliberate advice that the expedition went out. He thought, therefore, that his hon. Friend was a little too hard upon the Government at home, because, as his hon. Friend knew very well, they did not in any way interfere in the details; and his hon. Friend had spoken approvingly of the search after the lamentable catastrophe which befel the Expedition happened. He certainly thought that his hon. Friend went a little too far when he spoke of these gentlemen being ordered on a dangerous mission without proper precautions having been taken for their protection by the authorities.

Mr. A. F. EGERTON wished the Committee to go back to the purchase of the house at Port Said. It was stated that negotiations were carried on outright by Admiral Hoskins at Port Said; and he wanted to know if it was by arrangement with the Dutch Government? He should like to have that point cleared up. He was quite convinced that it was an advantageous purchase to make, but he should like to have the matter fully explained. There was also another question he desired to ask which was incidental to the Vote—namely, whether the Admiralty had, during the course of the operations in the Suez Canal, placed dues on their war ships? Had any dues been paid according to the usual scale charged in a time of peace?—because, if such had been the case, he thought it might be fairly contended that they had no business to pay them. He hoped the Secretary to the Admiralty would be able to clear up these points.

Mr. GORST said, that it might be in Order, upon this Vote, to discuss the Expedition of the late Professor Palmer, but, at any rate, it was extremely inconvenient; and he could not help thinking, when the Secretary to the Admiralty pointed out that obvious fact to the Committee, that it was a curious commentary upon his remarks that he should himself immediately afterwards enter into a long discussion upon that Expedition. It certainly looked as if the Admiralty wished to draw the attention of the Committee of Supply away from the question of the purchase of the house at Port Said, in which they had been immediately engaged. Now, he must say that the speech of the Prime Minister entirely exonerated the Treasury from all blame and responsibility for this purchase; but, while exonerating the Treasury, there seemed to be some doubt as to the action of the Admiralty in the matter, which made the Committee still more anxious to have a more full and complete explanation from the Admiralty in regard to their conduct. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said that the purchase was dictated by military necessity. Then it was obvious, if it was a military necessity, there was no occasion for the Admiralty to make any purchase at all. Hon. Members were there, as the guardians of the public purse, to see that the Government, in carrying out their operations, either in the East or elsewhere, did not spend more of the public money than they were obliged to spend. And if this was a case of military necessity for the carrying on of operations in the Suez Canal, the Government could have taken possession of this house, and have paid a moderate compensation afterwards to those whose property they had occupied. They saw what was done in other parts. It was what was done at Ismailia. Property at Ismailia and the railway at Alexandria were taken possession of by a military force; engines and other rolling stock of the railway were taken possession of, and at a subsequent period the Government paid a moderate but sufficient compensation for the use of them. If, in a time of necessity, that was a preliminary step, why had it not been taken in the case of this house and land? He thought the Admiralty ought to point out why they had departed in this case from the usual custom, and why, instead of taking possession of this property, they had considered it necessary to purchase it. He presumed the Government did not intend to occupy this house and land permanently; and, if so, why had they purchased it? He did not say that there might not be an explanation; but the explanation should be given, if it could be given, why the temporary possession of these premises could not have been obtained. The question asked by the hon. Gentleman near him (Mr. A. F. Egerton) was a pertinent question, and the explanation hitherto given to the Committee by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty was that the purchase was effected in Egypt, and that the negotiations took place in Egypt between the Admiral commanding there and the representatives of the late Prince Henry of the Netherlands. Now, if it was the fact that the negotiations took place, not at Port Said, but in London, and that it was not the Admiral at Port Said, but the First Lord of the Admiralty who made the purchase, and, further, that it was made, not of the representatives of Prince Henry of the Netherlands, but of the Dutch Government, some explanations were most assuredly demanded. It was a most remarkable thing that the Secretary to the Admiralty, in the first instance, said that the property was bought of the Dutch Government. It was quite likely that it was bought of the Dutch Government, not as the representatives of the Dutch Government, but as the representatives of Prince Henry of the Netherlands; but all these matters required explanation. If the property was really bought in London, he did not understand why it was impossible to consult the Treasury. He supposed the Treasury was quite as capable of acting on an emergency as the First Lord of the Admiralty, and if the First Lord of the Admiralty had in his hand a telegram from Port Said, stating that the purchase of this house for £76,000 was an absolute matter of necessity, he could easily have gone over to the First Lord of the Treasury and obtained, as he ought to have obtained in the first instance, the sanction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the purchase. He did not say that these were matters that were not capable of explanation; but they ought to be explained, and the Committee would not be doing its duty to the country unless it insisted upon having them explained. He therefore hoped, if the Secretary to the Treasury did not give a fuller explanation than that which had been given by the Secretary to the Admiralty, his noble Friend would press his Amendment to a division.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he did not understand why there should be so much trouble about the taking of this house at Port Said. Seeing that they had taken the whole country, surely there was no difficulty in taking a single house. They were carrying on what was called a military operation, and surely that military operation would include the taking of a house. He had risen, however, not to comment upon the purchase of this property, but because he thought some of the statements made in this short debate were not altogether satisfactory. A short time ago, when the Prime Minister was away, the noble Marquess at the head of the War Department gave the House an intimation that it was very probable the English troops would be brought back from Egypt in the course of six months. That was a declaration which gave hon. Members sitting below the Gangway great satisfaction, and they thought there was going to be an end of this miserable matter. But now the Prime Minister, on the first night of his return to the House, came down and dashed away all their hopes by saying that the noble Marquess was wrong, and there was altogether an uncertainty about the matter. ["Hear, hear!"] It was evident, from the cheer which that statement received, that there were a great many hon. Gentlemen in that House who, he was sorry to say, looked forward to the permanent occupation of Egypt. ["No!"] Well, then, to a very indefinite occupation, which would be next door to a permanent one. He thought they had been travelling about in the debate very wide of the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). His own opinion was that they ought to have an opportunity of discussing the occupation of Egypt distinctly, fairly, and fully in that House. They ought to know what the troops were kept in Egypt for, and for what purpose all this expense was incurred. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said the troops were going to stay there until they got security for the improvement of the institutions of the Country; but surely they ought to be told what the improvements were to be. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister gave, as another reason for continuing the occupation, that the troops must remain there until the great sea passage by means of the Suez Canal was secured from danger. But he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) wanted to know who had endangered it? He had never been told any fact yet which could have led any single individual to believe that it was in danger. Yet they were now told that their troops were to stay there until the danger was removed. Let them understand what the danger was. The noble Marquess had spoken of International engagements. He should like to know what those International engagements were? It was all very well to come down to the House and talk about International engagements; but he should like to have a statement he could understand as to what those International engagements were for, as it had never yet been stated in the House. He did hope that they would have some statement so that the House might have some chance of saying, after it had heard the whole matter, what it thought of the occupation of Egypt by our troops. On Friday last, when they discussed the matter, the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs alluded to the despatch of Lord Dufferin, and said that when it came it should be discussed. He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) hoped that it would be discussed, and he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would promise, when they got Lord Dufferin's despatch, that a fair and full opportunity for discussing the whole question should be given to the House, especially as such discussion had been offered to them by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on Friday night. It was desirable that the House should have an opportunity of discussing it as soon as it arrived, and at a convenient period, so that the House might be able to state distinctly whether it approved of their troops being kept in the land of Egypt.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he thought that his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty ought to give an answer to his hon. Friend the Member for Wigan (Mr. A. F. Egerton), because it would appear that some very slipshod proceedings were going on in reference to the acquisition of the house at Port Said, which it was absolutely necessary should be explained. The Committee were entitled to know how the purchase was negotiated. His hon. Friend the Member for Wigan had asked distinctly whether the negotiations were carried on in Egypt or in this country; and, as far he could understand the matter, they were done in this way. The Admiral at Port Said thought the house and land ought to be bought, and he wrote home to this country stating that in his opinion the house should be purchased; whereupon the Admiralty here concluded the bargain. If the Admiral on the spot had made the purchase he would have been exonerated by the reasons put forward by his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay); but it did not appear that anything of the kind occurred. This building had been in the market for a long time, and the Admiral, finding it in the market, thought it right, for reasons of his own, that it should be purchased. He accordingly telegraphed to the Admiralty, and the Admiralty went at once and purchased the establishment for £76,000, without even consulting the Treasury, although the Treasury was next door to them. He thought there ought to be an understanding that when money was spent in London it was spent on the authority of the Treasury. On this occasion it seemed that the Treasury was not even consulted in the matter. They did not know of it until after the purchase was made, when they were horrified at what had occurred. Thus they found the Board of Admiralty in this happy-go-lucky manner spending a large sum of money on a house, without any idea whether it was to be ours permanently, or whether it was only required for six or 12 months. He also thought the Committee was entitled to have an answer to another Question put by his hon. Friend the Member for Wigan as to the dues paid to the Suez Canal. Had any dues been paid or not; and, if so, to whom had the money been paid for piloting and towing Her Majesty's ships? Had it been paid to the owners of the Canal? He thought there ought to be the clearest explanation upon these points, because, as the matter now stood, it was open to the gravest suspicion.

Mr. ONSLOW wished to point out that the acquisition of this piece of land was diametrically opposed to everything the Prime Minister had said in Mid Lothian. The right hon. Gentleman had said, in denouncing the acquisition of Cyprus—

> "That there was no greater folly than to suppose that, by multiplying their garrisons and islands, they could guard the road to India. The road to India was perfectly safe as long as they retained command of the sea."

Nevertheless, they now found the right hon. Gentleman coming down to the House for £76,000 to provide for the accommodation of a garrison at Suez. It was really a very serious matter indeed, after all the right hon. Gentleman had said before, that they should be garrisoning the whole of the Suez Canal in direct opposition to the views which the right hon. Gentleman had expressed elsewhere. He thought the Secretary to the Admiralty ought to give the Committee a little more information about the purchase of this house and land. Did he know anything about it when the Treasury were asked to agree to the purchase? He thought the remarks of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and of his hon. Friend who had just spoken, deserved a clear and straightforward answer, and unless such an answer was given he should certainly vote for the Amendment of his noble Friend.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he could not help thinking that the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken was somewhat ill-advised in making reference to the Mid Lothian declarations of the Prime Minister. He was sure the reception which the declarations in Mid Lothian had received from the Radicals below the Gangway afforded a convincing proof that they had long since taken their place amongst the good jokes of the Liberal Party. He was sorry to see that with the return of the Prime Minister had returned the *régime* of vague declarations. They had a short time ago a statement from the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War which had, at any rate, some character of clearness and decisiveness about it. The noble Marquess gave the House to understand that the occupation of Egypt by British troops, and the interposition of despotic tyranny by British bayonets would probably come to an end in six months. They now learned from the Prime Minister that no period could be fixed for the return of the troops. No doubt the indefiniteness of the British occupation of Egypt would only be prevented from becoming an eternity by some circumstance over which the British Government had no control. When the British Government and the British arms entered a foreign country, the tendency was to diminish self-government, and even the capacity for self-government. All that was known of the most recent proceedings in Egypt showed that the very worst elements had sedulously been brought into operation; that anything like the independent working of any native institutions would be carefully guarded against by British interests; and that the so-called desire for self-government in Egypt resolved itself into a more or less elaborate sham to cover the intervention of Her Majesty's Representatives. That was the history of India, and he was very much mistaken if it would not prove to be the history of Egypt. He did not intend to refer on the present occasion to the grave questions which had been raised about the Palmer Expedition. He thought that matter had better be raised on definite points suggested by the specific mention of the Expedition in the Vote. But he had thought it would not be right to let the statements which had fallen from the Treasury Bench be passed over without a word of protest. The very worst elements in Egypt had been called into existence, and now they were assured that the native population of Egypt—the masses of the population—had been practically excluded from the new Army which had been created, and that the Turks and Circassians—those ancient favourites of the Premier in Bulgaria—were to fill the ranks which, under British officers, were to supply the Army of Egypt for all time to come. The Prime Minister had referred to the necessity of securing the Inter-Oceanic highway of the Suez Canal. He (Mr. O'Donnell) could only say that the measures being taken in Egypt were the safest and surest means for rendering the Suez Canal insecure, and anything but safe. In the possession of Egypt the Canal might have been made perfectly safe. There had been no attempt to interfere with it during the war except by Her Majesty's Government. The only interference with International traffic came from Her Majesty's Government after an elaborate declaration by the Chief of the British Expedition—that some other means of access to the heart of Egypt was to be chosen by the British Expedition. He would only say that the result of the Expedition to Egypt would be most unquestionably to hasten the ruin and break-up of the Ottoman Empire, and too late Her Majesty's Government would see power passing from the Asiatic side of the Suez Canal, and when this happened, and there was a serious attempt to interfere with the Canal, Her Majesty's Government would find themselves deprived of the assistance of Europe. In regard to the question of the Palmer Expedition, he proposed to discuss that by-and-bye.

Mr. SCHREIBER said, that he should like to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the real owner of this house, and the real vendor of the property, was not His Majesty the King of Holland? He had heard Prince Henry of the Netherlands described that evening as a "foolish Prince." That was not an expression which would be applied to him by anyone who knew him. The only folly of which he was guilty was that, being a man of immense wealth, he had allowed death to surprise him without having made a will; and, as a consequence of his intestacy, all his property, including that in question, passed to his elder brother, the King. This fact, he thought, would serve to explain the transfer of the negotiations from Port Said to London, and the intervention in the affair of His Majesty's Representative at the Court of St. James's. With regard to the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, he did not feel that he should be able to give it his support, because, looking at all the circumstances, he inclined to the belief that the country had received value for its money.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the purchase of the house at Port Said was, in fact, a military necessity—not in the sense that military operations were going on at the time, but as a preliminary necessity for military operations which had not then commenced. The Admiral had been so fully impressed with the necessity of having the house at once, that he communicated with the Admiralty, who, after consultation as to the value of the building, entered into negotiations with the trustees of the late Prince Henry of the Netherlands. [Lord Randolph Churchill: Who are the trustees?] He could not say who were the trustees; but, after negotiations, the purchase was made. [Lord Randolph Churchill: Was it made in London?] The purchase was made in London, but on the advice and urgent insistance of the Naval authorities on the spot.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, after the statement made by the Secretary to the Admiralty, he should be wrong if he did not take the sense of the Committee on the purchase in question. He regretted having to put the Committee to the trouble of dividing;

ut they had not found the hon. Gentleman able to give any satisfactory information with respect to this large sum of 76,000. He did not know what view f the matter was taken on the Front Bench; but he and his hon. Friends onsidered they had no option whatever s to the course which it was right to pursue.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 19; Noes 156: Majority 137.—(Div. List, No. 16.)

Original Question again proposed.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he had to ask a question with regard to the Transport Service. He wished to know whether the arrangements made by his right hon. Friend the Member for Westminister (Mr. W. H. Smith) in connection with fittings for transports were fully availed of by the present Government? And, further, he asked whether the fittings had been returned into store, and would be available for any future operations which might take place? He was very desirous of information upon this subject, and would thank the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty for any explanation which he was able to afford. As there had been some ugly stories in circulation with reference, not only to the inefficiency of the Medical Department, but also with reference to the food supplied to the sick and wounded brought home by the transports from Egypt, he should be glad if the hon. Gentleman was in a position to state that there was no foundation for those stories; and he took that opportunity of asking him whether there was any truth in them?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the greatest advantage had been derived from the arrangement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster, which the Admiralty had availed themselves of; and the fittings as to which the hon. and gallant Baronet had inquired had been returned to store, so far as they were in good condition, and would be available at a future time. With regard to the hon. and gallant Baronet's question as to the treatment of the sick and wounded on the voyage from Egypt, he believed there had been some complaint of the kind indicated. That, however, formed one of the subjects which was now under consideration by a Committee at the War Office; and for that reason any opinion which he might be able to express would be but second-hand and unauthoritative. As a matter of fact, he believed that a good deal of discontent had occurred because the *Carthage* hospital ship was extremely well provided, and men, when transferred to ordinary transports, missed the comforts they enjoyed in her. The average transports were quite up to the usual requirements of the Service; but the hon. and gallant Baronet would know that this service was undertaken by the Admiralty for the Army; and, as he had already stated, the whole question was being thoroughly investigated by that Department.

MR. SALT said, it was necessary to regard this Vote, which was another Vote to supplement the amount taken for the purposes of the Egyptian Expedition in the summer of last year, with great caution. He did not complain of it as being a Supplementary Vote, because when war had to be carried on it was impossible to know precisely what the charges in connection with it would be. But when the original Vote was proposed in the summer of last year, he had felt, what no doubt had occurred to other hon. Members, that the amount of the Estimates would in all probability be insufficient for the purposes for which it was intended. For his own part, he was much gratified that the expenditure had been kept within the present figures, and he was bound to say that it reflected great credit on all concerned in the management of the Department that it was not larger than the amount now asked for. Nevertheless, he wished to know how far the present Supplementary Estimate would carry them? The House, in his opinion, ought, as far as possible, to have been told the whole amount of the probable expenditure at the commencement of the war, in order that it might be understood what the country was committing itself to, and that was not an insignificant matter when they were dealing with so large an undertaking as the recent operations in Egypt, because the magnitude, and consequently the policy, of an undertaking of the kind depended very much upon its cost. It was possible that a Government might deliberately undertake an Expedition, and move for a very moderate Vote at the commencement when they knew very well that the estimated expenditure would be enormously exceeded; and therefore, although it was impossible to arrive at a perfectly accurate Estimate it was of the first importance that the Government of the day, who were responsible for the policy of the undertaking, should at once place before the House as nearly as possible the whole of the probable expenditure about to be incurred. He was not then saying anything in a spirit hostile to the Vote, because he regarded the Expedition as having been most successful and, on the whole, economical; still, he should have been more satisfied had the House been told at the conclusion of the War that they had been in the first instance asked for too much money. It was not without reason, now that they had got to the end of the War, to call attention to the fact that when the present Supplementary sum had been voted, they would still be required, as appeared on page 2, to vote a further sum in 1883-4. This Vote would be in connection with the special gratuity to seamen. Another item was called Supplementary Estimate for the year 1882-3, by which he inferred that the Estimates were ascertained with tolerable accuracy up to the 31st of March next. But in the next page of the Paper he found the heading—"Supplementary Estimate of Her Majesty's Navy for 1883-4." This, it appeared was a misprint, but it was not, therefore, a small matter; because, although an error of the kind in writing might be rectified, a misprint in figures might make all the difference in the world. Was this Estimate to carry them *bonâ fide* to the end of the present financial year? He wished to be certain that when they came to deal with the Estimates of 1883-4, they would be told distinctly what was going to be the expenditure on this account, and that they were not to have one statement in 1883, a Supplementary Estimate in July, and another Supplementary Estimate in February, 1884.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, this was the Supplementary Estimate for the current financial year. The first Vote, as the hon. Gentleman would be aware, was taken in the form of a Vote of Credit. As had been stated by the hon. Member, it was impossible in respect of operations of the kind for which that Vote was taken to definitely state what the charges in connection with it would amount to. He agreed that it was most unfortunate when war was first undertaken that small Estimates should be brought forward, and that these should be afterwards very greatly exceeded, as was the case in the Abyssinian Campaign. In the present instance, however, he thought the Government Estimates had been, on the whole, most exact. The first Vote of Credit was stated in the House to be for three months only, and to meet the requirements of a certain force. That force, however, had to be very much increased, and the figures before the Committee included not only the Military and Naval expenditure during the three months originally contemplated, but it also represented the whole cost of the subsequent period after the military operations ceased. The present Estimate exhausted the whole amount of the Naval expenditure on account of the war, with the extion, he believed, of three items. There was a certain amount of transport, the payments for which could not be brought within the present financial year. This would be about £15,000. Then there was a small item for special gratuity to seamen and marines, which it was impossible to include in the present financial year, the ships having returned to the India and China station. This would amount to about £10,000. Finally, there was the sum of £2,000 for medals, which the Mint had not been able to supply in sufficient numbers, and delay had in consequence arisen. He trusted this statement would be satisfactory to the hon. Member who had just sat down.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Salt) entertained the same considerations with reference to the Vote as he himself had ventured to address to the House in connection with the Military Estimates under consideration on Friday last. He held it to be a great pity, when the country entered upon a war, that they could not get at the worst of the expenditure on account of it. It was almost always the case that the Estimates first presented to the House were under-Estimates. It was true that the estimated cost of the Indian Contingent was not exceeded, but turned out to be considerably less than the amount said to be required at the time. He expected, however, that when this came to be inquired into, it would be found to be due to the mode in which the Indian Accounts were made up, that there was a reduction in the Indian expenditure. He had pointed out at the time that the sum asked for the English part of the Expedition on account of the war was not reasonably sufficient to carry the operations to a conclusion. In the present instance, however, the excess in the case of the Navy was so small that he thought it might very well be condoned. He considered that the thanks of the country were due to the right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for War for the economy with which the war had been conducted, and especially to the Admiralty for the efficiency and economy of the Transport arrangements. When that was compared with the Abyssinian Expedition, its small cost must cause amazement to most persons.

MR. GORST remarked, that there was a credit for the contribution of the Egyptian Government towards the cost of the Army of Occupation. Was that credit taken for the present financial year? He would be glad to know whether the amount had been actually paid, and if not, when it would be received?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that the amount would undoubtedly be paid within the present financial year. He was very glad to hear the praise which his hon. Friend (Sir George Campbell) had bestowed upon the Transport arrangements of the Admiralty. The movement entirely depended upon the good working of those arrangements; and as it had been his duty to watch them carefully throughout the operations, he was bound to say that the arrangements made for that purpose by the Earl of Northbrook could not have been excelled. With regard to what had fallen from his hon. Friend with reference to the excess on the Army Vote, it must be borne in mind that the original Estimate was made with reference to a much smaller number of men than were afterwards sent out, and the sum originally asked for was in consequence exceeded. It was stated at the time that the French Government took the responsibility of the naval operations in the Suez Canal; but three days after our Vote of Credit was taken, the Vote of Credit proposed for the operations of the French Fleet was rejected by the Chamber, and the responsibility with regard to the Suez Canal fell upon the British Government, the consequence being that a considerably larger number of men were sent out.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he wished to express his concurrence with the terms used by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) as to the extremely efficient way in which the Egyptian Expedition had been organized. Credit was, no doubt, due to the First Lord and other officers at the Admiralty; but it was also due to the permanent officers at the Admiralty and their professional advisers, without whose assistance no amount of skill would have been of any avail. These gentlemen had rendered to the Government most valuable and efficient service, and he was glad to see that Admiral Sir William Mends, to whose great efficiency during the time he (Mr. W. H. Smith) had the honour to preside at the Admiralty he wished to bear testimony, had received a high mark of recognition. The despatch of the troops had been, undoubtedly, greatly facilitated by the stock of fittings on hand for the use of the troops on board ship, without which a much larger expense must have been incurred as well as much delay. He understood that these had been freely availed of by Her Majesty's Government, and that they had been returned into store; but he would also be glad to learn whether any waste, destruction, or loss with respect to them had been made good, and whether money was taken in this Vote for the purpose? Experience had shown that there was a great value in having in store the means of quickly despatching troops by transports, and there was a general belief that the existence of the stores in question had been the means of effecting great economy in the cost of the Expedition, both as regarded the War Department and the Admiralty. It would, therefore, be of advantage if the House were furnished with a statement, in the form of a balance-sheet, showing what were the stores in existence before the war was contemplated; what were now available for carrying on the service of the country, and those which had been dissipated in carrying on the late war. He had no doubt whatever that the statements made by his right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Childers) were perfectly accurate; but nothing would tend more to give the country a greater feeling of security and satisfaction on the subject than the publication of a balance-sheet, countersigned by the First Lord, and for the accuracy of which the officers and storekeepers of each Department were held personally responsible, making it clear that we were none the worse off in respect of stores in consequence of the operations of the last six months, or, if so, that the money would be taken to make good the loss sustained.

Mr. PULESTON said, he was desirous of receiving some information with regard to the item of £50,000 for special gratuity to seamen and marines. Did this amount stand alone, and was it the sum total? If so, he would ask in what way the gratuities had been distributed? The item very largely affected the Navy; and seeing so large a sum by itself, they were not able to form an opinion as to whether the whole of it was given to seamen and marines, or whether the officers participated in the distribution.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he had just made a full statement on the question, which his hon. Friend, who was probably engaged elsewhere at the time, had not heard. A similar statement had also been made in Committee on Friday night.

Mr. GORST said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminister (Mr. W. H. Smith) had a few minutes ago made a suggestion to Her Majesty's Government, but no notice had yet been taken of that suggestion, which was that a statement in the form of a balance-sheet should be drawn up showing the stores remaining on hand after the recent operations as compared with those in existence previous to the commencement of the war. No intimation had been given as to whether or not that suggestion would be adopted by Her Majesty's Government. There had been a good deal of criticism against the Government, and many people believed that our stores had been very much depleted during the war, and that if there were a stock-taking it would be found that large quantities of the national stores required to be replaced. That belief might or might not be unjust, but if it were unjust, there could be no better way of proving it to be so than by adopting the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster. Let the Government put before the country the amount of stores which the Army and Navy possessed before the war began, and the amount of stores which they now possessed, and if there had been any depletion it would be made clear. He should have thought Her Majesty's Government would have at once adopted the suggestion of so experienced a Gentleman as the right hon. Member for Westminster, and he could but express his surprise that they had not done so.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, they had listened to the observations of the right hon. Gentleman opposite with great interest and satisfaction. The suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman had not been lost upon him; but it was quite impossible to say at once that the Government would assent to his proposal. Hon. Members would easily understand that a stock-taking of all the stores in the various Departments was a very complicated matter and could not be undertaken off-hand. He did not wish to be understood to say that the Government could not do this, but he thought they were entitled to a little time to consider whether the production suggested by the right hon. Gentleman would be worth the money and labour that it would be necessary to expend upon it. Upon that question he did not himself offer any opinion; but with regard to the feeling which the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had stated to exist in the minds of some persons that the Army and Navy stores had been depleted during the recent operations, he would only say that amongst his own acquaintances he did not find that any such feeling existed.

Mr. PULESTON said, the effect of a depletion of the national stores had been illustrated in former years, when after starving all the Departments it was found necessary to spend largely in getting a new supply in a hurry. If that was the case at the present time a balance-sheet would show it, and would tend to prevent a recurrence of such a state of things in future.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked on what security the contribution of the Egyptian

Government in relief of the expenses of he war rested? Had the sum of £70,000 pecified been already paid?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that the amount would absolutely be received on he 28th of March.

MR. O'DONNELL asked if he was to understand that the English Government had levied a sum of £70,000 on Egypt, and that the money was to be collected by the English Army? Because, if that were the state of things, it was not, in his opinion, too much to say that it would have been fairer to put down in the Estimates, "Forced contributions," or "Forced loans," phrases which more accurately described what was taking place than that used in the Estimate. However, he perceived that the Government were rather shy of explaining their relations with the so-called Egyptian Government. Before going any further he wished to ask what were the miscellaneous charges in connection with the Palmer Expedition which were put down at £13,500?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, one item was the sum of money which Professor Palmer had with him when he was murdered. There were also the expenses of the journey incurred before the Expedition started. He was not in a position to give the items.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he accepted the explanation of the Secretary to the Admiralty, and should, consequently, be able to take the course he intended without interfering with the allowance which it was proposed to make to the families of the officers and the expenses of finding the body of the late Professor Palmer. He should, therefore, propose that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £5,000, which would cover with sufficient accuracy all that had relation to the Palmer Expedition apart from the payments to the families. The reason he proposed that reduction was in order to ask for information on the whole subject of the Palmer Expedition, which, as far as he was aware, had been apparently concealed from Parliament as long as possible, and with respect to which, even at the present moment, there seemed to be rather a desire to disguise the truth. There was, to a certain extent, an amount of difficulty in the way of a Member of that House asking for information, because he was not at all satisfied that they had before them anything like complete information as to the Expedition. He asked for information as to the number of asterisks which occurred in the Papers laid before the House, and which, he believed, concealed the absence of names of a character most important to the proper understanding of these proceedings. There were also letters omitted from the Blue Book which seemed to have a very important bearing indeed upon the nature of the credence which the House ought to attach to certain portions of it. No less an authority than *The Times*, of Friday last, alluded to a letter from Colonel Warren in the following terms:—

> "The record of the stratagems and devices by which the 'guilty ones'—for so Colonel Warren throughout speaks of the accused persons—were entrapped and forced into giving evidence and confessions, is not altogether agreeable, though it is instructive reading. Colonel Warren, for instance, in his first expedition, writing to a Sheikh (this letter does not appear in the Blue Book), whom he wishes to persuade of Arabi's overthrow, which had not yet occurred, informs him that the Sultan has landed 6,000 soldiers at Port Said."

He thought that the statement in *The Times* with regard to the absence of this letter threw a responsibility of a very grave kind upon Colonel Warren, who had played such an important part in the matter, and upon the Government, which had omitted, for some reason or other, to include this letter amongst the other Correspondence published in the Blue Book. They knew that the Sultan did not land 6,000 soldiers at Port Said, and they could have no doubt that Colonel Warren was thoroughly aware of that fact. [Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Please quote the date and place.] The date and place could come afterwards. At the same time, he would remark that, as far as he was aware, at no date did the Sultan land 6,000 soldiers at Port Said. *The Times* did not appear to give the date; but it gave an extract of considerable length from the letter, and in that letter Colonel Warren informed a Sheikh that the Sultan had landed 6,000 soldiers at Port Said, and Colonel Warren made that declaration for the purpose of putting pressure upon a Native Sheikh, to cause him to deliver up persons whom Colonel Warren considered "guilty persons," and who, they were informed, had been recently executed. He (Mr.

O'Donnell) said that if Colonel Warren made that statement to anyone, they were compelled to approach the other statements of Colonel Warren with a certain amount of reserve, because he was an officer in Her Majesty's Service, and the case was not that of an ignorant or uninformed man. It was against this officer, who had such important duties laid upon him, that the leading English journal had brought a charge which could not be disguised as anything else than a grave imputation upon his veracity. If that misrepresentation on the part of Colonel Warren were defended on the ground that it was a lawful stratagem to misrepresent the truth to an Arab Sheikh, how were they to banish from their minds the feeling that other statements of Colonel Warren were legitimate stratagems also? For in other portions of his Correspondence, Colonel Warren, who varied in his accounts, appeared inclined to convey as much as possible the impression that the attack on Professor Palmer and his party was a mere Bedouin onset, stimulated by the hope of plunder. That was the account given to Her Majesty's Government; and when he found that the Government supported that view, how was it possible to feel otherwise than that the whole thing was a stratagem on the part of Her Majesty's Government, as it was on the part of Colonel Warren? A very serious imputation was thus cast upon the accuracy of one of the principal witnesses who might afterwards have to be called on behalf of the Government. At the same time, the circumstances of that imputation might render the evidence of Colonel Warren all the more important for his (Mr. O'Donnell's) purpose. What he wished to bring before the Committee, and what he maintained was the fact, was that the death of Professor Palmer and his companions was not the result of a Bedouin onset, stimulated by the hope of plunder, but that Professor Palmer, Lieutenant Charrington, and Captain Gill formed part of a surreptitious Military Expedition directed by the Government of Great Britain, then at war with the Egyptian nation, and that this Expedition, carrying out its purpose in disguise, was met, surrounded, captured, and executed by Arabs in exactly the same way as that in which three Arabs and one English soldier, disguised for the purpose of cutting telegraph wires, would have been met, surrounded, captured, and executed by a file of English troops under the orders of Her Majesty's Government. Now, with regard to the sacrifice of Professor Palmer and his military and naval companions, he had not one word to say that would in any way detract from the gratitude due to them. The man who took up the dangerous and disagreeable office of spy in an enemy's country knew that he exposed himself to the very last penalty; the man who undertook the act of bribing the enemy's soldiers rendered a service to his country far more onerous even than that of the soldier who volunteered to go on the forlorn hope. Professor Palmer and his companions went out to do a duty for their country, and they lost their lives in the performance of that duty; but he protested as an Irishman, and he believed that every honest man in England would be ready to join with him in protesting against the act of those defenders of their country, who treated Professor Palmer and his coadjutors as we would have treated three Arabs, being palmed off as a case of murder, and that for the purpose of concealing one of the most dubious and unpleasant transactions to which Her Majesty's Government had committed themselves in the pleasant and dubious act of carrying on war while they maintained the principles of peace. When the question was raised during the last Session of Parliament, every effort was made to impress on the country that Professor Palmer had been engaged in the peaceful office of purchasing camels, that he had with him money for that purpose, and that this fact had drawn upon him the cupidity of the Bedouins of the Desert; and so the whole thing was to be explained. But, as a matter of fact, the expedition on which he was engaged had been most comprehensively and carefully planned and entered into with the officers who died on the occasion to which the Blue Book particularly referred. It would have been necessary —and here was another defect in the Blue Book—for the full explanation of this matter, for the Government to have produced a true report of the use they made of a M. Picard, French telegraph engineer in the service of the Khedive's Government, who was placed at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government, because, while they were sending Professor Palmer to cut the telegraph wires in the Desert, they were sending M. Picard into Turkish territory—into the Lebanon—where he stayed for months, and where he was also engaged in cutting telegraph wires. This execution of Professor Palmer, Lieutenant Charrington, and Captain Gill was not an isolated execution, for while an Islamite force was capturing and executing the English portion of the Expedition, another Islamite force was looking after M. Picard in the Lebanon. The whole thing was a Mission of carefully-disguised spies for the double purpose of cutting the telegraph wires communicating between Constantinople and Cairo, and seducing and bribing the Bedouin warriors who were prepared to assist us in the attempt upon Egypt. The tale about the purchase of camels must be thrown aside and utterly repudiated. But he must observe that, even if the Expedition had been for the purpose of purchasing camels, if that purchase had been conducted by spies in disguise, it would subject those spies, according to the English laws of war, to the last penalty. But it now came out clearly that this was not an expedition for the mere purpose of getting camels. They had the Admiralty introducing "Professor Palmer, passenger for Brindisi," to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and it spoke of him as a person who

"Speaks Arabic and knows Bedouins. Keep him at your disposal."

Then, on the 21st of July, the Admiralty, in another telegram to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, expressed the desire that Captain Gill should be attached to Rear Admiral Hoskins—

"For the purpose of assisting him in communicating with the Bedouins."

And the telegram went on to say that Captain Gill had travelled among the Bedouins and was employed to collect the information which had already been sent to the Admiral, and it added that Captain Gill was—

"Fully acquainted with the arrangements made with Professor Palmer."

The Admiralty had also telegraphed to Sir Beauchamp Seymour what might be looked upon as the outline of the story afterwards to be put upon Parliament—namely, that, in anticipation of the arrival of troops, he should hire all available camel transport in the vicinity of the Suez Canal, which the telegram went on to say would be—

"A good opportunity of enlisting the services of Bedouins."

Now, they had a telegram on August the 5th, from Rear Admiral Sir William Hewett at Suez to the Admiralty, which showed the manner in which the resources of the Government were employed to place Professor Palmer in communication with the domestic traitors of Egypt and Syria who were expected to assist the work of British invasion in Egypt. It ran thus—

"Forward following message to Consul at Jerusalem:—'Want reply to message which commences: "To British Consul at Jerusalem from British Admiral at Suez." Send trustworthy horsemen to Gaza at once, to deliver the following message to Sheikh Misleh in Arabic. He expects this message, and is in the neighbourhood. Message begins: "Kajah Abdullah wishes Sheikh Misleh Ameer of the Tizahah to ride a swift camel and meet him at Nakhl on the 12th."'"

Sheikh Abdullah was the name and disguise under which Professor Palmer was to seduce the Bedouins by money to assist the British invasion of Egypt; it was at Nakhl that Professor Palmer met his fate, and there was reason to believe that the Sheikh did ride a swift camel as requested by Professor Palmer. On the 6th of August they had a telegram from Sir Beauchamp Seymour to the Admiralty, which said that—

"Palmer, in letter of 1st August at Suez, writes that if precisely instructed as to services required by Bedouins and furnished with funds, he believes he could buy the allegiance of 50,000 at a cost of from £20,000 to £30,000."—

A gigantic scheme for getting Bedouins to assist in the invasion of Egypt—

"Palmer with Hewett still. Gill still there. Will Admiralty communicate with Palmer direct?"

The Admiralty were, therefore, directly implicated in this transaction. They had a return telegram to Rear Admiral Sir William Hewett at Suez on the 6th of August, which run thus—

"Admiral reports Palmer's proposal of 1st August. Instruct Palmer to keep Bedouins available for patrol or transport on Canal. A reasonable amount may be spent, but larger engagements are not to be entered into until General arrives and has been consulted."

That showed that the Admirals were implicated in the scheme which it was intended to put on the country as a robber onset for the sake of plunder. It was now clear what was the nature of the services which Professor Palmer was engaged to perform; and, as he had before said, he deserved every honour and credit for playing such a part, which was a difficult and dangerous one, because he not only exposed himself to the risks of ordinary war as a soldier, but he exposed himself to the certainty, if caught, of being executed as a spy. But what about Captain Gill? Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, in a telegram from Alexandria on the 6th of August to the Earl of Northbrook, said—

> "Gill has gone to Suez to make arrangements about Bedouins with Palmer. Authority has been given to Hoskins to expend for this service. Arrangements made to cut the Syrian telegraph wires and for Bedouins to help in preventing its repair."

What made this act on the part of Her Majesty's Government reprehensible was that arrangements were made not only for seducing the Bedouins to help our Army, but for seducing them into cutting the telegraph wires of their liege Lord the Sultan, with whom we were supposed to be at peace. Such double-dyed treason and trickery never was exceeded in the whole history of tortuous transactions. Then there was a telegram from Sir Beauchamp Seymour, who, if he did not deserve his Peerage for the bombardment of Alexandria deserved it for other reasons, stating that—

> "Gill expected to accomplish it Thursday or Friday; not yet known."

This, as the Admiralty note at the foot of the telegram explained, referred to cutting the telegraph. Rear Admiral Hoskins, on the 14th of August, next telegraphed the Admiralty—

> "Gill, who is in Desert to cut Syrian wire, has not yet been heard of."

At that time, when Admiral Hoskins was writing a telegram evidently full of joy at the work being done, Captain Gill had been seized and probably executed for attempting to cut the telegraph wire, contrary not only to the usages and laws of peace, but, as he believed, contrary to the laws and usages of war. By August the 17th the Admiralty was becoming anxious, so they telegraphed on that date to Rear Admiral Hoskins at Port Said—

> "Have you heard anything of Gill? What orders did you give him?"

And Rear Admiral Hoskins telegraphed back the same day—

> "Gill left 5th to confer with telegraph engineers at Ismailia. On the 6th he wrote to me from Suez. After discussing the matter with Palmer, he had determined to go and cut wires in Desert himself, and hoped to effect his object by Friday. Nothing heard of him since."

He had been intercepted, just as an Arab wire cutter would have been intercepted by English troops.

> "Wires have not been cut. Sent . . . to coast of Syria in the *Beacon* to cut the wires and gain news. Will report result on return."

Thus the Government were cutting the telegraph wires of their Ally, the Sultan, at the very time they were keeping up before Europe the farce of seeking to come to terms with regard to the pacification of Egypt. They were designedly cutting off Arabi from every source of communication with the rest of the world, so that they might wake him up one morning with the rush of their 17,000 bayonets, cutting and stabbing his half-armed troops. Oh, the Liberal victory! It was evident that the unfortunate Professor Palmer began early in August to realize the consequences of the hostility he would incur on the part of the Arabs and the extreme danger in which Her Majesty's Government had placed both him and Captain Gill. Accordingly, they found a telegram from Professor Palmer to Rear Admiral Hewett on the 8th of August, from Suez, as follows:—

> "I think it would be most desirable that an officer of Her Majesty's Navy should accompany me on my journey to the Desert as a guarantee that I am acting on the part of Her Majesty's Government."

Professor Palmer knew well what he was at, and he sent for the uniform of the British Navy in order to cover that work. It was an act of self-preservation on the part of Professor Palmer; but the grant of that naval uniform, the sending of Flag Lieutenant Charrington to Professor Palmer and Captain Gill in their joint expedition of seduction and wire-cutting, deepened the part played by the Home authorities throughout the whole of these characteristic transactions. Now, he maintained that even from those miserably imperfect documents, in spite even of all the asterisks and all the suppressed passages of the missing letters, in spite of the complete silence that had been observed with regard to the Lebanon portion of the wire-cutting expedition, the Blue Book before him contained ample evidence that the resistance which the Palmer Expedition met with was a national and a popular resistance directed by the Arab authorities, and that the Palmer Mission was intercepted not merely for the sake of plunder—although prize money had its temptations even for the British soldier—not merely for the sake of loot, as the miserable misrepresentation that had been circulated sought to convey, but that the Mission was intercepted and found its death in consequence of that national resistance to invasion, and to spydom, bribery, and treachery, and that the orders came from the Government at Cairo to intercept the English spies, just as the English Government would give orders to intercept Arab spies. He maintained that the alleged murderers of the Palmer Mission were simply half-a-dozen rank and file from a couple of Bedonian tribes, who stood in the same position as a party of English soldiers employed to shoot down a man as they were commanded. The trial which took place under Colonel Warren, carrying out the instructions of the Government to represent the whole thing as having been done for the sake of plunder, and which had resulted in the execution of five humble Arab tribesmen, was a bloody judicial trial carried out with the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government. They need not go to the source of the authority under which these men met their doom. The Egyptian Government were but the instruments in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. Those humble men were slain for doing what they believed to be their duty to their tribe and tribal Chief, and their execution was a judicial murder, and a judicial murder of the most atrocious description. He would read an extract from the letter of Colonel Warren, dated Suez, November 28th, and received by the Admiralty on November 30th. The name of one of the Sheikhs engaged in the interception of the spying party had arrived at Suez, and Colonel Warren reported that—

> "Sheikh Salami Shedide arrived from Cairo on the 22nd. He professed to be quite ignorant of the facts connected with Professor Palmer's murder; protested that he had no power as a Sheikh beyond the Canal, and gave the name of a Sheikh (Mahomed Feyere) who lives beyond Akabah, a ruler of the country about Wady Sudur. I refuted his statements by means of his own Hawetats brought in from Wady Sudur, who declared that the Shedides of Cairo were their only Sheikhs, that Sualim Assam Farey ruled them by deputy, and that Mahomed Feyere was to them only a name. Having at last acknowledged that he was Sheikh of the Hawetats about Wady Sudur, Salami Shedide asked me to give him the names of the culprits, and the details connected with the murder. This I refused to do, and told him to get it from his own people. He protested he could not do this, but eventually sent to Cairo to ascertain the particulars from the Bedouins about there. Having thus obtained from him the acknowledgement that the particulars of the murder were known to the Bedouins about Cairo, and that, therefore, he must be aware of what took place, being head Sheikh, I told him to examine the Hawetats brought in by his party from the Desert, and elicit the facts in my presence."

He might at this point observe that to throw upon a mere tribesman the whole of the alleged guilt of this transaction, was an artifice which could not have blinded any eyes but those willing to be blinded, for he found in the Blue Book that Colonel Warren was forewarned as early as October 20, 1882 (page 40), that the war being over, the Shedides who stood high with Arabi still continued in power, and were endeavouring to throw the whole guilt upon the Towarah; and so great was their power that they had succeeded in fixing the impression on the minds of the local Egyptian officials. So that the policy of throwing guilt on the men—the mere executioners —was fully known to Colonel Warren and Her Majesty's Government as early as October the 31st. In the same letter, Colonel Warren showed that the pursuit and capture of the English Mission was not an act of isolated robbers, but was a true Governmental act, and a part of the Government defence against English invasion. On page 39, Colonel Warren reported that there was a considerable amount of evidence showing that the attack on the party was aided from Cairo by Ibu Shedide, whose brother was at Suez, helping him to discover the guilty parties, and who professed entire ignorance in all matters connected with the attack. Abu Sofieh endeavoured to ransom the party, but failed to do so; and after they had been prisoners for two or more days, they were taken up into the mountains over a precipice, and told that by orders of Arabi, through Nakhl and through Cairo, they must die, and were at liberty to choose between dropping over the precipice or being shot. It was said that Professor Palmer and Captain Gill chose the former death, while Lieutenant Charrington, the Dragoman, and the Cook chose the latter. It was also said Professor Palmer solemnly called Heaven to witness that the death of the party would be avenged upon the murderers. Colonel Warren went on to say that there could be no doubt whatever that it was the intention of those in authority and the Bedouins that a veil should be drawn over all the details of this tragedy after the attack upon the baggage; and every available clue had, as they thought, been successfully obliterated. Even the murder of the Cook Moussa was solely actuated by a desire to conceal all facts connected with the attack, for it was known that Moussa was not a Christian; and the outrage was committed, not by a mere band of robbers, but by an organized band of Moslems acting under authority to kill Christians. But, although, said Colonel Warren—

> "I believe the order for the attack came from those in authority immediately under Arabi. I do not think the order to kill Christians proceeded from Cairo, but emanated from the over-zealous fanaticism of the Egyptian Governors of Nakhl and El Arishe. The attack was made principally by the Hawetat, whose Sheikh is Sualem Abu Farag, acting immediately under Ibu Shedide of Cairo. This man was actively engaged during the war, and commanded the line of Bedouins covering Cairo; and yet, in the face of the well-known fact to all Bedouins, that Sualem is the Sheikh of the Hawetats of Wady Sudur, under the Shedide, Shedide's brother has protested that these Hawetats were under a Syrian Sheikh, and he had no power over them."

There was much more evidence in these documents. In an enclosure, Colonel Warren, writing to Rear Admiral Sir William Hewett, reported—

> "I visited Mr. . . . ."—these asterisks were always turning up in the most convenient places—"and ascertained from him that he would be able to arrest, near Gaza, a Bodouin who had been heard to say that he had assisted in killing two accursed Feringhees near Suez. He also informed me that he had evidence to show that the Governor of El Arishe had sent out a party of Suwaki Bedouins after Professor Palmer, to bring him in dead or alive on his journey from Gaza to Suez."

They had a very important statement from Consul West upon the same subject. Her Majesty's Consul, at Suez, writing on the 20th of November—the letter was received at the Admiralty on the 4th of December—said—

> "It is becoming every day more apparent that the Shedides at Cairo, acting under the influence of their own convictions, in the power of Arabi and his followers, if not under their direct orders, had sent instructions to the Sheikhs in the Desert to arrest all travellers, at least, and to prevent them from obtaining assistance from those over whom they, the said Sheikhs, had any control; to what extent their instructions, which were only verbal, as a matter of course, would have instigated such a crime as that committed, it were difficult to say, and may be still more so to prove. It is, nevertheless, certain that the Shedides now here, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing in those of their tribe who are 'wanted,' are far from doing their utmost to clear up matters, their action tends to show that they are in great dread of the *exposé* which they can see is hanging over their heads."

That was a Report of Consul West, a Report completely removing the possibility that it was a mere set of robbers; a Report completely proving that a levy *en masse* had been ordered to prevent an incursion of English soldiers and spies. The name of Arabi was mentioned. There was no blame on Arabi respecting the murders; indeed, there was every reason for supposing he did not give express instructions to execute such men as Palmer, Gill, and Charrington. It was, however, clear that the Government of Egypt had taken every precaution to arrest and to execute enemies and spies entering the country. There was other evidence which would not be less impressive. The Native witness, Hassar Ateiya, of the Marani tribe, examined by Colonel Warren, page 52 of the Blue Book, stated that the Huvalats, the tribesmen engaged in the attack upon the Palmer Party, expressly said—

> "We are Arabi's soldiers, and if we meet any English people, we must get hold of them."

And the wretched story had been set going that it was all an attack of Bedouins stimulated by the hope of plunder. What part of the explanation of Her Majesty's Government with regard to their policy in Egypt could they credit in a higher degree than they could now credit their statement as to the object of the Palmer Mission, and the nature of the opposition which that Mission provoked? Nay, not only was there all this evidence, which he could multiply even from these documents, as to the manner in which these orders were disseminated through the country to oppose an English incursion, large or small, and to arrest English people, but they had evidence that the execution was really known at Cairo; and they had the evidence of Colonel Warren that it was the impression of Professor Palmer himself that he was being hunted and watched and opposed by the tribes of Arabi Pasha. On November the 14th—the letter was received at the Admiralty on the 28th of the same month—Colonel Warren wrote to Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour—

> "I am under the impression that Professor Palmer has elsewhere stated that he travelled over this ground in haste, and during the night, to avoid Arabi's emissaries."

And yet the Government shut their eyes to all this; this miserable and sham Government shut its eyes and allowed five wretched tribesmen to be executed as murderers and robbers for only carrying out the orders of the Government of their country. Furthermore, Colonel Warren reported that the actual orders for the capture and, as it appeared, the execution of the English emissaries were given by a man of such a low class, that it was quite evident that in order to obtain the obedience which followed his words, he must have been only a messenger from some higher authority. Colonel Warren said—

> "The Bedouins generally concur in stating that Ali Showyar is a man of very low class, and could only have been used as a messenger, giving information with reference to orders already given. It appears that the Terabin, Debour, and Hawetat, had already been instructed to attack the party, and they were prepared to waylay them on either of the three roads into the interior."

That comprehensive plan for arresting an incursion of these English emissaries; that comprehensive plan, carried out with every appearance of the concurrence of the general patriotism and loyalty of the country, it had been attempted to explain away in the miserable manner the Committee were aware of. There was more evidence still of first-class importance. The Committee, or such Members of it who had paid attention to Egyptian affairs, might have noticed in the list of sentences passed the other day by a so-called court martial, that five persons were sentenced to death and hanged in conformity with that sentence, and a certain Governor of Nakhl got off with 12 months' imprisonment. That was perfectly in keeping with the warning that had already been given to Colonel Warren and the Government—namely, that every attempt would be made to throw the blame as low down as possible. But on page 51, there was the translation of a letter from the Governor of Nakhl to the Governor of Akabah, written towards the end of August or the beginning of September. It was written, as was stated in the Blue Book—

> "About the 27th of Showal, and delivered at Akabah about the 9th of September."

The letter went on to say—

> "We let you know that, on the 11th day of Showal (9.9), we have appointed one soldier Bedouin to carry the mail. Soon he reached Ismailia. He learnt that the English Christians attacked the Bedouins who lived about Ismailia when they were much in need of water, and the Fresh Water Canal was blocked, so that no water could go from Ismailia to Suez. Then at night the English attacked the Bedouins, who ran away and informed Arabi Pasha about it. So he came from Kafr Dowar with lots of troops, and attacked the enemy, &c."

And towards the end of the letter it went on to say—

> "As regards the three Christians who were going to the Fort of Nakhl, accompanied by Meter Sofieh (Meter Nassier), one of the Sofieh tribe, they were killed, through the son of Abu Mushid, one of the Sheikhs of the tribes of Bedouins who live at Wady Sudur, and never arrived here. My only object (in writing to you) is to inform you to be careful about the Fort (Akabah), and to inform the Bedouins not to be far away from the fort, already to be ready for the enemy, and not be afraid. I hope God will permit that you are not found wanting. If any men of war come in your direction not to fire on them, but if they go on shore to get hold of them by hand, and if they fire, fire yourselves. Let me know what is going on in your place. Don't be afraid. Don't wonder because the Moslems are victorious by the force of God. Abu Shedide has informed his Bedouins, by writing, that if they see any Christians to get hold of them and send them to their place (in Cairo), when they had learnt that the Christians were killed which I spoke of. Till now we did not receive any instructions from Cairo."

More evidence of the constant communication there was going on between the centre of the National defence and the outlying places which were opposing the English invaders, and the complete victory of the English invasion in no way detracted from the legitimacy of the Egyptian defence. The Governor of Nakhl boasted that the work was done by his own orders, and, in one statement, by his own hands. Of the sympathy of the Governor in the transactions there could be no doubt. Consul West, throughout the Blue Book, was a most valuable witness, and anyone who wished to try the case fairly and apart from the pressure of Ministerial Whips, could not do better than trace from page to page the despatches of Consul West. Evidence which was also worthy of particular attention on the present occasion was that of Meter Abu Sofieh, who acted as guide to the party, and who was very probably in collusion with the attacking party. Very probably Meter Abu Sofieh thought that spying against spies was legitimate. Just as Her Majesty's Government appeared to act on the principle that they need keep no faith with Bedouins, he acted on the principle that Bedouins need keep no faith with Englishmen. As to the comparative casuistry of the two parties in the case, he (Mr. O'Donnell) would say nothing, save that the Bedouins were acting in the defence of their own country. Meter Abu Sofieh died in hospital, certainly under suspicious circumstances, after having given certain evidence. There was a *post mortem* examination held on the body by some English Army surgeon, but whether the surgeon was a proficient in the detection of poisons there was no evidence to show. If, however, there was ever an Arab who deserved a cup of bad coffee, it was the Chief Meter Abu Sofieh, after giving this testimony, testimony which was stated to be spontaneous—

> "All the questioning will do you no good; but if you get Ali Showyar, he will tell you who sent him after us to tell them to attack us"—he spoke of "us"—"I heard that Ali Showyar had gone all round the Bedouins to tell them to attack us;"

and Colonel Warren reported that all the Bedouins concurred in that statement. Meter Abu Sofieh, who, it was not to be wondered at, died under suspicious circumstances, went on to say—

> "I hear he was at the wells when we left, but I don't know his face. The Bedouins were quite quiet till Ali Showyar went away, though he is not a Sheikh. He is of the lowest Natives, but must have been sent by someone. The Government won't allow me to say who it was. I do not know who it was. I hear that Ali Showyar brought a message. I don't know if message came from Cairo. I hear that Ali Showyar said the Christians come into this country, attack them, and take their things. He said Abu Sofieh was bringing the Christians to buy camels, and they had money with them for that purpose."

So, Ali Showyar knew how to encourage the attacking Bedouins with the hope of prize money, as well as with the satisfaction of patriotism. Now, if the statement of *The Times* was true, Colonel Warren was a gentleman who, when intrusted with a mission by a Liberal Government, was capable of embroidering the facts, and giving a diplomatic misrepresentation of the facts. But there was another thing to be taken into consideration in regard to the so-called confession wrung from the principal of the wretched culprits, who might or might not have been guilty, and it was that nothing was more usual in the East, when great men were implicated, for humble men to come forward and take the blame on themselves for the sake of saving their wives and their families. The men who were put to death were men whose wives and families had been previously taken prisoners by Colonel Warren; and it was under the pressure of the terrorism caused by that fact that these men apparently were ready to make any admission, though the only admission they did make was that they were actually the executioners in carrying out the sentence on the English Mission. The Committee had heard most important admissions made by Colonel Warren; but at page 91, in a letter to Admiral Lord Alcester, dated Fort of Nakhl, Desert of the Tib, December 25, 1882, he said—

> "Most of the culprits, when first brought in, denied even belonging to this portion of the country; but, after being wearied with constant cross-examination, they have now all confessed to the attack upon Professor Palmer's party, and on the baggage, and some of them have confessed to having been present at the murder; and I hope eventually to be able to obtain a full detailed confession from each man, except, perhaps, from the five murderers, of whom three are now secured."

What he (Mr. O'Donnell) wanted to know was, what was the worth of that evidence, even as regarded the participation of these wretched men? At any time a tribesman would give his life 100 times over, if he could, at the mere suggestion or wish of the Sheikh. These men merely formed the firing party; and that was all the Government had proved. The confessions were due to a wish to spare their tribes; and it was very important to observe that the Sheikh only gave his adhesion to the pursuit of the suspected men on the condition that the quiet of the Desert should not be disturbed. The Committee could fully understand how very small was the amount of credence to be placed on the confession of the tribesmen acting in conformity with the wishes of their Sheikh, and after being wearied with such constant cross-examination that it was in the power of Colonel Warren to apply. There was no reliance to be placed on the confessions of these wretched men; but even admitting the confessions were to be accepted, the Government had only got hold of the firing party who acted under the orders of the National authorities, just exactly as any firing party of English soldiers would act against American or Irish spies. He had stated at some length, but with the utmost possible brevity—leaving out large and important portions of testimony which he might endeavour to furnish in addition, if, in the course of the debate, Her Majesty's Government required it—he had stated, with the utmost possible brevity, a clear, convincing, and indisputable case, which proved that they were not in face of an onset of Bedouin robbers on an innocent travelling party for the sake of loot, but in the presence of a deliberate combination of Native tribes for the purpose of intercepting an English spying Mission, engaged to cut down telegraph wires in time of war, and to seduce from their national allegiance 50,000 or 60,000 Bedouins, if necessary, at an expense, in the words of Professor Palmer himself, of from £20,000 to £30,000. That was the case he laid before the Committee and the country.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £345,000, be granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the sums already granted by Parliament, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for additional Expenditure arising out of Military Operations in Egypt."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would not have risen had not the Government, as represented by the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), seemed disposed to allow the very able and powerful speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) to pass by without any answer. He was rather astonished that the Secretary to the Admiralty had not thought it worth his while to rise in his seat and attempt to destroy the arguments just advanced by the hon. Gentleman. The questions which the Government were called upon to answer were divisible under three heads. In the first place, was his hon. Friend justified in describing Professor Palmer and his colleagues as spies. In the second place, were the Government justified in having these five men executed as murderers. And, thirdly, the manner in which the confessions were extracted from the prisoners, and the mode in which their guilt was proved. He was very glad his hon. Friend prefaced his remarks by encomiums upon Professor Palmer and his colleagues in the Expedition for their gallantry. They had, as it proved, given up their lives to the service of their country and their race; but the question which the Committee were asked to consider was, what was the position of the men in the country? His hon. Friend maintained that their position was that of spies, and that their object was to raise up against what was the then *de facto* Government of Egypt a considerable portion of Egyptian subjects. On that point, he observed, once or twice there came something like interjected contradictions from the Secretary to the Admiralty; but he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would challenge anyone who had read the Blue Book to deny that Professor Palmer over and over again asserted that it was within his power, if properly supported by the Government, to get as large a number as 50,000 Bedouins to withdraw their allegiance from Arabi and ally themselves to the Khedive. On that point the proof was great. He would challenge the Secretary to the Admiralty, if he were present, to deny that the military authorities so far accepted Professor Palmer's estimate as to agree to give £20,000 for the purpose of getting the Bedouins over to the Khedive's side. If £20,000 was to be employed for that purpose, it was clearly to be employed against Arabi, and, therefore, Arabi was justified in attacking the Expedition. During the American War of Independence, Major André was taken as a spy, and executed by order of General Washington. Major André, it was admitted by friend and foe, was a man of great personal bravery and of high personal character, and yet, according to the laws of war and by the circumstances of case, General Washington was justified in the course he took. If during the American War an Englishman had gone down to the Southern States, and had endeavoured to induce the negroes to fight against those States, he would have been, if caught, executed. The Committee were entitled to more satisfactory explanation than they had yet received from the Government as to the real character and purpose of the Palmer Expedition. The second point on which he wished to address a few words to the Committee was, were the Government justified in having the five men executed as murderers? That would depend upon whether the men were acting upon their own initiative or under the orders of superior powers. It was a very significant fact that the Governor of Nakhl was in the neighbourhood on the day of the murders; and all who had read the Blue Book would know that, as a matter of fact, this person had no business whatever to be so near the place at the time, and that when he was called upon for an explanation, all he could give was that he had applied for leave of absence and had started for Suez. The explanation was far from satisfactory, and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) thought it was clear from the evidence, that these men, low in position and without any social prospects, or any real or other power at their disposal, were acting under the authority of others. If they were, he wanted to know why it was that these unfortunate dupes and tools should be executed, while the superior authorities were allowed to go almost scot-free—because the sentence of 12 months' imprisonment on the Governor of Nakhl was a farce in the face of the sentence of death passed on the others? With regard to the third point, he would ask the Committee whether they could read without something of shame, the statement made by Colonel Warren himself as to the manner in which the evidence upon which these men were convicted and afterwards executed, was obtained? The most important fact which was brought out with regard to the alleged confessions of the prisoners was that one set of witnesses gave such and such persons as the guilty parties, whereas an altogether different list of guilty parties was given by other witnesses who were examined. It was plain, from the Blue Book, that Colonel Warren acted on what was not supposed to be an English doctrine—namely, that the end justified the means. It was clearly proved by the admissions of Colonel Warren himself, that he did not scruple to adopt any means, either of duplicity, or force, or virtue, to extort confessions from the prisoners. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) might express his gratification that the Secretary to the Admiralty had now returned to his place. He would not repeat the observations he had made; but he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not lose the opportunity of answering the very detailed and very conclusive charges which the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had brought against the action of the Government. He was dealing with the third point—namely, the manner in which the evidence was obtained from the incriminated parties; and he would ask the Secretary to the Admiralty to explain the reason of the omission from Colonel Warren's despatch of a large quotation from it, which omission had appeared in *The Times.* In connection with the statement that Colonel Warren told a Sheikh that the Sultan had landed 6,000 troops, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) invited the attention of the Secretary to the Admiralty to page 40 of the Blue Book, and to the following paragraph in Colonel Warren's despatch:—

> "For I pointed out to Musa Nassir, who arrived yesterday, that matters were being arranged so cleverly against him and his tribe that it simply lay between their divulging everything they had heard or knew and being arraigned as the guilty parties."

Or, in other words, these men were put to the alternative either of confession or being placed along with the other prisoners who were executed for taking part in the murders. He ventured to say that was a most un-English mode of conducting a trial of the kind; and the public and the Committee had a right to be anxious on the three points he had enumerated—namely, Was the Expedition one for the purpose of spying—he did not use the word in an offensive, but in a military sense? Were these men who were executed principals, or merely tools? Were they murderers acting for plunder, or soldiers acting under what they considered lawful authority? And, thirdly, was the evidence against the men obtained in accordance with the laws of justice and honour?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN apologized to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) for being out of the House when he began his observations. He should, however, be very willing to reply to all he had said. He thought that, perhaps, the best thing he could do was to state very plainly and candidly what the object of the Expedition was, and how it came to pass that Professor Palmer was sent into the Desert of Sinai. At the end of June, before the attack on the Alexandrian forts, and when there was only a strong possibility, not even a probability, of warlike operations, it became obvious that steps must be taken to secure the tranquillity of the Suez Canal; and the fact that the duty of taking those steps was imposed on the Admiralty was the reason that he was here to-night to explain to the Committee what had happened in regard to the matter. Practical measures were necessary with regard to the Canal, because, as hon. Members might recollect, there were constant rumours of the Canal being blocked by the Arabs; and there was even a most circumstantial rumour one day of a ship in the Canal being looted. It therefore became necessary that, apart from the military operations, something should be done to secure the friendliness of the Arabs, and to obtain from them any help they could render in furnishing transport for the Indian Contingent. These were really the objects the Government had in view —to utilize the Arabs for the protection of the Canal, and secure their goodwill. For this purpose the First Lord of the Admiralty consulted two persons —Colonel Bradford, a well-known Indian officer of great experience and knowledge of the Arab people, and Captain Gill, who was then attached to the Intelligence Department of the War Office, and who was also an experienced traveller, thoroughly conversant with the habits and disposition of the people of those parts. They at once suggested to him that the best man to consult in regard to the whole matter was Professor Palmer. He had spent a good deal of time in Sinai, in connection with the survey of that country; he was an extraordinary adept in languages, and he had been able to go about and live among these people as one of themselves; and so far from it being the case, as was assumed by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), that he disguised dimself on this occasion and took a false name, in order to cover his identity, he went there with the same name as he had always used, and the same dress as he had always worn among the Bedouins. Every traveller that he ever heard of, who had had these acquirements and these facilities for going about among such people, had dressed as a Native, and had adapted himself more or less to their habits and appearance. Professor Palmer was asked who would be a likely man to go out and assist Sir Beauchamp Seymour in his communications with the Arabs on the Canal, and act also as interpreter between our officers and the Natives, and he volunteered to go himself. He was not asked to go; he distinctly volunteered to go upon this service. His own proposal was that which was adopted; and that was that he should go to Gaza, and cross the Desert to Suez. He believed that he would be able upon that journey to acquire certain knowledge as to the feelings of the Bedouins; and, at the same time, he would be less conspicuous and less likely to attract attention than if he went by the Canal. Undoubtedly, his journey was in that sense secret; for it was desirable that it should not be bruited about that he was going for this purpose, because probably, if his intention had been known of, steps would have been taken to prevent his achieving the object he had in view. He went by Gaza; and on arriving at Suez, where he was told to report himself, he was appointed chief interpreter. He received no money on that journey to secure the allegiance of the Arabs. No sum whatever was given to him, and he was not encouraged to expect any money for that purpose. The object in view was to have him available at our disposal at Suez, if necessity should arise; and he had no authority to bribe the tribes. It had been stated in *The Times* that when he arrived at Suez he sent a report to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and that report might be the "Letter" alluded to at the bottom of page 2; but the Admiralty had not seen any such report. He appeared to have taken a sanguine view of what he could do, and he described himself as able to secure the allegiance of 50,000 Bedouins for about £20,000 or £30,000. That proposal originated with himself alone. He had not been encouraged to conceive any such purpose at all, and he must say that the telegram which the Admiralty sent on the receipt of that opinion was calculated to discourage him; and if it did not fully express that meaning, he could assure the Committee that it was intended to do so. It was not desirable on the other hand, as it were, to snub him, or to imply any rebuke on account of over-zeal—nor did he now wish to attribute to him over-zeal—but he was instructed to keep the Bedouins available for control or transport on the Canal, and that for that purpose a reasonable amount might be spent. Now, he had no money given to him either at home or by the authorities on the Canal for any such purpose as the purchase of the allegiance of the Arabs. [Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Or for service?] No. The only money given him beyond his expenses was £3,000, which was handed to him at Suez by Sir William Hewitt to go into the Desert and secure camels for the use of the Indian Contingent. Sir William Hewitt said at first that the number of camels required was 1,500, but further information, after Professor Palmer had left, showed that 750 would be sufficient. That £3,000 represented only the cost of a fortnight's hire of 1,500 camels. Whether they would be ultimately required was doubtful; but they were required to be collected near Suez, and the £3,000 was intended as a guarantee to their owners that, if the camels were not eventually needed, the loss of time would be paid for. That was the whole history of the transaction. There was no bribery, and no purchase of allegiance or goodwill. It was certainly part of his mission to conciliate the Bedouins, and to use his well-known influence to get them into a favourable state of mind towards us; but that was a very different thing from what was often suggested—that he was furnished with large sums of money for the purpose of bribing the Bedouins. [Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Was he never promised £20,000?] He could not understand that £20,000 being named, or how it got into the article in *The Times*. He did not know who the writer of that article was; but he must have had access to some confidential Papers which were only in the hands of four persons beside the Heads of the Admiralty. One of those four persons was allowed to see the actual Papers, and the others were furnished with copies in the strictest confidence. [Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: But they were genuine.] He was coming to the genuineness. There was nothing in them that the Admiralty were afraid should come out, as he would show immediately. In the original of the same, or the next despatch, mention was made of £20,000; but that sum had nothing to do with the Palmer Expedition. It was an intimation that, under the authority given by the Admiralty, Sir William Hewitt, who was without money, had received £10,000 from Sir Beauchamp Seymour, and £10,000 from Admiral Hoskins, for the general purposes of the Indian Contingent. Professor Palmer had nothing whatever to do with that money. No part of it was given to him. It was required for the general purposes of the command at Suez, and, therefore, all mention of it was omitted from these published Papers, which referred to the Palmer Expedition alone. Those were the facts of the case, for which he could vouch. The £20,000 being alluded to in one of these original despatches, which also alluded to the Palmer Expedition, did get into the confidential Papers, which included all the information the Admiralty had on the subject. He hoped he had made it plain to the Committee how it was that this sum of £20,000 got into the confidential Papers, and also, he was sorry to say, into the hands of people who were anxious to find some tangible proof that Professor Palmer was being supplied with money in order to bribe the tribes. He could assure the Committee, upon his own knowledge, that what happened had nothing to do with Professor Palmer's Expedition, and that he was merely furnished with the £3,000 which he had with him when murdered.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: How was that money to be expended for the Indian Contingent?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN replied, that it was for the ordinary expenses of the command at Suez. Sir William Hewitt had no funds whatever. He had to pay his men, and pay for provisions and coals for his own ships, and to meet the requirements of a considerable force at Suez and of the Contingent coming from India. The other

Admirals being better supplied with money than he was, he asked them for some; and the telegram which referred to that matter also alluded to the Palmer Expedition, which took place at the same time. He hoped this was a sufficient explanation of what, no doubt, appearing as it did, might have conveyed an entirely wrong impression to many minds. That was the whole story so far as the Admiralty were concerned. He would add, with regard to the accusation that Professor Palmer was going as a spy in disguise, of which the Committee had heard so much that night, to these simple Bedouins, that he went in the ordinary dress and under the ordinary name which, as a well-known English Christian, he had always assumed, and in which he was well known to the Sheikhs. As to this emissary of ours going to act as a spy, what was the first thing he asked for before leaving Suez? He wrote to the Admiral—

> "I think it desirable that an officer of the Navy should accompany me to the Desert as a guarantee that I am acting on the part of Her Majesty's Government."

Lieutenant Charrington went with, at all events, a great part of his uniform, and particularly with his naval sword, as a proof of the nature of the Expedition, and to give the Arabs, from whom they were to buy the camels, confidence that it was a *bonâ fide* transaction, and that they would not be outwitted in the matter. This was not consistent with the suggestion upon which the whole speech of the hon. Member for Dungarvan was based—namely, that Professor Palmer was sent as a spy to deceive the Bedouins.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Was the uniform used by the officer, or was it packed away in a bag?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Admiralty had reason to believe that it was used on some occasions, and, at all events, when his remains were found, a pair of duck trousers was found with them. The hon. Member had a good deal to say on the cutting of the telegraph wires, and made much allusion to a gentleman, who, he believed, was an Englishman, but who was called by the hon. Member, "Monsieur Picard." The object of cutting the telegraph wires which connected Egypt with Constantinople was to prevent information of the preparations we were making from reaching the Egyptian belligerents. The Government had every reason to believe that the wires were being largely used for that purpose; and perhaps some hon. Members would remember that once or twice he and some of his hon. Colleagues refused to answer specific Questions as to their preparations in this House—Questions as to which information could be easily got by anybody who had access to the ordinary sources of knowledge, but replies to which, if given in a prominent way in that House, would immediately be telegraphed to Egypt. That was an instance of the way in which this telegraph was used; and, so far from it being an unusual method of modern warfare to cut telegraph wires, it was an acknowledged form of warfare. [Lord Randolph Churchill: In an Ally's country?] They were not going out of Egypt in order to cut the telegraph. The hon. Member for Dungarvan had alluded to an expedition under Picard into the Lebanon, where the telegraph was cut, and where, as he understood the hon. Member, two persons were seized and executed. That was the first he had heard of it; and, if that was done at all, it was not done in connection with this Expedition.

Mr. O'DONNELL: They were hanged in opposition to the Expedition.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he had no knowledge of any telegraph engineer or anyone else going into the Lebanon to cut the telegraph wires; but it was intended to cut the wires between Kantarah and El Arishe, and it was for that purpose that Captain Gill was sent with this Expedition. Now, with regard to the Papers generally, the hon. Member had pointed out that there were a great many gaps, and that these gaps were distinguished by asterisks. Well, at all events, the asterisks were honest asterisks, and showed where something was left out. If the Admiralty had made no asterisks at all, no one would have known there was anything left out. They were, at all events, a sign of a certain degree of honesty. He had carefully gone through the Papers and marked the passages that were left out, and seen what they contained, and, as far as he could find, only two passages—one of them of no great significance—were omitted for any other reason than that they were totally unconnected with the main subject of these Papers, or that brought in names of men who would be compromised, in this sense—that they might be exposed to danger if it was known that they had been friendly to us. The hon. Member seemed to think it would have been better to have kept all their names in, in order that these men who had been induced to do us a kindness should suffer; but he thought it was better, if there was any danger that they would suffer in their trade or in any other way in consequence of what they had done for us, that their names should not appear. One instance of omission was the letter which was quoted in full in *The Times*, and which was addressed by Colonel Warren to a certain man named Musa Nassir. Colonel Warren, no doubt, spoke of 6,000 Turkish troops being sent by the Sultan to help the English. When the hon. Member referred to that matter, he had asked the hon. Member to quote the date of the letter and the place from which it was written. It was written from Tor, in the Desert, on September 12. Colonel Warren could not be expected, when in the Desert, to be in possession of the most recent intelligence as to whether the Turkish troops had been sent or not; but when he left Suez it was the expectation of everyone there that Turkish troops would be sent to Port Said, and he apparently concluded that by that time they had been sent, and so he wrote that letter. Of course, that statement was not true, inasmuch as it was not confirmed by the facts; but there was no reason to attribute to Colonel Warren any intention to utter a deliberate falsehood, seeing that he might very well have believed that these troops had been sent. He put it rather too strongly, perhaps; but, at all events, he merely did so to satisfy a friendly Arab that he would be treated in a friendly manner, and had nothing to fear from us. The letter, which was said to have been written in order to induce some poor creature to come in and be convicted of complicity in crime, was written for no such purpose. It was written to Musa Nassir, who was not one of the criminals at all, but was a friendly Arab, with a view to inducing him to bring in Professor Palmer, the belief being that he was alive and in the custody of some Arabs, or under the protection of friendly Arabs. The letter was written for that purpose only, and not to bring in culprits on false pretences. That was the only Paper of any importance that was omitted from the Papers published. He was not going to follow the hon. Member for Dungarvan in the very imaginative account he had given of the whole transaction; but the Papers, he thought, showed with how much zeal, tact, courage, and patience Colonel Warren had conducted the whole of the negotiations and search, first of all, for the unfortunate victims, and afterwards for those who committed the crime; and the conclusion at which Colonel Warren arrived was very clearly stated. He said, at page 92—

> "There can be no doubt that the attack upon the party was owing to the extreme avarice and culpable negligence of Meter Sofieh, and that their death was due to his persistent refusal to ransom the party and to give up the money placed in his hands by Professor Palmer. He appears to have betrayed the trust imposed in him, whether viewed from a European or Bedouin standpoint, and is certainly the principal cause of the sad disaster."

The hon. Member for Dungarvan said this was not a simple case of murder. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) did not believe that they could be quite certain as to what was the inducement to these men to murder the unfortunate gentlemen who fell into their hands; but it might be partly a purpose of murder and partly political excitement. There might have been political feeling in the occurrence; but the fact remained that these men, whom Colonel Warren, with great patience and astuteness during weeks and months, had been able to trace as the principal actors in the deed, richly deserved the punishment they received. The hon. Member said these poor men were, after all, only the instruments of people at Cairo and elsewhere who hired them to commit this atrocity. That might be the case; but it was unfortunately sometimes true, not only in this occurrence in the Desert, but in other cases and other countries. It often happened that the instruments of crime of this kind could alone be detected and punished, while those who incited them to the crime could not be approached. That often happened, and it was greatly to be regretted, but that ought not for a moment to prevent the infliction of punishment upon those who actually committed crimes. The case of these men had been thoroughly investigated, first by Colonel

Warren, and then by an Egyptian tribunal. All the men had confessed their crime, and the passages read only showed what might be expected from the habits of these people—that it required a great deal of skill and patience to get at the real truth; but he felt perfectly certain, and he was sure that hon. Members would agree, that Colonel Warren had successfully brought home to these men the guilt with which they were charged; and that he had done his best, not to make reparation, but to inflict punishment upon them for the murder of these unfortunate gentlemen. In answer to the speeches that had been made, he had given the plainest explanation he could as to the objects of the Expedition, and the part which the First Lord of the Admiralty had taken in it, and he felt sure the Committee would approve of what he had done.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that, in reading from the letter which was now recognized as genuine, and which had appeared in *The Times*, the hon. Gentleman had forgotten to quote some important sentences from the letter given in *The Times*, in which Colonel Warren said—

> "The Sultan has declared Arabi a rebel. He has sent 6,000 troops with English officers to support the Sultan's Khedive, to act with the English, and reduce Arabi to submission. Your old friend Khawadji Wilson is with the troops, who have now landed at Port Said."

After that, he said—

> "The Governor of El Arishe and Nakhl will soon be prisoners. Do not think of obliging men who are rebels to your Sultan."

Clearly those sentences showed that Colonel Warren was aware that the Governors of Nakhl and El Arishe were at the head of the local resistance to the English invasion, and yet the Committee was now to be told again this story—that the attack upon the English Mission was a mere matter of attack by isolated Bedouins working for mere lucre. There was a little political excitement about it; that was all that the hon. Gentleman would admit. He found also that in that letter from Tor, on November 10, Colonel Warren stated that during the recent investigation concerning the disappearance of Professor Palmer and his party, he had ascertained that there was a general impression, both at that place and at Suez, that the Governor of El Arishe was employing stringent measures to induce the Bedouins of the Desert to make common cause against the Christians and the Europeans. There was another matter which might have occurred to the hon. Gentleman—that Professor Palmer and his party shed blood and took life before their blood was shed and their lives were taken. When the Arabs first attempted to intercept and capture the party there were shots fired on both sides—

> "Meter Sofieh asserts that there were shots fired, and that he and Professor Palmer fired, and that the remainder were unharmed. Shots certainly appear to have been exchanged, for the camel of Salami ibu Azed was shot in the head, and Ayed, a Hawetat, is supposed to have been wounded; and Muret died six days afterwards."

It was a matter of importance which should be borne in mind, that these men were engaged in bribing a *levée en masse*, not to oppose the English, and were prepared not only to spend money, but to shed blood in the undertaking. The hon. Gentleman had spoken of honest asterisks. They were comparatively honest, for it would have been much more dishonest to have given fictitious names, and after listening to the enlightening voice of the hon. Member, on the whole, he thought the Committee had every reason to hold in high esteem the hon. Gentleman's preference for honest asterisks—at least, to fictitious interpolations. With a delicacy only equalled by its propriety, the Representative of the Admiralty had suggested that he (Mr. O'Donnell) was anxious in some way to have these names put in so that their publication might endanger the lives of the men holding those names. He was not aware that the Blue Books circulated largely in the Arabian Desert, and seeing that the hon. Gentleman had control over the nominal Government of Egypt, he could, no doubt, prevent *Hansard*, in a vernacular edition, circulating among the Arabs. These men had been tried, and found guilty, and hanged. Was that with the connivance of Her Majesty's Government? Were they hanged on a charge of murder for money, which this Committee knew was unfounded? Were the lives of these men taken with the connivance of Her Majesty's Government? He called this as atrocious an assassination as would be the hanging of five English soldiers who shot down Arab spies. The hon. Gentleman made light of the offences committed by Professor Palmer's party. From an English point of view, he would say let every honour be paid to Professor Palmer and his companions, f r they sacrificed their lives for their country; but they not only underwent a soldier's risk, but they knew that they were putting their necks into the halter by the task they undertook. If a similar task had been undertaken by any Frenchman during the German invasion of France, any German sergeant who had caught a Frenchman cutting down telegraph wires would have blown his brains out without a court martial or a word of delay or explanation. Yet these men, the creatures of their Chiefs, acting in a cause they believed to be not only patriotic but sacred, had been put to death after a mock trial, in order to spare somebody from making further investigations! The conclusion he drew was not only drawn by him, but by the general public opinion of the country. It was drawn by all who had any acquaintance with the facts of the case and the facts in the Blue Books. The evening newspapers of Saturday had agreed that, whether or not the actual perpetrators of the murder of Professor Palmer had been executed, unquestionably the original instigators had not been brought to justice; and *The Times* of Saturday had also said that—

> "After reading the Papers on the subject, the painful impression prevails that, if the perpetrators of the crime had been brought to justice, the instigators of the crime were still at large"

But there was no crime in the matter. It was a legitimate offence, and these men were as much entitled by Holy Law to defend their country as were the Natives of any other country. One thing had resulted from this debate. There was an end to the camel-purchasing story. It was published to the ends of the world, and it could not be denied that these gentlemen received money to purchase the allegiance of the Arabs.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the hon. Gentleman having made a violent attack on the Government had, no doubt, through inadvertence, absented himself during his reply to that attack. He had given an elaborate and detailed account of the whole object of the Expedition, and distinctly denied that Professor Palmer or any of his party had any power whatever, or was furnished with any funds for the purpose of buying the allegiance of anyone.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, the hon. Gentleman would remember that after he had spoken the hon. Gentleman did not rise, but that a Member of the Irish Party rose. He was, therefore, not responsible for not supposing that the hon. Gentleman would choose the hour when he (Mr. O'Donnell) was at dinner in order to make his explanation. He had no doubt the hon. Gentleman made an elaborate explanation, but he had got a clear explanation which was perfectly convincing. The telegram from Sir Beauchamp Seymour to the Admiralty on August 6th said—

> "Palmer in letter of August 1st at Suez writes that if precisely instructed as to service required of Bedouins, and furnished with funds, he believes he could buy the allegiance of 50,000 at a cost of from £20,000 to £30,000."

What elaborate explanation would the hon. Gentleman put on that? Then there was the reply of the Admiralty to Sir William Hewett—

> "Admiral reports Palmer's proposal of 1st August. Instruct Palmer to keep Bedouins available for patrol or transport on Canal. A reasonable amount may be spent, but larger engagements are not to be entered into until General arrives, and has been consulted."

That was to say, the Admiralty consented to expend money on the Bedouins, who otherwise might have opposed the British operations on the Canal, in order to make them available for patrol and transport in the service of the invader of their country. Was not that bribing and seducing the Bedouins from their natural allegiance? There could be no clearer explanation than the six lines of this simple telegram. There were only £3,000 spent! Did the hon. Gentleman remember that in consequence of the unfortunate and summary stoppage of Professor Palmer's Mission, he had not time to spend even those £3,000? They were part of the money stolen from the Expedition; and but for the precautions taken by the Arab tribes in charge of that portion of the country, if the English Mission had succeeded in penetrating that country, was there any doubt that there would have been plenty of money forthcoming in addition to the £3,000 in order to buy Bedouins by the thousand for patrol and transport or any other purpose? One great and valuable result of this discussion was that some light had been thrown on the means by which the great and glorious Liberal victory in Egypt was attained. There was as much gold as lead and steel in that campaign.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON observed that the hon. Gentleman had stated that Professor Palmer's duty was not to bribe the Bedouins with money, but to conciliate them. He wished to ask how Bedouins could be conciliated without being bribed?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied that Professor Palmer's influence among the Bedouins was very great. He was in great favour with them, and had remarkable powers of ingratiating himself with people of that kind. From his habits he was very acceptable to them, and had great power of getting them on his side. The hon. Member for Dungarvan had repeated what he had already denied, but he thought he could appeal with confidence from that hon. Member to the hon. Member behind him (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), who had made some reasonable remarks on the subject, and had listened to his explanation, whether he had given a complete answer or not?

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £17,500, Civil Charges of Expedition to Egypt.

TRANSVAAL, 1882-3.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £14,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Expenses connected with the Transvaal."

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH wished to ask whether the sums of money payable by the Natal and Cape Governments, which had been taken credit for in the Budget for the current year, had been paid into the Exchequer?

MR. COURTNEY: Yes.

MR. GORST said, he saw in this Vote, amongst other things, a Vote for the Royal Commission of 1881, the object of which was to secure the due performance of the duties that this country had undertaken towards the Kaffir Tribes that inhabited the country which was once our Dominion. He remembered at the time when the surrender of the Transvaal took place many Members of the Government—certainly the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who was at that time a Member of the Administration—used some very brave and fine language about the duty the Government had contracted in regard to the Native Tribes, and the importance of seeing that those duties were efficiently and fully performed. He confessed that quite recently the country had had some reason to doubt whether Her Majesty's Government was quite as much alive to the duty which it had assumed towards the unhappy Kaffir Tribes as the Goverment of two years ago, because, when the humanity of the people of this country had been exercised of late by telegrams which had appeared in the public journals relating to atrocities of the Boers towards the Native Races of the Transvaal, opinions had been publicly stated by high officials connected with the Colonial Office which were, at least, calculated to somewhat alarm the humanity of the public. He thought it would be very desirable if, before this Vote was passed, they could obtain some assurance either from the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies—whom he at present saw in his place—or—and it would be much more satisfactory if they could get it from the right hon. Gentleman—from the Prime Minister himself, that Her Majesty's Government would not cease to use their benevolent offices in order to mitigate, as far as they now could, the dreadful disaster which the surrender of the Transvaal had brought upon the Native Tribes? He should like very much to know whether it was really the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the use of dynamite in warfare with these people was a thing to be encouraged? Was it really the opinion of the Government that these people might be blown up with dynamite, and that, if war was to be made upon them, there was no more harm in employing dynamite against them than in employing gunpowder? In fact, that was an opinion which had been given some countenance to by statements which had been made from very high sources. To show the Committee that this was no imaginary grievance, and that there was really some danger of the people suffering cruelty, he should like to be allowed to read to the Committee a private letter, which gave an account by an eye witness of the destruction of a small party of Kaffirs in the Transvaal. This was what happened—

> "In a raid made by a commandery of Boers, after killing all the cattle they could, and taking over 200 head of cattle, the Boers passed a large cave. From this cave two shots were fired. The Boers were afraid to go into the cave on account of the darkness, so they got a lot of wood and made a huge fire at the mouth of it. There was an opening in the stones at the top of the cave, through which the smoke was seen to issue. Then they piled on green wood to increase the suffocation. A noise like the buzzing of bees and groans were heard from the cave. One girl who rushed from the fire, thinking to save her life, died a few minutes after. The fire lasted about half-an-hour, and then the Boers went into the place. They found only two men there, one writhing in such agony that one of the party fired at him to put him out of his misery; but there were above 21 souls dragged out, with the exception of the two men, all women and children, who doubtless had taken refuge there from fear. The two men who fired the shots betrayed their hiding place; but they must have thought they were secure enough, as the Boers could not penetrate the recesses within. You can imagine the state the poor wretches were in. My heart sickens—I cannot describe it. I trust they were not left by their tormentors to writhe and die."

That was an account, given in simple language by an eye witness, of what took place. He would mention the name of the lady, the writer of this letter, only he had received a letter from one of his constituents containing a most earnest request not, on any account, to mention it, or even sufficiently to describe the place from which the letter was written, for fear that the lady's identity would be discovered. The lady had told his correspondent that so little were the English thought of in the Transvaal now, and so much injustice had they to endure from the Boers, that were it known that any information of this kind had been transmitted through the means of an English woman to the people of this country, her position in the Transvaal would be highly dangerous. Therefore, he hoped the Committee would be satisfied with his assurance that what he had read was a genuine statement in a genuine letter, written by a lady of great respectability at present residing in the Transvaal. He hoped he had said enough to convince the Government and the Prime Minister that there were atrocious cruelties [illegible] being committed at this moment upon the Kaffirs, who, a few years ago, were subjects of Her Majesty, and for whose welfare and whose treatment under the Government to which they had been transferred it could not be denied that Her Majesty's Government were in some degree responsible. He did not wish at the present time to anticipate the discussion which would, no doubt, be raised in the House in the course of a few weeks by the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) on the general subject of the Transvaal; but the case was so urgent, and the minds of the people of this country had been so disturbed by statements which had been made by high officials in the Government, to the effect that there was no harm in the use of dynamite against the Native Tribes, that he was inclined to ask that, before this sum was granted, Her Majesty's Government should give some assurance that they still admitted some responsibility for the treatment of these people by the Boers.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER said, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies would recollect that on the first day of the Session he had put before him certain statements which he was not prepared to dispute, and which he seemed to fear were true, showing conduct on the part of the Boers of the most horrible and heartless character. These statements described the manner in which the Boers oppressed the Natives, attacking and murdering them. But, more than this, he had brought before the hon. Member the case of two Englishmen who had been pursued by the Boers, all that was found of them afterwards being their skeletons, with irons on their feet. He (Mr. Fowler) was glad his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) had referred to this matter. It was obvious that the hon. and learned Member could not give the name of the writer of the letter he had read. If it were known in the Transvaal who was the writer, the lady would find it perfectly impossible to live there, and would be very likely murdered by the Boers. The hon. and learned Member was bound to conceal names. He (Mr. Fowler), since he had addressed the House on the first night of the Session, had himself received some information from South Africa, and, like his hon. and learned Friend, he was not in a position to give the name of his correspondent. The writer was a member of the Independent Community, and, as such, he supposed, was a supporter of Her Majesty's Government. He said in his communication that it would have been better if the unfortunate Bechuanas had never trusted to the intervention of their philanthropic friends, Her Majesty's present Advisers, and that—

> "His complaint against the Government always had been, not that they had left the Transvaal, for they had no option but to do so, but that they had withdrawn under a cloud of promises to the Native Tribes which had never been kept, and which he was strongly inclined to believe never would be kept."

That was the opinion of his correspondent. He did not agree with him that it would have been impossible for the Government to stop in the Transvaal. His opinion was that if the Government had taken a strong course, and insisted upon putting down the insurrection before they made a Treaty with the traitors, it would have been better for their interests in South Africa, and also for their interests in other parts of the world. They saw what were the results of the course they had taken. They had scuttled out of the Transvaal, and now these unfortunate Natives who were loyal to them in their troubles, and had stood faithfully to them whilst they were in difficulties, were left to the mercy of the wretched Boers. They were oppressed and shot down, and no one was permitted to stop them who was not prepared to take an oath of fealty to the Transvaal Government. He earnestly appealed to the Committee whether the course things were now taking in the Transvaal was not one which called for the interposition of Her Majesty's Government?

MR. CROPPER said, he wished to put a question to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies on the same subject. The Native Tribes were not only deserted by their friends, but were unable to purchase gunpowder and arms for the purpose of defending themselves from their enemies. This seemed rather hard, for it deprived them of the only means they had of defending themselves against the most blood-thirsty of their enemies. He should like to know how they were to obtain the means of defence? Everyone knew that the Bechuanas had been exemplary for their advance in civilization. They had better houses than almost any of the Races in South Africa, they had adopted our dress and civilization and religion, and perhaps nothing had more tended to discourage the advance of civilization in South Africa than the attacks of the Boers upon this Tribe, by which the progress of civilization had been not only retarded, but driven back for many years. He wished to know whether the embargo on the sale of weapons and gunpowder had been taken off in the British Colonies at the Cape? A little time ago they had learnt that two cannon had been sent by the Cape Government to the Transvaal, and he certainly could not see why they should cause the purchase of gunpowder to be refused to their allies, whilst they allowed their enemies to be supplied with arms and ammunition.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked if the Vote for the Transvaal would appear again in the Estimates, or whether this Supplementary Estimate would close all the accounts?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, it was very difficult to deal in any satisfactory manner in this interlocutory style with so grave and complicated a question as the Transvaal, embracing, as it did, according to the speeches of hon. Members opposite, not only the policy of the taking of the Transvaal, but the conditions and interpretations of the Convention, and, their liability to protect or defend or aid the Natives. Seeing that there was a Notice of Motion on the subject in the name of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) standing for Tuesday, and that the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had given Notice of his intention to bring the whole question in a formal manner before the House, he confessed he thought it would be better, even in the interests of the Natives themselves, that the discussion of the matter should be delayed until they could deal with it in all its phases. Still, it was his duty to the best of his ability to answer two or three questions which had been put to him. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) had put a question to him as to the reply of a Minister in "another place" on the subject of the alleged use of dynamite by the Boers against the Natives. If he had known that the hon. and learned

Member was going to call attention to that subject, he should have armed himself, as he did the other day, with the exact words used by the Earl of Derby. But he thought his memory was correct when he said that a Question was put to the Earl of Derby in the House of Lords as to what Report he had received from the Colonial Office with reference to the war now going on between the authorities of the Transvaal and Mapach, one of their vassals living in a corner of Transvaal territory, as to whether the Colonial Office had received any information to the effect that dynamite had been used by the Boers against the Natives. The Earl of Derby replied that, as a fact, he had no official information of dynamite having been used; but he added that it was his own opinion that when they came to elements and implements used in destruction, whether they employed dynamite or gunpowder seemed to him a matter of indifference. The inference that the Boers were thereby held to be justified in using dynamite in any other way than as a legitimate explosive for purposes of war was an inference he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) entirely denied. He would point out to the hon. and learned Member that the Government, under the Convention, had no authority whatever to interfere with the conduct by the Transvaal Government of wars carried on within their Border. There seemed to be great confusion in the hon. and learned Member's mind as to the power or right of interference of the Government. However much they might deplore any imaginary or real acts of atrocity against the Boers, this, at any rate, was clear—that the war was one carried on by the recognized authorities of the Transvaal State against their rebellious subjects who had refused to pay a tax, and had refused to allow the Location Commission to proceed with the duties devolving upon it. As to the other question put to him — namely, about the embargo on the supply of gunpowder, Her Majesty's Government had represented to the Cape authorities that it was hard that the Bechuanas should be deprived of the power of purchasing ammunition, whilst their enemies had every facility of that kind they required. Though the Cape authorities had desired not to depart from strict neutrality, as soon as they ascertained that peace had been declared between the two Chiefs who had been at war with each other, they took off the embargo. As to the guns, he knew no more than had been already stated. They had only been supplied for this internal war. Then, with regard to the money they would have to ask for in the future, the only provision they would probably have to request would be the amount of the salary of the British Resident. He hoped hon. Members would not think him disrespectful if he declined to go into the larger question of their relations with the Transvaal Government, because the question was so large that it would be doing injustice to it to attempt to go fully into it at present.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought the Committee had great right to complain of the attitude taken up by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. As a matter of Parliamentary practice—and he was certain he should be supported by those who had had a considerable experience of the House—there was no opportunity of bringing the Government policy on any point before the House more favourable than Committee of Supply. When the Government came to Parliament and asked for money for a particular purpose, it was the right of hon. Members not only to raise questions on any point regarding that expenditure where they might think the Government to blame, but to demand from the Government an explanation. By raising the question on consideration of the Vote which the Government demanded, was the proper and Constitutional method for an English Member of Parliament to obtain explanations from the Government. The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies said he could not go into the question, because his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had a Motion down for Tuesday, and the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had another down for a period not yet fixed. But the hon. Member had taken care to inform the Committee that there was not the remotest chance of the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham coming on, and that there was no day fixed for the Motion of the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire. Therefore, with this Liberal Under Secretary of State for the Colonies—this humanitarian Under Secretary of State for the Colonies —[*Cries of* "Oh!"] Oh! then the hon. Member was not humanitarian. He would withdraw the epithet, and recognize from his speech that night that the hon. Member was not a humanitarian or a philanthropist. This Under Secretary of State for the Colonies was willing to postpone the interests of these wretched Natives to the chances of the Ballot Box in the House of Commons. The hon. Member declined to go into the matter because it was too large. Why was it too large? It was only half-past 10 o'clock. The Committee would have been glad, he was sure, to have had an explanation of the extraordinary events that were taking place in the Transvaal. He very much doubted, however well satisfied the supporters of Her Majesty's Government might have been with the hon. Member's statement, whether the country would feel satisfied with it. There was another example of the philanthropic and humanitarian tendencies of the Government on the part of its latest valuable acquisition. The very first contribution this valuable acquisition had made to the stock of public information was as to the Boers in the Transvaal. He had said that the use of dynamite in conducting operations against the Natives was quite as much to be expected, and no more to be blamed, than the use of gunpowder. The noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) did not attach so much importance to the use of dynamite as some people did. Perhaps he would not attach much importance to the use of Greek fire, explosive bullets, or any other torture to compel the Natives of the Transvaal to allegiance to the Boers. The noble Earl did not attach much importance to this matter, for he had said it might or might not be important to use dynamite in military operations against these wretched savages, but if military operations were carried on, he did not see that there was necessarily more blame attaching to the employment of dynamite than to the employment of gunpowder. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) commended that statement from the Secretary to the Colonies to the Nonconforming supporters of the Government, who were the cause of their obtaining their large majority at the last Election, and who were so horrified at the Zulu War. He must confess he did not think Her Majesty's Government were coming out in a good light in this matter. This Committee had been very useful that night, for it had brought to light the Port Said scandal; it had elicited the disclosures of the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), and now it had brought out that the Government saw no harm in the use of dynamite against savages. The Under Secretary of State said the Boers might make use of slow fire—any weapon or instrument—and the Government had no right to interfere so long as the war was carried on within their own Border. Had they no right to interfere on the ground of common humanity? Had they never interfered anywhere else on the ground of common humanity? On what grounds, pray, had the Prime Minister denounced the atrocities in Bulgaria? And yet the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies got up that night, in his place, and said that no matter what barbarities the Boers committed towards the Native Tribes, the Government were not responsible. [MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I never said any such thing.] The hon. Member would have an opportunity of explaining his language later on. Whilst the political opponents of the present Government were in power, common humanity came to the front, and any interference was not only justified, but absolutely demanded by the circumstances of the case. But then the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, after saying that they had no right to interfere in a war carried on within the Borders of the Transvaal State, fortified the statement by giving the Committee to understand that, in any case, whether they had a right to interfere or not, Mapoch was a rebellious subject. Against whom was he rebellious, pray? Against the Boer Government; but had he ever given in his allegiance to the Boer Government? Had he not warned them—he and his brother Chiefs—that he did not owe allegiance to the Boers, but claimed to be subjects of Queen Victoria? Mapoch, unfortunate as he was, behind the age as he was, savage, uncivilized as he was, could not change his loyalty quite as quickly as some political Parties in the House. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) wished to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and

Her Majesty's Government this—had they received any information at the Colonial Office of the fact that a certain Dutchman, of the name of Jorssen, had left the Transvaal, and was now in Europe, deputed by his Government to negotiate with the Powers the independence of the Transvaal from the Suzerainty of the Queen? He (Lord Randolph Churchill), at any rate, had very certain information about it. The matter was an important one, and he should be glad if Her Majesty's Government would vouchsafe him some reply with reference to it.

Mr. RYLANDS said, that before the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies replied, he should like to say a word or two in reference to certain statements made in the course of the discussion. It was true that in Committee of Supply it was perfectly legitimate on the Vote for the Transvaal to raise the whole question of the Transvaal annexation and grant of independence, and it must be remembered that the New Rules of Procedure materially circumscribed the opportunities of debate on going into Committee of Supply. It might be fairly expected, therefore, that in Committee of Supply hon. Members would enter into detail upon matters which came under the Votes. He would not deprecate the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Gorst) raising an important discussion on this Vote; but, as the hon. and learned Member had himself stated, the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had given Notice of a Motion on the subject, and there would be a general discussion on it, no doubt. His (Mr. Rylands') object in rising, however, was to say this—that they were, probably, on the eve of having their feelings constantly appealed to in regard to the sufferings of the Native inhabitants of the Transvaal. He had no doubt the object of the hon. and learned Member was to induce Her Majesty's Government to recognize that they were, in some sort, responsible for seeing that the Natives of the Transvaal were treated in a humane manner. They had over and over again interfered in Africa, no doubt under impulses of a very humane character. They had gone to war with Native Races with a view to promote what they had supposed to be the rights of these countries, and he did not hesitate to say that for one cruel injustice committed without the presence of the British Army there had been 100 instances of death, cruelty, and injustice with its presence. ["No, no!"] Take the Zulu War, for instance. The policy of the late Government had led to a larger destruction of life than had ever at any time taken place before in that country through the instrumentality of Europeans. Speaking in Committee of Supply, he would venture to remind hon. Gentlemen that their policy of intervention in attempting to settle matters between contending parties, and in preventing a rough people on the fringe of civilization from doing injustice to the Natives, had involved them in wars that had cost them millions of money. What had been the result? Had they secured independence for the Natives? Certainly not. They had carried their arms over a large part of South Africa, and if they were to retain possession of that country, or actively render assistance whenever it was asked for, they would have cast upon them a responsibility and an amount of difficulty which no Government would be likely to accept. They were told that they ought now to interfere in the affairs of South Africa. How interfere? They were all at one so far as mere moral influence might be used by Her Majesty's Government. If they had any reason to believe that there were any cruelties being practised in the Transvaal they should use their moral influence to put a stop to them. Hon. Members might smile; but what he said they would not be justified in doing was using the influence of force. If the Transvaal Government within its own Borders acted in a manner they did not approve of, and Her Majesty's Government were to go there with an Army and put down the Transvaal Government, they would be taking on themselves a responsibility with which they ought to have nothing to do. They had responsibilities enough, in all conscience, without taking upon themselves fresh ones in regard to the Transvaal. Therefore, while he thought it would be more convenient to discuss the attitude of the Boers towards the Native Tribes on a future occasion, he simply entered his protest that on account of certain humane feelings which he honoured they were to be called on again to undertake a new crusade on behalf of the Native Races—a crusade which would be likely to do more harm than was sufficient to counterbalance any good that might arise out of it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he was afraid the Transvaal Natives would find the use of dynamite a far more powerful agent against their interests than they would find moral influence powerful to protect their interests. He understood the Under Secretary of State to say that they had no right to interfere in the Transvaal, and he understood the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Rylands) to say that even if they had a right, it was not a right they ought to exercise. He (Mr. Balfour) rose for the purpose of eliciting from the Under Secretary of State whether he adhered categorically to the statement which he was understood to have made? He recollected that when the Government decided that it was immoral to retain their Sovereignty over the Transvaal, one of the arguments most used by hon. Gentlemen who impugned the conduct of the Government was the injury that would be done by their retreating from the Transvaal to the interests of the Native races. The Conservative Party had a right to suppose that the humanitarian considerations which the present Government had never been slow to urge, with an appearance of sincere belief, when they were in Opposition, would have induced them to reconsider their position. But how were the Opposition met? They were told, when this Convention was objected to, that the arrangements which the Government had come to, or would come to, before the final settlement with the Boer Government, would be adequate to protect the vast Native majority in those districts. Now, however, the Committee heard from an independent Member sitting on the Ministerial side of the House that this country ought never to interfere; and they were told by a Member of the Government that they had no Treaty right to interfere; and that even if they did interfere, they could exercise nothing more than a mere shadowy moral influence, unless the Government was prepared to break the Convention, which, they were assured at the time it was entered into, was fully adequate to protect the interests of the Native majority. He wished to impress upon the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies the duty of the Government to let the Committee know clearly the position in which the Government stood in regard to this question; for if it was true that the Boers might do anything they chose, as far as the Natives were concerned, and the Government had no right to interfere with them, it was clear, to his mind, that the Committee had not been adequately informed as to the position which the Government intended to take up in regard to the protection of the Native majority.

MR. GLADSTONE said, there could be no doubt as to the right of the hon. Member who had just sat down, or of any other hon. Member, to raise the subject of the policy of the Government with regard to the Transvaal on a Vote in Supply. But the demand just made by the hon. Member for Hertford for information, and the objection to his demand was that all the facts and information on the subject at present in possession of the Government were already in the hands of hon. Members. The matter was one of great complication; and although full information was not yet in the hands of hon. Members, further Papers were on the point of being laid before Parliament in regard to this important subject. The hon. Member for Hertford ridiculed the doctrine of his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, that it was better to trust to moral influence than to compulsory powers of interference. He must, in passing, advert to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who was pleased to refer, with very great inaccuracy—an inaccuracy which he would do well to devote his talents to correcting—to what he called the doctrine of interference set up by the Government on other occasions. The argument set up by his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies was to this effect—that under the Convention which bound them with the Boers they had no right to interfere with this case. "Then," said the noble Lord, "how monstrously inconsistent you are to urge interference in the case of certain Provinces in the Turkish Empire." The answer to this was that in the cases referred to by the noble Lord the moral obligation to interfere arose out of certain Conventions to which Her Majesty's Government was a party. In the present case the argument of his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of

State was that the terms of the Convention with the Boers not only did not authorize, but tended to exclude any interference beyond the exercise of moral influence.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I only said that the Government must have a right to interfere in the Transvaal, on the ground of common humanity, against the use of dynamite and other explosive substances, or against any other barbarities of the kind.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord said that the Government must have a right to interfere, in certain circumstances, on the ground of common humanity. On that point he would not express an opinion until he was in possession of the facts. But there was another and a fundamental difference between the case before the Committee and that to which the noble Lord had referred. The noble Lord knew, or ought to know, that none of the interference which he so much blamed in the case of the Turkish Provinces was recommended at all until the facts had been fully certified upon official authority; and now, because facts and allegations of the gravest and most painful character were stated upon authority which was not official, but was anonymous, and must therefore be subjected to sifting, the noble Lord declared that the cases were perfectly parallel, and brought forward charges of inconsistency against the Government. He sincerely hoped the noble Lord would give more attention to some effort, or, at least, some elementary effort, towards an approach to accuracy in the matter of comparisons and contrasts when he chose to draw them. There were one or two points on which he wished to say a few words, not so much for the purpose of settlement as of elucidation. The allegations which had been brought forward by the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) were of the gravest and most painful character, and it was to be hoped that he would, in some way or other, give to the Government a means of examining as to their accuracy. He had stated what might be perfectly true, and he could not be blamed for so stating, that he could not give openly in the House the names of the persons on whose authority those charges rested; but it was to be hoped that the hon. and learned Gentleman would give the Government some assistance in investigating the cases.

Mr. GORST said, he would show the letter to any Member of the Government —to the Prime Minister himself.

Mr. GLADSTONE suggested that the letter should be shown to his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State as the Representative of the Colonial Department. The Government would use the best efforts in their power to ascertain the exact state of facts, in which case it was, perhaps, more than possible that they would be able to trace out all the circumstances. There might, perhaps, be some truth in the charges; but it was also possible that there might be considerable inaccuracy. He had not yet read a report of the words used by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby), to which the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) so much objected—the words in which his noble Friend referred to the use of dynamite. The noble Lord quoted certain words, and he must say that, in his view, the words did not justify the comments which were passed upon them. His noble Friend said that, in his opinion, the use of dynamite was not necessarily culpable, and upon this the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock based the statement that, in the opinion of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), there was a justification for the use of dynamite in all cases instead of gunpowder. But what the noble Earl said was that the use of dynamite was not necessarily culpable; and he would ask the noble Lord whether he had never heard of dynamite being used by British Commanders and British troops?

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Never against human beings. I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Was the noble Lord prepared to assert that dynamite was never used in South Africa before by British Commanders and troops?

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL repeated that he had no knowledge on the subject. He did not know what was done by the Generals of the right hon. Gentleman in Egypt.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord said he had no knowledge; but he had better have some knowledge of the rules practised by British Commanders before he indulged in these vehement and declamatory denunciations. It appeared to him that the meaning of the words used by the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) was that it was not possible to lay down an abstract proposition that dynamite should never in any circumstances be used in military operations, but that a judgment should be formed according to the peculiar circumstances of each individual case. He must admit that the doctrine of his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) was one which evidently had very much to be urged in its behalf. It had been his fate, in a very early period of his Parliamentary life, to give much attention to these Native Wars in South Africa; and although he did not doubt that there might be cases in which good might be done by British interference, he must confess that it had always appeared to him, over a period now as far back as 45 years, to be a matter of the greatest uncertainty whether, upon the whole, the balance of evil and the balance of mischief, cruelty, and suffering to the Natives themselves did not arise out of our attempts at forcible interference. And although they were sensible that many honourable and generous impulses might, perhaps, dictate a different course, and though the question did not admit of being treated dogmatically, it was important, before this country undertook to use the influence such as was contemplated under the Convention which had been long on the Table of the House, that there should be a very careful examination of what had taken place in former times, and into the very serious allegations that were loudly made, in the interests of humanity as well as of justice, against a system of forcible interference such as appeared to him to be recommended. He only made these observations as interlocutory. He should be sorry if difficulties, owing to the state of Business, should arise to prevent the House from giving an adequate discussion to this important subject. He most fully recognized the duty of the Government to obtain without delay the fullest information upon all matters affecting the interests of the Natives within the Borders of the Transvaal; and he should feel that they were under obligations to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham, or anyone else who would give to the Government the means of obtaining information in an accurate form, and of at least trying to test the influence they possessed for the purpose of recommending that system of humanity and moderation in the relations between the Boers and the Natives, which certainly, in the long run, would not be a bit more in the interest of the Natives than of the Boers themselves.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he should not have interfered in this debate but for the speech in which the Prime Minister had, at last, admitted the real nature of the Convention upon which the Boers had insisted, and had admitted, further, that there was a great difference between that Convention and the one which had reference to their dealings with the Turkish Provinces. The great objection which the Conservative Party, from the first, took to the Convention with the Boers was that it would not enable this country to protect the Native Races. Anyone who had looked upon the troubles in South Africa must know that the difficulties had mainly arisen from the cruelty with which the Boers had treated the Native Races. Now, however, they found the Prime Minister admitting that the Convention which his Government signed with the Government of the Transvaal was in exact reverse to that which existed between the British and Turkish Governments in regard to the Provinces of Turkey, to which reference had been made. Then the Prime Minister went on to say that the Government ought not to make statements or to take action upon any information other than that which was supplied to them by officials; but the right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget that the only official in the Transvaal—a country as large as France—was a Resident, who had no force at his command with which to enforce his opinions, and who had neither railroads nor telegraphs which he could use, but without information from whom the Government could take no notice of the action of the Boers. That was not the way in which the Government acted when a correspondent of *The Daily News* supplied them with information concerning the Bulgarian atrocities. The fact was that the Government, by its Convention with the Boers, practically surrendered everything for which it had previously fought. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the influences which the Government intended to use in South Africa were moral influences; and it was important to take the policy of the right hon. Gentleman in this respect as a whole, for the Government, he supposed, had a policy not only in the Transvaal, but in Zululand. As far as Zululand was concerned, he found that it was proposed to take, under a Supplementary Estimate—which could not now be discussed, but only attended to—a sum of £600, for the purpose of remunerating Cetewayo's wives. Thus, the House was to be called on to give an expression of approval to the practice of polygamy. Cetewayo was a Monarch who, if he had more wives, had also a larger number of cattle than any other reigning Sovereign in South Africa; and thus it came about that in the Estimates there figured a sum of £386 for the sale of his flock and herds, which the Government would be able to set off against the £600, which they proposed to devote to the remuneration of his many wives. This he mentioned as an illustration of the moral influence which the Government proposed to bring to bear in South African affairs. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would give some explanation of their reasons for, on the one hand, handing over the Natives outside Zululand to the Boers to do what they liked with; and, on the other, calling upon the British taxpayers to provide them with the wherewithal to remunerate Cetewayo's wives.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he was grievously disappointed, not to say dismayed, at the speech just delivered by the Prime Minister. He did not intend to discuss the question of the Turkish Provinces, nor the question as to the use of dynamite, though he must say that the Prime Minister, when asking the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), in somewhat indignant tone, whether the noble Lord was prepared to say that dynamite had never been used by British troops, did not give any instance in which it had been so used; and he (Sir Henry Holland) ventured to doubt whether, as a matter of fact, it had ever been used by English troops in the way in which it was alleged to have been used by the Boers. The question before the Committee was not only whether they had a right, but whether they were not in honour bound to interfere, if Natives, whom they took under their protection when this country annexed the Transvaal, were attacked by the Boers. The Prime Minister seemed now to question both the right and the obligation, and warned them against interference. But it was just because they were afraid this would happen that they opposed the peace and Convention with the Boers. They objected that the Natives were not really defended from the Boers, and that the terms of the Convention—terms against which the Boers all along protested—would prove to be as illusory and useless to the Natives as the remonstrances of the British Resident unsupported by any force. And so it had proved, if they might judge from the newspapers, though the Papers to be presented to the House might alter the case. But the ink on the Treaty was hardly dry before the Boers began to attack the Natives, and, doubtless, Native land would soon be annexed. He (Sir Henry Holland) had trusted to hear the Prime Minister state that if it was proved that loyal Natives, who had been formerly recognized as British subjects, had been attacked, the terms of the Convention should be enforced. The difficulties of managing affairs in South Africa were great enough, but they would be increased a hundredfold if the Natives once learnt to distrust English loyalty and honour. That, however, he feared would be the result of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in the Transvaal and Zululand; and should such be the case the country would hold the Government responsible.

Mr. SALT said, he wished to ask two questions which were, he thought, kindred to the Vote which the Committee had under consideration. He wished to know whether the Resident in the Transvaal had any power of reporting to the English Government any cases of ill-treatment of Natives which might come under his notice; also whether, in case of complaint of such ill-treatment, the relations of the Government with the Resident were such that they could apply to him for information? These were, to his mind, very important questions; but, in addition to these, if answered in the affirmative, he would ask if the Government would make inquiries from the Resident concerning the matters stated in the House? Next, he wished to ask the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), who, with his usual capacity and sagacity, was trying to slip out of this troublesome business, whether, in the Estimates which would be presented for 1883-4, there would be contained a specific Vote for the salary of the Resident?—because, if that were so, a discussion of this important question might then be raised. If that were not the case, he thought it absolutely necessary, for the credit of the House and the country, that the discussion should be there and then continued. It was most important that the country should know at the earliest possible moment what the result of the Transvaal arrangement really was, especially in so far as the protection of the Natives was concerned. He also wished to have some explanation from the Secretary to the Treasury as to the details of the Vote, which, as it stood, was, to say the least of it, exceedingly misty. He hoped this was the last Vote of the kind the House in Committee would be asked to pass.

MR. COURTNEY said, he hoped this would be the last Vote of the kind they would have to ask the Committee to sanction. As to the expenses of the Resident, they formed a separate item, and they could be challenged or discussed when the Estimates for the year were brought on.

MR. GORST said, that, in consequence of what the Prime Minister had said, he would be most happy to place the letter from which he quoted in the hands of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, upon the distinct understanding that he would take great care that the identity of the writer was not betrayed to the authorities of the Transvaal. The Government would see from the terms of the letter that the writer was extremely apprehensive of being known.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he must answer all the questions of the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) in the affirmative. The Resident had power to report, and he was constantly reporting. The Government would make inquiries concerning the points which had been raised; and if his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) would give him the letter, extracts from which he had read, he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) would make the inquiries with all the safeguards the hon. and learned Gentleman desired. He would like to say one word as to what fell from the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland). The position the hon. Baronet had taken up in this matter was not quite fair. If hon. Members would look at the Blue Books already delivered and to be delivered to-morrow, they would see that the Government had persistently, within the terms of the Convention, done all they possibly could to protect the Natives within and without the Transvaal Borders. The Government could not go beyond the terms of the Convention, but within the terms they had done their best. Whether they were to go beyond the terms of the Convention, whether, as it had not been indistinctly urged, they were to go back to force, he did not think it would be dignified or right they should discuss on an occasion like the present. Some hon. Members seemed to think that the Natives were in a state of protection from any violence or any dispute when Her Majesty's Government took over the Transvaal, and that when they gave it up all these things happened. Why, the disputes between the Boers and the Natives had been going on for the last 25 years. There was, no doubt, a little interlude during the time we occupied the place. What he wanted to point out to the hon. Member for Midhurst was that, so far as Mapoch was concerned, whose case had been brought up that night, he never gave in allegiance to the English Government. He promised to pay taxes, but that promise was never carried out. He had never been a subject of the British Crown, and he had never given allegiance to the Boers since we withdrew. The hon. Member for Midhurst, who was generally so fair, had left an impression that the Government had not done their best to protect the Natives as far as they were entitled under the terms arrived at with the Boers. The Blue Book would show that that assertion was not justifiable.

MR. W. FOWLER said, he felt some disappointment at the reply of the hon. Gentleman. He thought the speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst had not been understood. What the hon. Baronet said was, not that the Government had not done all they could under the Convention, but that the powers reserved to them under the Convention were so insufficient that they could not do what was required. He was most anxious that whatever was necessary should be done to prevent the unfortunate Natives being handed over body and soul to the cruel Boers.

Mr. GIBSON said, he had listened with great attention to the speech of the Prime Minister, and he was bound to say he did not think it was satisfactory as far as the Natives were concerned. If possible, he had listened to the speech of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies with more apprehension. The words he used were significant and painful. The Under Secretary of State indicated, after listening to the statement which the Prime Minister admitted was one which required investigation and attention, the statement made by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) as to the painful and revolting cruelties practised on human beings who, a couple of years ago, were, like ourselves, subjects of the Queen—the hon. Gentleman indicated that the present was a state of facts which had been going on for 20, 25, or 30 years. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, knew when they entered into the Convention what they had to guard against; and the cool words of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State was that the revolting state of alternate cruelty and barbarism was checked or had an interlude during the time that the Natives enjoyed the protection of the English Crown and were Her Majesty's subjects. The Convention which had been entered into had been either efficacious or worthless in respect to the protection of the Natives. If it was efficacious it must be something capable of being appealed to to prevent the ill-treatment of the Natives; if it was worthless, it was only another instance of the mischievous policy of the Prime Minister and his Government. The Under Secretary of State said the Government or the Resident would do what they could or were able to do within the limits of the law. That was all very good if the law was good; but the law was the deliberate act of Her Majesty's Government, and the law was the Convention. What he wanted to know was, what power there was within the law for Her Majesty's Government to insist that the Natives should not be ill-treated, but should be treated as human beings? They had got a Resident there with moral power. What did they mean by that? If they were satisfied to-morrow, when they were given the letter from which the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had quoted that the things alleged had gone on, what could they do? Under the terms of their existing law, what could the Government do? What did they intend to do if they were satisfied that these cruelties had actually happened? It was impossible to disregard the charges that had been made that night, for they had been supported by extracts from letters, the reading of which, at all events, had satisfied those who heard them that a *primâ facie* case had been made out for inquiry. It was impossible to have listened to the reading of the letters without grave misgivings. The Convention was made in spite of protestations. What could they do but morally protest if they were satisfied that the charges were well-founded? The Committee might, he presumed, venture to look forward to this—that the Government would, now that this debate had occurred, take the earliest possible means, by telegraph and otherwise, of ascertaining what foundation, if any, there was for the charges; and that they would, if there was any foundation for them, take care that such a disgraceful state of facts should cease as soon as possible. The Prime Minister used words they had heard often during the last two years—"Wait for Papers; the matter is not yet ripe." Whenever a charge had been brought forward in that House during the last two years they had been told—"Wait for Papers; the matter is not yet ripe." And when Papers were presented the Opposition were told that the matters to which they related were ancient history. That happened very much, if he remembered right, when his right hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), day after day, and month after month, asked for a day to discuss the proceedings of the Transvaal War. The right hon. Gentleman was put off until a day at the end of the Session, when the Government thought that public opinion in regard to the matter had cooled down. Let them now be plain. They were told by the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) that on the Vote for the salary and expenses of the Resident the Committee would have an opportunity of discussing the affairs of the Transvaal. They would have an opportunity, of which they would avail themselves, of discussing what they then thought ripe; but they did not mean to be put off in regard to this subject until a later period than they considered proper. They hoped the Papers would be given on an early date, and that the matter would be made ripe for discussion. He trusted the Government would make investigations into the charges which had been made, and that they would soon be in a condition to inform the House that there was either no foundation for the charges, or else, there being some foundation for them, the Government would make representations to prevent a recurrence of the proceedings.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that before the Vote was put there should be some answer given to the appeal which had been made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson). His right hon. and learned Friend desired that an opportunity should be given by the Government, when the Papers were produced, for the consideration of the grave questions raised in the present debate. It was alleged that some hundreds of thousands of men, who were British subjects a few months ago, were now subjected to great cruelty, by reason of the fact that the Government failed in the arrangements they made with the Transvaal Government to secure means by which the Natives should be protected. Whether that allegation was true or not, it was so grave an allegation that the Government could not fail, he apprehended, to meet it in a fair and straightforward way. They were told they could not refuse to vote the money asked, because they had not information before them. Information was to be laid before them to-morrow. But then the Vote would have been passed, and there would be no opportunity for discussing the question. Before the Vote was taken there should be a distinct understanding that the Government would give an opportunity for the consideration of the question of which his right hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had given Notice. The Opposition desired to raise this question, this grave question affecting the honour and humanity of this country. It must be remembered that the Committee yearly voted large sums of money, and they were glad and proud to vote them, for the protection and deliverance of slaves on the West Coast of Africa. They deliberately exposed their sailors to the influences of a pestiferous climate, and they lost many annually in the protection of Natives in Africa who never were British subjects; and now when men, who only a few months ago were British subjects, were subjected to great cruelties, the Committee had a right to ask the Government to give them an opportunity of discussing the matter.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he did not quite understand the appeal that was made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson). Was it that on the ground of the allegations made that night, which the Government had undertaken, to the best of their power, to sift, and in anticipation of the information to be so obtained, the Government should promise to give up one or more Government nights, which alone were at their disposal, for the discussion of this question? Such an appeal was entirely premature, and with due regard to the obligations of the Government and to the transaction of Public Business it could not be acceded to. What his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) had pointed out was that there must be upon the Estimates of the coming year a Vote proposed for the salary of the Resident, and that in that shape the Government must itself submit the arrangements made in the Transvaal for the consideration of the Committee.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the appeal of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had been met in a spirit in which it ought not to have been met. It was asked whether there would be an opportunity afforded for discussing the particular question which had been raised that night. The Prime Minister said certainly. But they wanted to know when, for they feared that it might be probably about the end of August. That was the time at which the Estimates for these sort of things would naturally be brought forward. They were told there were Papers to be laid on the Table, and they were asking the Government not to take this Vote before hon. Members could see these Papers. No Member of the Government had risen to answer the forcible speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson). Certainly, unless some answer was given which would be satisfactory to the Committee, he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) should rise again in order to propose that the Vote be either postponed, or that the debate be adjourned. Until the Papers were laid before the Committee, he thought that was a reasonable course to pursue.

Mr. MONK said, he was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), who had been a Secretary to the Treasury himself, should not have remembered that there was another occasion on which the matter could be discussed—namely, the stage of Report. If the Vote was passed now it would not be taken on Report until after the Papers were in the hands of Members. If necessary, the matter could be fully discussed on the Report stage.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Monk) seemed to forget that it was one of the duties of the Secretary to the Treasury never to bring on Report until it was impossible to discuss it.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that, as no one had risen to answer the appeal made to the Treasury Bench, he should take a division on the Vote. He would move that the Chairman do now report Progress.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 96; Noes 128: Majority 32.—(Div. List, No. 17.)

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he wished to obviate a misapprehension which he thought had arisen, and to point out to hon. Gentlemen that there must be a full opportunity afforded by the Government for the discussion on the Vote which would have to be proposed for the salary of the Resident in the Transvaal. It was hoped that that Vote might be taken at a comparatively early period, and it had never been at all within his intention that it should be moved so late in the Session as the month of August, as the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) seemed to suppose would be the case. The Government had made the best arrangements they could to get on with Supply; and as to the question now before the Committee, he had no difficulty whatever in saying that the Vote for the Resident's salary should be taken at a convenient period of the evening. He did not say that it should be taken out of its regular course, because it might so happen that it would come on in regular order at a convenient period of the evening; but, if it should prove to be necessary, he would promise that it should be taken out of its regular course.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that if the explanation of the Prime Minister had been given before the division was taken, he should not have thought it necessary to put the Committee to the trouble of dividing. But he had thought it absolutely essential to make a protest against the way in which the Government had chosen to treat the observations that had been made.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES), 1882-3.

Class I.—Public Works and Buildings.

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £2,400, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he wished to ask the Government whether, at that hour of the night—a quarter to 12 o'clock—it was not right to report Progress? Perhaps the Secretary to the Treasury was not aware of the fact; but he wished to remind the Head of the Government of the pledge into which that right hon. Gentleman entered during the debates on the Procedure Rules last year. On that occasion this important question of discussions in Committee of Supply was carefully gone into; and the Prime Minister expressed a strong opinion that when the Speaker left the Chair on Mondays and Thursdays, without the intervention of any preliminary discussions, it was not unreasonable that Progress should be reported at midnight. He was sure that the right hon. Gentleman would agree that there was a distinct understanding to that effect; and it was understood that one of the great advantages which the House was to derive from the New Rules was that they were not to continue these Votes in Supply long after midnight. That was a distinct and clear understanding, and it was one of the terms on which the House agreed to allow the Speaker to leave the Chair on Mondays and Thursdays without any other Question being put. Considering that they had now been engaged in the discussion of Supplementary Estimates ranging over almost every variety of subject since 5 o'clock, he did not think it was unreasonable that those who had been sitting there for so many hours should ask the Government to report Progress. Therefore, without the least intention of obstructing Business, he moved that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

MR. GLADSTONE said, it was impossible for him to accede to the Motion of the noble Lord. They had now been engaged in Committee of Supply since 6 o'clock. The understanding to which the noble Lord referred amounted to this. It used to be a common thing to go on with Supply until 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning, and they were very glad to get rid of the necessity for those late hours. But, to-night, they had had nearly an hour cut off at the beginning of their proceedings, and the noble Lord now proposed to cut off another quarter at the end, and that double process of the reduction of time would be very inconvenient indeed. Another special consideration which ought to be borne in mind was this, that these were not ordinary Estimates, but Supplementary Estimates, which must be passed before the close of the financial year. If the Government acceded to propositions of this kind at this stage, they would be compelled to ask the House to adopt other measures which would entail much greater inconvenience upon hon. Members in order to meet the requirements of the law.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that after this explanation he would withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, this was a Vote to pay the expense of providing accommodation for the spectators on the occasion of the Royal Review of the Forces that had returned from Egypt —the Review which took place in St. James's Park. He did not mean actually to oppose this Vote, though he believed that it would have been better if the troops had been kept at home. But to show the troops to the people of this country in this way when they came back was really making a military glorification of the Expedition. He had been given to understand that the honours awarded for this Egyption Expedition were a good deal more numerous and far greater than those which were awarded for the Waterloo Campaign—a campaign of far greater importance. No doubt, enormous credit was due to Lord Wolseley and to Her Majesty's Government for carrying this Egyptian Campaign through so bloodlessly and with so moderate an expense to its termination; but it was not necessary to make a point of military vapouring about honour and glory.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) £5,200, Houses of Parliament.

CAPTAIN AYLMER wanted an explanation on a matter which was not at all clear. A sum of £3,000 was charged for the House of Commons during the Autumn Session. He would not go into the question as to whether the country did or did not get value for that Autumn Session, but there was one item under Sub-head E—an item of £1,275 for furniture—which he wished to call attention to. Of that sum £600 was charged for furniture of the rooms for the Grand Committees, and that was not unreasonable; but the remainder of the excess was occasioned by the Autumn Session. He could understand the other items put down for the Autumn Session, such as salaries, ventilating, warming, lighting, and the rest; but he could not understand how the supply and repair of furniture could reach to that extent. He thought the Secretary to the Treasury would have some difficulty in offering a satisfactory explanation on the point.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he could only point out that the ordinary charge for the supply and repair of furniture for the Houses of Parliament amounted to £6,000 a-year, and that included a great deal of wear and tear and repairing.

Earl PERCY wanted to know what was the meaning of the very large sum which was charged for supplying additional presses for Members of the House in one of the Corridors? The item amounted to £340 for additional presses. He had examined these presses that afternoon, and he believed there were 50 new ones, and he submitted that £340 for 50 new lockers was an excessively large Estimate. This Vote was increasing year by year. Only three years ago the whole sum voted for the Houses of Parliament was £33,000. It was now increased in three years to £42,000, and the excess was by no means covered by the £3,000 put down as chiefly owing to the Autumn Session. He thought that if the House of Commons was intended to check the Expenditure of the country, it would do well to put some check upon the outlay upon this Vote.

Mr. SALT said, he hoped that another year his right hon. Friend would say at once what he wanted when the ordinary Estimates came up for consideration. These Supplementary Estimates were most unsatisfactory. In some cases they were, perhaps, inevitable; but in matters of ordinary annual expenditure each Department ought to know what it wanted. It was most unsatisfactory that these Supplementary Estimates should be continually coming in after the ordinary Votes were passed; and, under such an arrangement, it was absolutely impossible for Her Majesty's Government to obtain a proper control over the Expenditure. If the National Expenditure was to be kept down to the point at which it ought to be kept down, it must be done by small economies—by looking after every £5 that was spent. If they continued to have ordinary Estimates in April, then Supplementary Estimates in July, and then Supplementary Estimates again in February, it was absolutely impossible for Her Majesty's Government, or the House of Commons, to preserve that proper control over economical expenditure for which the constituencies of the country very properly looked. He did hope that when his right hon. Friend produced his ordinary Estimates, after Easter, he would produce Estimates on which they might be able to rely, for it was very much better to vote a little too much at first than to have these Supplementary Estimates continually recurring. One word about the Autumn Session which applied to one or two of these Votes. He had a very strong feeling in his mind of which he would like to relieve himself, and that was, that the Vote for the Autumn Session ought to have been taken at the commencement of the Autumn Session. It was a necessary expenditure, and he felt very strongly that an Estimate for that necessary expenditure ought to have been placed before the House when they were launched, at great inconvenience, upon the Autumn Session. Instead of that having been done, Supplementary Estimates were now produced in the month of March, when the House could not refuse to pass them. An enormous amount of money had now to be spent over an Autumn Session which it would have been much better for them to have done without.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE explained that, with the single exception of the presses, there was not one item in the Account which could possibly have been foreseen. He need hardly remind hon. Members that the Grand Committees were not talked about at the commencement of the Autumn Session.

Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he thought the sum of £340 for 50 presses was most enormous, and he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he got an estimate for them? If hon. Members were putting up such presses in their own houses, they would be very careful to find out what they would cost before they had them put up.

Earl PERCY said, the item for the supply and repair of furniture during the Autumn Session was £675. He wished to know how the Autumn Session made it necessary to supply new furniture and to arrange for repairs at such a cost?

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he thought an answer ought to be given to this question. He wanted to know why so much was spent for repair of furniture during the Autumn Session?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had already explained that the total cost was £6,000 for the whole of the Session, and that the excess for the Autumn Session was £675. The ordinary wear and tear of the House was very heavy indeed.

VISCOUNT EMLYN said, he thought that on both sides of the House there was dissatisfaction with the insufficiency of the explanation that had been given. The right hon. Gentleman had been asked as to the additional presses for Members, whether the amount of £340 was not excessive, and his answer was merely that he had been pressed for 50 presses and he had supplied them. He (Viscount Emlyn) did not know whether that was an official reply, or whether it was a courteous one; but the Committee was entitled to have an answer to the question, and if it were not to be given it appeared to him that the Committee might save itself the trouble of any criticism upon the Votes at all. He moved the reduction of the Vote by £340.

Amendment proposed, "That the Vote be reduced by the sum of £340."—(*Viscount Emlyn.*)

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was sorry he could not give any further information, but he promised to make further inquiries, and if the noble Viscount would renew the question on a future occasion, he would endeavour to answer it.

MR. RYLANDS said, he thought that, at the same time, his right hon. Friend might give them some more information with regard to the excess under Sub-head E, for that was a matter which was perfectly inexplicable as it stood, and the information which the right hon. Gentleman had given had really not been satisfactory.

VISCOUNT EMLYN expressed his readiness to withdraw the Motion for the reduction of the Vote.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £1,700, County Court Buildings.

(7.) £350, Harbours, &c., under the Board of Trade.

(8.) £6,700, Rates on Government Property.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he thought there ought to be some explanation of this Vote, as he did not see how it was that the Government did not know what rates would be imposed when the Estimates were presented.

MR. W. H. SMITH pointed out that there was some discrepancy in the figures, as there was an original Estimate given of £161,500, and another original Estimate of £201,088.

MR. COURTNEY said, the explanation on this last point was very simple. The smaller original Estimate referred only to Sub-head C, the larger one to all the sub-heads. As to the question raised by the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire, there were certain items of taxation which could not be settled when the original Estimate was prepared. The original Estimate included all the then outstanding items.

MR. H. H. FOWLER wished to know, with reference to the item of £3,150, under Sub-head C, for the rates for Public Buildings, Law Courts, Parks, Police Courts, &c., how much of the sum was for Parks and Police Courts, as he proposed to move the reduction of the Vote by that amount.

MR. COURTNEY was unable to say, but he would promise to inquire into the matter, and there would be many opportunities of raising the question.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was not quite satisfied as to the item for Prisons, amounting to £660. The Government must have known perfectly well what the rateable value of those prisons were, for they had had them in their hands for a long time.

MR. COURTNEY said, the matter was one between the Treasury and the local authorities. The local authorities sent in their Returns, and the Treasury could only accept them.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £4,741, Shannon Navigation.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he thought it would be well for the Secretary to the Treasury to explain how it was that so large an excess as one-third of the whole Vote was not anticipated when the Estimates were framed. This would seem to be an expenditure that might well have been allowed to stand over for another year; but, assuming it to be a proper expenditure, how was it that a sum of £4,741 was now asked for, when they were told that there would be a set-off of £1,000? A rule had been laid down that these extra receipts were not to be paid into the Exchequer, but were to be taken in diminution of the Vote. Was that sum of £1,000 to be paid into the Exchequer in contravention of the rule, or how was it to be accounted for hereafter? This was one of many Votes which, to his mind, illustrated the objectionable practice which had grown up in the Treasury of bringing forward these paltry excesses in the form of Supplementary Estimates, and calling the attention of the House to them in that form, so as to screen the Departments. These were matters which should be subjected to proper audit, for what was the use of the Auditor General if a Department was to be screened in this way from his criticisms? The proper Representative of the Department should be called before the Committee on Public Accounts, and made to explain why the Vote had been exceeded. This was not an Estimate at all, but the confirmation of an excess already incurred. He wished to call the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to this point, as it was likely to lead to a gross abuse.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down was under some very strange misapprehension with regard to the arrangement at present in use concerning these Exchequer extra receipts. He (Mr. O'Connor) looked upon it as a very dangerous system for sums such as this to be taken in aid of Votes, and if such a system became general it would do much to counteract the healthy and proper control which the House had over the Public Expenditure. But with regard to this particular sum—a very small sum for the floods of the Shannon—it was very strange that this was the first time it had been seriously carped at. A Vote of £2,400 had just been passed for a Military Review in St. James's Park, which was of no earthly use to anyone; and now this sum, which was absolutely necessary to carry on important works in the Shannon—works which were essential to relieve hundreds of thousands of acres from periodical floods—was objected to. He wished to know from the Secretary to the Treasury whether this was a final charge in regard to the Shannon navigation? The sum originally asked for was £37,000, but that sum had been exceeded. In 1879-80, £5,000 was granted; in 1880-1, £20,000 was granted; and in 1881-2, £24,000 was granted. But of the £20,000 voted in 1880-1, no less than £5,875 was never expended, so that the extra Vote now granted did not even make up the sum which was voted two years ago by the House of Commons, but which never left the Treasury. That being so, he hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would inform the Committee whether all the works were now in perfect working order, and whether the weirs which were now in use would enable the floods to be drained off.

Mr. COURTNEY replied that, according to the latest information he had, the works would be in perfect order by the end of this month. The increase had attracted the attention of the Treasury, and on inquiry they had found that the work had been very much impeded by the extremely inclement weather in Ireland, which had caused damage to the work in progress. With the exception of a sum of £700, this was the last amount required to complete the charge. The channel was now practically completed.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON inquired whether the whole cost of this work, amounting to £50,000 or £60,000, had been defrayed by the Treasury, or whether any portion of it came upon the rates? He also wished to know whether the Financial Secretary would direct a Report on the working of the Shannon Sluices to be furnished to the House? These sluices were merely an experiment, and they were the first in connection with any Irish river; and as the hon. Gentleman had stated that the work would be completed by the end of the month, it was desirable to have a Report from the engineer as to the effect and results of these sluices without delay.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he would at once admit the importance of watching the working of this experiment; but he thought some time must elapse before a Report could be called for. The sum of £700 was not really connected with this work, but was for continuing some other improvements. So far as he was aware the whole of this expense was borne by the Treasury.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) £1,000, Royal University, Ireland, Buildings.

Mr. PARNELL said, he wished to know how far these buildings had advanced, and what was their state of completion?

MR. COURTNEY replied, that what remained to be done was the alteration of certain rooms as offices.

Vote *agreed to.*

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £2,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, including Rents and Furniture, and for the maintenance of certain Cemeteries abroad."

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he wished to call attention to the remarkable development of this Estimate. As the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had pointed out, the Government had got into a habit of bringing forward Supplementary Estimates in an extraordinary way. The total original Estimate in this case was £25,765; then there was a Supplementary Estimate of £6,000 last Session; and now there was a further sum of £2,000—making altogether an increase of 33 per cent upon the first Estimate. There must be some explanation of this, for the first Estimate was supposed to be the Estimate for the whole year. The Government had probably taken credit to themselves for having proposed only £25,000, and yet they required £8,000 more before the year was out. He would like to know something about the item for sanitary works at the Washington Embassy. Why had these been carried out since the Estimate was first proposed? The Government must have known when they introduced the Estimate that these works were required; and he wished to know why there was this additional Vote, when the Government knew there was a strong feeling in the House against spending money? Then with regard to the graves of soldiers in the Transvaal, were they under the superintendence of an Ambassador or a Consul? Had they a Consul out there?

MR. COURTNEY: There is a Resident.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: He is not under the Foreign Office. He communicates with the Colonial Office.

MR. COURTNEY: This is not a Foreign Office matter.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he could not understand why this matter was put under the Foreign Office. He thought there was some meaning in it. Why the cemeteries in the Transvaal, which had nothing to do with Diplomatic business, should be put in this Vote was more than an outsider like himself could understand. He would ask the Secretary to the Treasury to explain why an Estimate was not originally taken for the sanitary works at Washington, for the Consular offices at Bankok, and for these graves in the Transvaal?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, if the Treasury had known of these sanitary works at Washington they would have included them in the original Estimate; but, in point of fact, after the Estimate was made up, a telegram was received stating that the Embassy buildings were in an unhealthy condition, and that it was absolutely necessary to do something at once. The Treasury therefore sent out a surveyor, and he found that the buildings were in an extremely dangerous condition, and that improvements were absolutely necessary. With regard to the Consular buildings at Bankok, it was originally intended to spread that work over two years, but they had received an intimation that the work would be completed shortly, because it was impossible to carry on building work in that country at any other period of the year, and they had therefore thought it better to spend £800 more at once than to throw the work later in the year. With respect to the soldiers' graves in the Transvaal, the hon. Member appeared to be unaware that the original Vote contained an item for the graves of soldiers in the Crimea. The charge was only £200, and he was sure the Committee would not object to grant that.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he had no objection to the Vote in itself, but there was no analogy between the graves in the Crimea and those in the Transvaal, because the former were under a Consul, whereas the latter were not, and therefore they ought not to be put into this Vote.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had no doubt that the Treasury thought that the same Office should have charge of all the graves.

MR. RYLANDS said, he thought the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman entirely unsatisfactory. The Committee must be aware that if the Government were allowed without difficulty to carry Supplementary Estimates, they would engage in new works without the previous knowledge of the House. The right hon. Gentleman stated with regard to the works at Washington that at some time last year the buildings were reported to be in an insanitary condition; but what did he do? He actually sent over a surveyor from this country to make a Report as to what should be done in the matter. He objected to this waste of public money in sending over a surveyor, instead of placing the matter in the hands of someone at Washington; and he should like to know what class of work was done. Then with regard to the Consular offices at Bankok, the Treasury had gone to expense without thinking it necessary to take the opinion of the House of Commons upon it; and they gave no satisfactory reason for not including this item in the original Estimate. There was no justification for this, and he therefore would move to reduce the Vote by £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, including Rents and Furniture, and for the maintenance of certain Cemeteries abroad."—(*Mr. Rylands.*)

Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST asked what proportion the expenses of the surveyor bore to the amount now charged? It struck him as an extraordinary thing to send a surveyor from this country to Washington for a small matter which could have been dealt with by people on the spot.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the hon. Member seemed to be unaware that there was a Government surveyor, whose duty it was to survey Diplomatic buildings. That was the only way in which they could control expenditure. Expenditure to a large amount was constantly pressed upon them from all parts of the world, and it was only by sending a man from head-quarters to make special investigations that they were able to control this kind of expenditure, and he ventured to think that this system had been very effective in diminishing expenditure in a variety of ways. But for such control these Estimates would be far greater than they had been. When the Treasury heard from the Minister to the United States that the Embassy was in a bad state, they thought the most economical way of ascertaining the facts and controlling expenditure was to send this surveyor out to inquire into the matter, and the total expense was not £40. He did not think this was an unwise course, having regard to all the circumstances; and but for this system the expenditure would very easily grow into a much greater amount.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he thought there was certainly some reason in what the right hon. Gentleman had said, and that in the case of Constantinople it was wise to send out a special surveyor, because there there were a large number of buildings, and there was a constant desire to spend money. But with regard to Washington, he thought a fee of £10 to a Sanitary Inspector on the spot would have supplied the Treasury with what they wished to know. He did not object to the Vote itself; but there was always something going on at these places, and he thought the Committee ought to protest against these items being put in the Supplementary Estimates. For that reason he should vote for the Amendment.

Mr. DILLWYN asked what was the limit of expenditure on works upon which this surveyor was sent to all parts of the world?

Mr. GIBSON asked whether, as the principle was that this surveyor should be sent out to all parts of the world, he was sent to Bankok; and, as several hon. Members had some doubt as to were Bankok was, the right hon. Gentleman would ascertain from the Foreign Office, or elsewhere?

Captain AYLMER said, he could not help thinking these Estimates were made up in a very slipshod fashion. With reference to Bankok, it had been originally proposed that one-fourth of the building should be done in the year; but now it seemed that three-fourths had been done. In regard to this surveyor, did he receive an annual salary, or was he only employed for each occasion separately? If he received a salary, how was he employed when not travelling?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE replied, that the surveyor was only sent out in reference to important works. He was a salaried officer, and when not employed in that way he was engaged in advising the authorities at home. He was not sent to Bankok. The original intention was to commence the building at Bankok between the present financial year and the next, and to spread the payment over the two years; but after that had been determined upon the Treasury learnt that the building season was a short one, and it was necessary to proceed with the work at once.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he thought that any hon. Member who had any knowledge of drainage work would be glad to get it done at once; and it appeared to him that the right hon. Gentleman had done all that was in his power.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to know how much of this £1,000 was spent on the journey of the surveyor? Were his expenses included in the £1,000? [MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: No.] These sanitary works, therefore, cost £1,000, plus the expenses of the journey. Surely it would have been easy to obtain a satisfactory Report from someone in Washington, which might have been checked by this distinguished surveyor. He should support the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), seeing that the original Estimate had been increased by 33 per cent.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, his right hon. Friend had already explained that the total cost of sending out this salaried officer had been about £40. He doubted very much whether any economy would have resulted from employing someone at Washington, for he knew something about that city, and he should not be content to trust to surveyors at Washington, where the question of drainage was one of peculiar difficulty.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 59; Noes 92: Majority 33.—(D. List, No. 18.)

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR wished to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether there had not been, under this Vote, a saving in two items—namely, "A" and "C," which almost amounted to the extra sum now asked for, and whether there had not been every year a small saving almost sufficient to cover the Supplementary Estimates?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was not aware of any saving at present. When the Estimate was brought forward, they might be aware of such a thing; but they could not propose a small sum now on the mere chance of there eventually being a saving of which they now knew nothing.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought that now, at five minutes to 1 o'clock, his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have no objection to reporting Progress. They had been discussing the Estimates since a little before 6 o'clock. He therefore begged to move that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that the Committee surely would not adjourn the discussion of the Estimates before 1 o'clock, when it was absolutely necessary that the whole of the Vote should be got through that day. If the whole of the Estimates were not got through at the next Sitting, they would have to sit either on Saturday next or the Thursday in Holy Week. He would now suggest to the Committee that they should sit another half-hour, so as to improve the chance of getting through the whole of the Votes at the next Sitting.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had no objection to going on with Supply for another half-hour; but he would respectfully ask some authority on the Treasury Bench to explain to the Committee how and why it was absolutely necessary to have these Votes taken by a particular date. They were told at the last Sitting that it was absolutely necessary to take the Army Estimates to-day. They had not been taken to-day, and yet the Constitution would go on without any disastrous consequences. Why was it that the Government were constantly telling them it was absolutely necessary to take particular Votes on a particular day? He had made as careful a calculation as he could, but for the life of him he could not make out why it was so necessary that more of these Votes should be finished to-day.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, the Committee was aware that this year Easter fell unusually early. The result of that was that they must get through not only the whole of the Supplementary Votes, but also the first Votes, the Army and Navy Estimates, and must pass the Ways and Means Bill through both Houses, so as to get the Royal Assent, and take the first Vote on Account for Civil Service before Easter. Easter was on the 25th, and they would have no time between that and the 29th, which was positively the last day on which Treasury operations could be conducted. It was necessary that they should take all these Votes he had referred to, and get the Ways and Means Act assented to by Her Majesty before Good Friday. He presumed the House would not sit on Good Friday, and that would take them at least to the 22nd of this month. If hon. Members would consider how many days it would take to pass the Ways and Means Act, not only through this House, but also through the House of Lords—although in that Chamber they could take two or three stages together—they would see that if the Government did not get the Votes which were necessary on Thursday and Monday and Thursday week, they would have to sit on those days before Easter that, at any rate, they had not been accustomed to sit on—on Good Friday and the day after, or meet again on Easter Tuesday.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked whether it was understood that if they did not get through on Thursday and Monday they would have to sit on Thursday in Passion Week?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) replied, that if they concluded the Supplementary Estimates on Thursday, and took the following Monday for the Army Estimates, and the following Thursday for the Navy Estimates, they might just get through.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: When does the Government contemplate rising for the Easter Recess?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I cannot say; but we shall not be able to rise before the Thursday unless we get these Votes and pass the Ways and Means Bill.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: If we get through, will the Easter Holidays begin on the Tuesday?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): They might.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was in the hands of the Committee. If the Committee were anxious to proceed he would withdraw his Motion. He would, however, point out that if they allowed the Estimates to be taken as they had been taken that night, their New Rules would be of no avail. They ought not to pass Votes in this perfunctory manner, for on Thursday the Speaker would at once leave the Chair.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(12.) £6,300, Foreign Office.

Mr. BOURKE said, they could not be expected to pass this Vote without making one or two remarks upon it. It involved a large additional sum for telegrams sent to and from the Foreign Office, which were referred to as consequent on the state of things on the Continent. That was clearly a mis-statement or euphemism. The telegrams had not been sent in consequence of the state of things on the Continent, but in consequence of the state of things in Egypt. As he objected altogether to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt, he naturally objected to this very large addition for telegrams. It had often been said that the Expenditure of the country must depend upon the foreign policy of the Government, and this was an instance of the foreign policy of the Government leading to a very large expenditure. There was not only a sum of £6,000, but later on in the Estimate there was one of £16,000 in addition; so that, in fact, the policy of Her Majesty' Government, in regard to Egypt had imposed on the country, in the single item of telegrams to and from the Foreign Office, the sum of £22,000, in addition to the ordinary Estimate. He could not part with this question without some protest against this additional sum and against this expenditure having become necessary on account of the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he did not complain of his right hon. Friend's criticism—in fact, he had anticipated that it would be necessary to explain to the Committee the large additional sum that was asked for. One part of his right hon. Friend's criticism he admitted the justice of—namely, that in which he had said it would have been better if some other word had been used than "Continent," or some further word added, because, no doubt, the expenditure under this head had been caused by the telegrams which had been sent in regard to affairs in Egypt. No doubt, in common parlance, the word "Continent" was rather a mistake. He might be allowed to say to the Committee that, perhaps indirectly, some little good might arise out of what he admitted to be a heavy and unusual item for telegrams in the Supplementary Estimate and in the total Estimate for the present financial year. The large item had naturally caused the Secretary of State to devote his attention to the subject of telegrams to and from the Foreign Office. A close examination had been made of the subject, and he was in hopes—although he could not pledge himself on the matter—that it would be found possible to bring about a considerable reduction in future years —a reduction below what might be called the ordinary Estimates. With this explanation he sincerely hoped the Committee would grant the sum asked for.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, it was satisfactory to hear that the Foreign Office were looking into this matter, as they had promised to do so for several years. But the noble Lord had not dealt with a point on which he (Sir Henry Holland) and others entertained a strong feeling. The Foreign Office went on putting down as an original Estimate an amount which they knew, from the experience of past years, must be far below the sum which would be required for telegraphic expenses. The Estimate was £7,000, and the Supplementary sum was £6,000; and if they looked at the Diplomatic Department, they would find the original Estimate for telegraphing £5,000, and the Supplementary Estimate £16,500. He had found fault with the Estimate on these grounds last year. Granting that the Foreign Office had every desire to reduce the expenditure on telegrams, he should not be satisfied until the original Estimate bore some proportion to the expense likely to be incurred during the year.

Mr. H. S. NORTHCOTE wished to make a practical suggestion. Would it not be possible to reduce the expenditure by somewhat curtailing the practice of repeating telegrams that they received to their Ambassadors abroad? The practice used to be that when a telegram came from a particular Embassy to repeat it to all the others. That was a system which had been started, and, to his mind, had been considerably abused, and he thought a considerable amount of saving might be effected in that direction.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF wished to know how it was that there was such a discrepancy between the original Estimate and the amount to be voted? There was no reason why all these items in the original Estimate should not be considerably nearer the mark.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he did not know whether it would be regular for him on this Vote to discuss the Vote referred to; but, if the Committee would accord him permission to do so, it might, perhaps, save time. There could be no doubt that the chief field for reduction lay in the telegrams sent to the Foreign Office rather than in those sent from it; and the Secretary of State, in order to bring about a reduction in the expenditure in a quarter where he believed it could be reduced, was keeping a much closer watch than used to be kept on the telegrams sent from our Agents abroad. The Vote under which this matter would come would be found lower down the list of Votes. The suggestion of the hon. Member for Exeter (Mr. Northcote) was an exceedingly useful one. It was one which was not altogether new to Her Majesty's Government; but it was very important, and doubly important coming, as it did, from one who had a special knowledge of the matter. He could assure the hon. Member that this matter, amongst others, was receiving attention.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the noble Lord had not answered the question which had been put to him—namely, why, after the experience the Foreign Office had had in former years, they should come for such a ridiculously small sum, knowing that they would have to ask for twice as much in the end?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE admitted that was a question which must be answered. He thought he had answered it, because he had pointed out that the large excess this year over the Estimate was owing to circumstances which were not foreseen when the amount was fixed, those circumstances being the condition of affairs in Egypt. If it had not been for the state of things in Egypt he did not think they would have had to come for such a large sum. It was true that a complaint of this kind had arisen in former years; but he firmly believed that there would not have been ground for it this year but for the Egyptian complications.

Mr. BOURKE said, that, in justice to the permanent officials of the Foreign Office who prepared these Estimates, it must be said that the Estimates originally framed were as nearly correct as possible, and the additional amount was entirely due to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt. As to telegrams in general, he believed that the more there were received and sent within a certain degree of reasonableness the better and the safer for the country, for he believed it was highly desirable that Her Majesty's Government should be well informed, generally speaking, as to the condition of affairs abroad. He did not complain of the general Estimate, but of the excess, which was entirely owing to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt.

Earl PERCY said, the amount altogether was greater, with one exception, than it had been for many years past.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) £3,500, Board of Trade.

Captain AYLMER said, some explanation of this Vote was necessary, and if it was not satisfactory, he should feel it his duty to move a reduction of the Vote by £3,300. It was stated that "the excess is caused mainly by the increase in the number of inquiries." That was very vague and required explanation.

Mr. J. HOLMS admitted that the explanation was very vague. Inquiries had increased in reference to load lines and like points. He thought the Committee would allow that such inquiries were very necessary.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he thought he was correct in saying that the Board of Trade had a paid solicitor and a solicitor's staff. Was it to be understood that the charge of £21,600 for Law Charges was a charge outside the cost of the regular staff of officials which, no doubt, advised the President of the Board of Trade, and conducted all prosecutions and, he presumed, all inquiries? If it was a charge apart from the regular staff, it certainly represented a large charge indeed for additional assistance.

Mr. J. HOLMS said, the inquiries were from time to time increasing in number, and the ordinary staff could not carry out all of them.

Mr. W. H. SMITH asked if he was to understand that the ordinary staff was paid for making inquiries? It did seem extraordinary there should be a charge of £21,600 for Law Charges which were altogether independent of the staff of the Board of Trade.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not think it would be found, on investigation, that this excess was caused mainly by the increase in the number of inquiries. He imagined the Committee on Public Accounts would find, under the Sub-head I, that there were a number of things which could hardly be classed as inquiries. Last year the Comptroller and Auditor General remarked upon the excess of this particular item, and, amongst other things, he said—

> "There is, as far as I am aware, no Parliamentary authority for sanctioning these Votes."

He (Mr. A. O'Connor) made no doubt there was in the item of £3,300 provision made for matter which had never been set in the Estimates of the House, and which, in due time, would be noticed by the Comptroller and Auditor General in his Report. As to the Board of Trade, he wished to point out that it was incumbent on the Board, under several Acts of Parliament, to furnish a number of Returns with regard to piers and so forth. None of such Returns had been furnished as yet; in fact, every Return which ought to have been furnished this year was now in arrear. Last year this arrear was more noticeable in the Department of the Board of Trade than in any other. Now, when the Board of Trade was coming forward asking the House to give it increased powers with regard to trade and bankruptcy, there seemed little chance of the

Business being got through unless a very stringent hold of the Department was kept by the House. He would ask whether any steps had been taken to get rid of the arrears in regard to Returns?

MR. J. HOLMS said, he had placed a number of Papers on the Table of the House in regard to Fishery Harbours and Piers. Some of them were of a local character.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he was sure the hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Holms) would understand he did not wish to press him unduly or improperly when he said that if there was a professional staff belonging to a Department, that professional staff ought to discharge the duties of the Department. Surely the legal staff of the Board of Trade was large enough to be able to conduct the business without coming to Parliament for a Vote of such an enormous amount as £21,600 for assistance.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), remarked that these duties only fell on the permanent staff to a very small degree. Many local inquiries had been lately held, and much expense outside the Office necessarily incurred.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that a Judge had to go down into the country from London. If that was so, he could not see why an official of the Board of Trade should not.

Vote *agreed to.*

(14.) £2,053, Charity Commission.

MR. MONK said, he hoped the Secretary to the Treasury could give some explanation of this Vote. He thought there had been a Resolution passed in the House to the effect that the Charity Commission was to pay its own expenses. The Resolution was not passed in the present Parliament, but it was understood the subject would be considered by this Government. It seemed strange that this Vote should come up now on the Supplementary Estimates, at a time at which they could not discuss the principle involved.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Vote related to a particular branch of endowed schools, and it was to provide for three months' salaries of the officers.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked, what was the intention of the Government with regard to the power of the Charity Commissioners as Endowed Schools Commissioners?

MR. COURTNEY said, he was afraid that was a question the Committee would not wish to enter upon now.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if it was intended to introduce a Bill on the subject this Session?

MR. COURTNEY could not say.

Vote *agreed to.*

(15.) £465, Civil Service Commission.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he thought it might be very properly asked why all these salaries and expenses were not thought of before the original Estimate was made? This Vote was for salaries, and allowances, and incidental personal expenses, all of which must have been perfectly well known at the time the original Estimate was produced.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Vote was due to an automatic increase in the number of candidates. If there was an increased number of candidates, provision must be made for them.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether competitive examination had been introduced in the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, or whether it was still close?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE replied, that vacancies, both in the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Service, were now filled up after competition among candidates nominated by the Secretary of State. As a general rule, it might be said that there were six competitors for each vacancy.

Vote *agreed to.*

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, it was half-past 1, and he, therefore, moved to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Walter B. Barttelot.*)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he would not raise any opposition to the Motion.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked when the Estimates would be printed and circulated? He did not think it reasonable they should be asked to consider the Estimates immediately they were put in their hands. There was a great delay in the production of Papers, and therefore they should receive the Estimates some days before they were called upon to vote them.

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (UNREFORMED) BILL.—[Bill 6.]

(*Sir Charles Dilke, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Hibbert.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE moved that the Bill be read a second time, on the understanding that the Committee stage should not be taken until after Easter. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who had given Notice of opposition to the Bill, had consented to that course.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he hoped the Bill would be brought forward at a time when it could be properly and reasonably discussed.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Certainly.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER inquired if the Bill was to go before one of the Grand Committees?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: No.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* 19th March.

SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.—[Bill 108.]

(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr. M'Laren, Mr. Mackintosh.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Dr. CAMERON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he would be very much disinclined to trouble the House at that hour of the morning (1.35), were it not that the Bill related to a matter of extreme urgency. At the present moment a lamentable amount of destitution prevailed in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and that destitution had been brought about by an extraordinary concurrence of calamities. Last year, not only did the potato crop, on which the crofter population largely depended, fail, but a storm ravaged a number of districts and destroyed the oat crop. To add to that, many of the fishing boats were destroyed by storms, and, generally, fishing in the sea was a failure. Under these circumstances, a movement was set on foot for the relief of the people, particularly of the Island of Lewis. Subscriptions were collected, not only in the districts themselves, but an appeal was made to the Cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow and elsewhere. It was asserted, by a deputation from Lewis, that the amount of destitution there was much greater than could be met by charitable relief; and the Committee appointed to collect subscriptions in Glasgow at the beginning of the year, found from the applications made to it from all parts of the Highlands that it was so hopeless to cope with the distress by means of private charity, that it addressed a Memorial to the Government for extraordinary relief. In that Memorial the Glasgow Committee asserted what was corroborated by testimony from all parts of the destitute districts—that the distress was unequalled by anything which had occurred since 1846. There was great destitution, not merely in Lewis, in Skye, and other Islands, but, to a certain extent, on the mainland—in Inverness, Sutherland, and Ross-shire. The destitution had, up to the present, assumed an acute phase in certain places only; but from every place there came a great demand for seed. The potato crop last year was a total failure, or almost a total failure, and what potatoes the inhabitants had not been obliged to consume for food were of such a diseased character as to be of no use for seed. The oat crop was also a failure; and the object with which he introduced the Bill was to meet a very sad emergency—an emergency which had not been equalled in the history of the Highlands during the last 40 years. When, a few years ago, great destitution prevailed in Ireland, the Conservative Government of the day passed an Act enabling loans to be made to the destitute tenants, in order that they would be able to procure seed. They knew that the results of that Act had not been very encouraging; but this Bill, while based on the same general principle, was very different in detail. They proposed that under this Bill interest should be charged, while the loans in the case of Ireland were made without interest. In the present case the advance was limited in extent, and it was proposed that it should be made to the parish on security which was absolutely undoubted. He thought he was perfectly safe in saying that any loan made under this Bill would be absolutely certain of repayment. The assistance proposed to be given was in the shape of loan. It was to be given to the parish on the application of the Parochial Board, and with the sanction of the Board of Supervision. The Parochial Boards were to have the power of giving small loans not exceeding £5, and the loans were to be limited to the case of tenants under £15. There had been one or two hon. Members who took objection to this proposal—his hon. Friend the Member for Falkirk (Mr. Ramsay), for example, who apparently held that the assistance should be rather by way of gift. That was a proposal to which, however, he was afraid that Government would not agree. It might be said that the sum of money was so small that it might easily be borrowed from private Companies. He quite admitted that such machinery might be put in force if there were time. It was now the 6th of March, and seed-time was just upon them. It might be said that the landowners might make the necessary advances. It must be remembered that the proprietors were often life-renters, and that they could not safely make such advances without special legislation. It seemed to him that there could be no possible objection on principle to making advances to tenants for the purpose of enabling them to tide over an extraordinary crisis. It appeared to him there was no difference in principle between the advances he recommended and advances to a landowner for the purpose of enabling him to effect improvements, or to a municipality or school board for educational and sanitary purposes. The object was quite as laudable in the one case as in the other. ["Divide!"] He should not have trespassed upon the House where it not for the extreme urgency of the matter. There were but few days during which any relief could be given; and what he was afraid of was that unless relief be given immediately, unless these men be enabled to plant their ground, the same thing would happen as happened in 1846; they would find themselves, at the end of this season, drifting into a state of chronic pauperism, such as existed formerly for five years, and which would necessitate an expenditure of public money much more formidable in amount than that now asked for. The amount asked to be advanced was a mere bagatelle contrasted with the amount which that House wasted upon infinitely less important objects. He would repeat that his object was to prevent the Highlands drifting into the state into which they drifted in 1846, and he believed that might be done by making small advances promptly. He thought the principle upon which this proposal was based had been admitted on both sides of the House in 1880, and he therefore moved the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not propose to enter into the merits of this Bill now, for it was one which it was quite impossible to discuss at that time of night (1.45). He entirely sympathized with the object of the hon. Member; but he felt bound to say, speaking from his knowledge of their character, that the Scotch people were quite able to take care of themselves. But, however that might be, the principle of the Bill would require very grave consideration, and he begged to move that the debate be adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, he hoped the hon. Member (Dr. Cameron) would consent to the Motion, as he thought the Bill could not be adequately discussed at that hour.

Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, he was not so much concerned for the amount involved as for the principle of the Bill, for it proposed that money should be advanced without any security, and probably, in many cases, without any prospect of its being repaid. He regarded this as a very serious question, and he was anxious to have the debate adjourned in order that the Government might lay before the House any information they possessed which would justify a Bill of this kind. Such a measure ought to be a Ministerial measure, and should not be brought in by a private Member without any assurance from the Government that they would help the Bill through.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought this so important a matter—not as far as the amount of money involved was concerned as in regard to the principle—that if the Government favoured the proposal, as he understood they did, they ought to introduce a Bill themselves.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, the Government were usually guided in such matters as this by precedent. The Seed Loans Bill for Ireland was not brought in by the Government, but by a private Member; and the present Bill was for a very much smaller amount, upon totally different security. He did not think it would be possible for the Government to adopt the hon. Member's suggestion; but the question should be considered in the light of experience.

Dr. CAMERON said, that, in view of the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman, it would be absurd for him to attempt to press the Bill now; but he wished to urge the necessity for whatever was to be done being done at once. If nothing was to be done in the next few days, it would be better to reject the Bill at once, and so let the country know exactly how the matter stood.

Motion *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

PUBLIC HOUSE LICENSING COMMITTEES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Barran, Bill to remove the disabilities of Magistrates who are Shareholders in Railways from sitting on Public House Licensing Committees, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Barran, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, and Mr. Jackson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 110.]

CLERICAL DISABILITIES (HOUSE OF COMMONS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Roundell, Bill to remove the disabilities affecting the eligibility of persons in Holy Orders to sit in the House of Commons, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Roundell, Mr. Lyon Playfair, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Thorold Rogers, and Mr. Gregory.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 111.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

Sir Edward Colebrooke

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 6*th March*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—Select Committee *appointed*—Land Law (Ireland).

Public Bills—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund, &c. (Permanent Charges Redemption) Act (1873) Amendment* (13).

Second Reading—Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition (1).

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL.

QUESTION.

Lord BRABOURNE, in calling attention to the Answer given by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies the other night to a Question respecting the employment of dynamite in the Transvaal, asked whether the territory of the Chief Mapoch, instead of being in the interior of the Transvaal, as stated by the noble Earl, was one of the nearest, if not the nearest, territory to the civilized part of that country; whether, with reference to the refusal of Mapoch to pay taxes, it was not the fact that none of the Kaffir Chiefs paid their taxes until the end of the war, whereas Mapoch had always expressed his readiness to pay any tax that might be imposed upon him by the British Government; and whether, so far from being unfriendly to the British Government, he had not sent a large contingent to help in the British expedition against Secocoeni?

The Earl of DERBY, in reply, said, that he had accurately answered the Question put to him by the noble Lord the other night, when he referred to the situation of the territory of the Chief Mapoch in the Transvaal, and when he stated that Mapoch refused to pay taxes to the British Government. It was quite true—though he was not aware of the fact the other night—that this Chief at an earlier period, when the expedition was undertaken against Secocoeni, had helped the British Forces with a contingent of his own, and that he was so far friendly. But he believed there was no doubt as to the refused to pay taxes. He could not say what the other Chiefs had done.

PAYMENT OF WAGES IN PUBLIC-HOUSES PROHIBITION BILL.—(No. 1.)

(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL STANHOPE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was a custom among persons engaged in brickyards, dockyards, shipbuilding yards, and dustyards, to have their wages paid in public-houses. This was a most pernicious custom, and one that ought to be prohibited. It seemed very natural that if wages were paid over a bar-counter the men should spend the money they received in drink. They were induced to do so in treating their companions; and they were driven to do so, as it was called, for the good of the house. One glass led to another, and another, and thus both health and wages were frittered away, and no money was taken home to their wives and families. In the poorer parts of London women were frequently seen waiting outside the gin-palaces to take their husbands home, and to get them away with sufficient money to keep a roof over their heads, and to save their families from starvation. Yet it was said that this Bill was not based upon the observation of facts, and that the inherent liberty of the subject was interfered with by it. Compulsory vaccination, which prevented the spread of small-pox, and the compulsory registration of births and deaths, which was highly conducive to the preservation of infant life, were in one sense an interference with the liberty of the subject. Again, the more recently sanctioned Education Act for the purpose of providing education for the children of the poor in England, in order that this country might not be behind Germany, and other States, was in the same sense an interference with personal liberty. Besides the temptation offered to drink by the payment of wages in public-houses, many instances had been brought to his notice of the quantity of money actually thrown away on such occasions in public-houses. Indeed, he had heard of as much as £7 or £8 being picked up on the closing of a public-house, the men having become unable, through drink, to discriminate between gold and copper. Many of the poor people also got so intoxicated on the Saturday night that they were unable to leave the public-house, and remained shut up there during the whole of Sunday. There was another argument urged against the Bill, which was that there was no necessity for it, inasmuch as the Trades Unions did not move in the matter, which they would do if the people desired it. If they did, the power of combination among the working classes was so strong that it could secure the object in view without the necessity of legislation. But the multiplicity of employments and trades rendered that impossible. He would venture to say, however, that if a *plébiscite* of the wives of the working classes could be taken they would all vote against the payment of wages in public-houses, and a great many of their husbands would do the same. The noble and learned Lord who had given Notice of opposition to the Bill made a clever and amusing speech at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on the 29th November last, at a meeting of the Liberty and Property Defence League. He used these words—

> "The next thing—and upon my word they ought to be ashamed to bring this forward—is that wages are not to be paid in public-houses. He felt inclined to propose as an additional provision that if there are any small boys who receive wages they should not be paid in cakeshops because, he supposed, the object of this provision was that the men would be tempted to spend their wages in a public-house, and similar reasoning will apply to the small boys."

That, no doubt, might be a strictly legal analogy, but it was not a practical analogy, as the result of the two practices was so different. He had heard that when a pastrycook took an apprentice, the first thing he did was to give him a surfeit of buns and tarts, of which he got so heartily tired that ever after he had a lively dread of confectionery and refrained from touching the stock-in-trade; but it was quite different with respect to the use of alcoholic beverages, inasmuch as one drink, instead of creating a nausea, rather stimulated the appetite for more, and the appetite grew until it became an intolerable evil that could not be repressed. The Committee of their Lordships' House on Intemperance in 1878 and 1879, reported that—

> "Almost all the witnesses concurred in expressing their belief that by far the greatest amount of drinking and of drunkenness occurred on Saturday nights, that being the day on which wages are usually paid."

An argument used against the Bill was that it was a new proposal; but, in fact, it was only an elargement of the existing law. The Mines Regulation Act prohibited the payment of miners' wages in public-houses, and in Ireland nobody could, under a Statute of George III., be paid in any public-house. That was a most beneficial provision. Her Majesty's Government had recently sanctioned the same principle by prohibiting the payment of Army pensioners in public-houses. It was also contrary to the Militia Acts to pay militiamen in public-houses. His noble Relative who represented the Home Office (the Earl of Rosebery) had expressed his concurrence with the principle of the Bill; but he hoped that he would this year go further and give it his support. The noble Earl concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^a."—(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

Lord BRAMWELL, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, it was with great reluctance he rose to address their Lordships. If this was a question of law, their Lordships might listen to him in the belief that he ought at least to know something about it. He was afraid, however, there was a disposition to think that he who had a sort of title to speak on one subject ought to be silent on all others. He wished, notwithstanding, to express his opinion that this was a most mischievous proposal. He asked the House to consider what it was. It was this—that no matter how convenient it might be to the man who paid and the man who received that wages should be paid in a public-house, and no matter how inconvenient it might be that wages should be paid elsewhere, their Lordships were called upon to enact under a penalty that they should not be paid there. There was in this proposal no means of getting rid of that penalty. They were asked to lay down the hard line that the thing should not be done, and that too without giving any power to anyone in any case to permit such payment. Now, before they took that course, he would ask if the House had before it the materials on which it could base an alteration of the law in the way proposed? It was said that when wages were paid in public-houses great inconveniences took place. That might be so; but did they know that they were not counter-balanced by the inconveniences which would result from such a law as that proposed? When men received their wages in the public-house, they were at least under shelter; but enact this law, and they would have to stand outside a shed, whatever the rain, hail, sleet, or snow. At present, they and the persons who paid them could go into the public-house, which was convenient to all. If the question before the House were, as the noble Earl put it, whether the practice of paying wages in public-houses was a good one, then there could be no two opinions on the subject. It must be admitted by everyone that some mischief would result. He believed that no considerate master would desire to pay wages in a public-house, and no prudent workman would desire to receive them therein. He was quite willing to go that length; but the question before their Lordships was not as to whether the practice was a good one. What they had to consider was whether it would be convenient, or whether it would be inconvenient, that there should be a positive prohibition of wages being paid in a public-house; or, rather, whether they had the materials for forming an opinion thereon? No one was better acquainted than he was with the mischiefs that arose through drink; he had noticed in the calendars that twice the number of crimes, exclusive of cases of fraud, in which there was no element of violence, were committed on Saturday, the day on which the wages were paid and spent, as upon any other day in the week. Nay, he believed that if they took away the charges into which drunkenness did not enter as an element, the number of offences committed on Saturday were thrice as many as on any other day in the week; so that he had formulated his experience thus—Saturday, wages day; drink day; crime day. He was fully sensible of that, but that was not the question before the House. What they had to consider was whether they would lay down a rule in the way they were invited to do, and with no more materials than had been offered to them. He asked their Lordships not to do that? But, further, what was the object of the Bill? Was it to tempt the men to keep away from the public-house, to protect grown up men as if they were children from themselves? He could not but express some surprise at what had fallen from the noble Earl. He said that compulsory vaccination, which was an interference with the liberty of the subject, was, nevertheless, sanctioned by the State because of the good it did in preventing the spread of small-pox, as if that justified the interference of the State in the manner in which a man arrived at full years of discretion made use of his time and money. There was no analogy between the two cases. If there was one exception to a rule which worked well, that was no reason they should create a second exception to it. Such an argument as that would seem to show that rules were made for the purpose of having exception taken to them. This country was the most prosperous in the world. The people had more wealth, more comfort, and more happiness than the people of any other country he knew. If he were asked how that had been brought about, he would say that it was because the people had been left to themselves and had not been worried by Government, and he objected to that state of things being altered. It was true, the Trades Union Congress had approved the Bill, and the opinion of that body was entitled to great respect; but it should be remembered that it represented skilled labour, while the people who were paid in public-houses were unskilled labourers, a class who were not represented on the Congress. At the same gathering, by-the-bye, the nationalization of the land was recommended. He wondered whether the noble Earl would some day bring that recommendation before their Lordships. To pass the Bill would be to take unnecessarily a step in the dark, and he therefore begged to move that the measure be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said, that he was in some measure the author of the Bill before their Lordships, for in 1842, when dealing with the subject of the employment of women and children in mines and collieries, he proposed that no wages should be paid in places where intoxicating drinks were sold, and the proposal was carried through both Houses by acclamation. The hostility shown to the present Bill was due to the movement of a new society, called "The Liberty and Property Defence League." He now looked upon the action of that society with much alarm; and he felt convinced that if their Lordships should reject the measure they would be taking the first step in a career which would result in a reversal of that policy which, during the last 50 years, had done so much for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. The noble and learned Lord had spoken as if that was the first time that such a measure as the one now before them had been proposed. As a matter of fact, the principle of the Bill had been before the public for 40 years, and had been affirmed by Parliament in 1842 and 1872. That being so, it was now far too late for their Lordships to question the principle. They must adduce facts. But the various Inspectors of general industries who had seen the principle enforced desired to see it applied through the length and breadth of the land. There were thousands of people who were just as incapable as children of defending themselves against the dangers attending the present practice of paying wages in public-houses. The Missionaries of the City of London Mission—and they could have no better authority—gave it as their opinion that the practice was hurtful in every way, and led to drunkenness and every form of crime that followed in the train of drunkenness. Many foremen, it should be remembered, were part-owners of public-houses, and the men under them were compelled to choose between accepting payment in a public-house and being sent to the rightabout. He did not speak of the large employers of labour; they had seen the duty and benefit of saving their people from such temptation. Labourers in dockyards—not Her Majesty's Dockyards, but those yards where mercantile ships were laden and unladen—were often subjected to pressure of that kind. These were a very numerous class, and their employment was precarious, depending on the arrival of ships and the weather. When the demand was brisk, they got 19*s.* or 20*s.* a week. When trade was not brisk, when no ships were coming in, or when the weather was adverse, they made nothing at all. A clergyman, a friend of his, who had the largest number of this class under his charge of any clergyman in London, told him that their average earnings throughout the year were not more than 9*s*. a week. Was he to be told that these men, when so many others were ready to take their places, could for a moment refuse to go into a public-house to receive their wages, in which public-house they were oftentimes made to drink during many hours before wages were paid? It was in defence of these men that he begged their Lordships to read this Bill a second time. The principle of the legislation of the last half-century was that of defending the weak against the strong; and he implored their Lordships not to depart now from that principle, which had been productive of so much good, and which had done so much honour to the nation. They were told that they were constantly interfering with the liberty of the subject. Well, if they did interfere, it was no longer matter of experiment, but a proof that it was to the benefit of the nation. The noble Lord, in his speech at the Westminster Hotel, thought he had found an admirable illustration in the case of the payment of the wages of boys in sweetmeat shops. If they could prove that that practice had led to such evils as those which this Bill was intended to meet, he would support a measure to put it down. *Volenti non fit injuria.* If this was an interference with the liberty of the working man, it was one which the working man would heartily welcome. If they took a walk through the districts which these people inhabited they would find that seven-tenths of the men and every one of the women would cry out in the name of God to give them this legislation. He was certain it would confer an inestimable benefit upon them. If the House of Lords were to throw out a measure of this kind, which these people considered necessary for their happiness, the country would deeply regret it. He hoped their Lordships would give a second reading to this Bill, which, in his conscience, he believed to be demanded alike by the law of God and the welfare of the people.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE said, it was impossible to listen to the speech of the noble Earl who had just sat down without being impressed with his earnestness and without approving the object he had in view. But the object of the noble Earl was one thing, and the means by which he wished to carry out that object was another. This Bill was a sample of a kind of legislation of which they had had of late years a good deal, but which Parliament should view with feelings of the greatest distrust. They were asked to protect people perfectly well able to protect themselves. Some members of a particular class were in the habit of taking advantage of the payment of wages in public-houses on Saturday afternoons in order to prove themselves thriftless and intemperate; and, therefore, the noble Earl proposed to put the whole of that class into leading-strings. They were described in the Bill as "working men, labourers, journeymen artificers, handicraftsmen," and so on. Why, these were the persons who at present had the Parliamentary franchise in boroughs, and in a short time, he presumed, would have it in counties. They were the men to whose arbitrament the control of our national finances, as well as questions of peace and war and other great issues, would be entrusted; and yet the noble Earl (Earl Stanhope) told their Lordships that they were not to be trusted within sight of a quart pot, or within earshot of a beer engine. No doubt this kind of interference with personal liberty was sometimes unavoidable. The noble Earl gave two instances, unfortunately chosen—those of national education and vaccination. But surely the case for interference in respect of these stood upon very different ground. If there were no such interference in the case of education, we should have had a whole generation growing up in ignorance; and if there were no interference with regard to vaccination, it would be a matter of certainty that small-pox would spread over the community. Such interference properly took place where the physical health or moral welfare of the great mass of the community was concerned; but that had not been shown to be the case in the present instance. In his opinion, there were three conditions which ought to be fulfilled before interference of this kind was resorted to. The first condition was that it should be demonstrated that there was an overwhelming necessity for interference; the second, that the interference would be effectual; and the third, that the inconvenience occasioned by it should not outweigh the advantages which might result. His noble Friend had clearly failed to make out that in this case those conditions were fulfilled. He had given their Lordships' House some vague statements as to Saturday afternoon drinking; but it did not follow that the Bill would stop Saturday afternoon drinking. What was to prevent men going to drink at public-houses after they had received their wages in some other buildings—very likely next door to, or, at any rate, in the same street as, the public-house? It was possible that a small increase of sobriety might result from the passing of the Bill; but it was notorious that a great number of persons would be put to the greatest possible inconvenience, as public-houses often were the only places where the men could rest and get refreshment after their week's work. He hoped that it would not be supposed that he was not in favour of temperance. On the contrary, he believed the great temperance movement now abroad in the country was producing a large amount of good; but he disbelieved in these Acts of grandmotherly solicitude intended to make people do what they ought to do for themselves. It was not by such legislation they would make persons thrifty or temperate. He should hope a great deal more from the effects of education, from affording the working classes opportunities for investing their savings, and, above all, from providing for them cheerful amusements not at present within their reach. He should regret any legislation which would strengthen the impression that it was the business of Parliament to do for the people what the people ought to do for themselves.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, the noble Marquess who had just sat down said that under this Bill workmen who had been paid their wages could still go into a neighbouring public-house. In that case, however, it would be a voluntary act, and we, the supporters of this Bill, wanted liberty, and that no man should be compelled to go into a public-house. If, as had been said, it rained or snowed outside, and the publican provided a warm room for the workmen whilst they were waiting for their wages, it was human nature that they should feel bound to make a return for this hospitality, and order something for the good of the house. There was another cause which led to the workmen having to wait a long time while their wages were being paid, and that was that the Department of the Government which looked after the Mint did not take care to provide a sufficient supply of small silver coinage. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Bramwell), who opposed the Bill, had referred to the amount of drunkenness and crime which accompanied Saturday pay days; and he had said that this Bill only provided for navvies and such like labourers, who did not belong to trade unions. Well, those were the very men who most required the protection which this Bill would give them; and a Circular had been sent round to their Lordships by the opponents of the Bill, to the effect that it showed distrust of the wage-winners; but their own wives knew them best, and all of them would ask their Lordships to pass this Bill.

LORD BRABOURNE observed, that, whatever abstract reasons there might be in favour of the measure, the practical inconvenience of abolishing the custom of paying wages in public-houses ought to be considered. In his opinion, there was something of a melancholy character in the speech which the noble Earl (the Earl of Shaftesbury) had made, because it meant that after the many years spent by the Legislature in promoting education and other means to improve the masses, they were still in such a miserable and hopeless condition that they were unable to protect themselves against the tyranny of foremen or the designs of publicans. This Bill might be a little step; but if they went on in the direction indicated by its provisions, the end would be that all their liberties would be gone, and that no one could make a bargain without being watched by a Government Inspector. Such legislation was quite foreign to all old-fashioned ideas of English liberty; and, as the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lansdowne) had pointed out, this Bill would not be effectual. If there were foremen who obliged the men under them to spend their wages in particular public-houses in which they had an interest, what was to prevent them exercising their authority in the same way, even though the wages were not paid in the public-house itself? They might simply pay the wages in the open air, or in some room near to the public-house, unless, indeed, as a consequence of this Bill, they summoned the men to some place convenient to themselves, but at a distance from the men's own homes, where the temptation might still be at hand. It was impossible to prevent people from carrying out their business in a manner most convenient to themselves. They prayed daily that they should not be led into temptation; but some people in these modern days wished to do away with temptation altogether, instead of elevating the moral condition of man so as to enable him to resist it. This was an impossibility, and those attempts at what had been well called grandmotherly legislation would be found not only inconvenient, but unpalatable to the very people for whom it was intended.

Lord COTTESLOE said, that many working men altogether declined to enter a public-house except when the master compelled them to do so in order to receive their wages. That was a most arbitrary act on the part of the master, and he doubted whether it was strictly legal. He hoped the Bill would be read a second time, as its principle was sound and good; but its provisions, if too stringent, might be altered in Committee. He gave Notice of his intention to move an Amendment in Committee in order to allow publicans to pay their own servants in their own houses.

The Earl of ROSEBERY said, he found himself in a difficult position with regard to this measure; but if there was no one who took a more unfavourable view of this Bill than he did, it would not be in much danger. An appeal had been made to the Government for more support than they had been able to give to the Bill last year. As far as he knew, the Government had not changed their attitude towards the principle of the Bill since it was before the House a year ago. They always regarded measures of this character, and this particular measure, as being useful, if not very extended in their scope; but they had not thought it their duty to become the promoters of the Bill, or to take an active part in pushing it through. His noble Relative (Earl Stanhope) had referred to the few observations which he (the Earl of Rosebery) had made last year with regard to this Bill; and he was not disposed to qualify them, or to express any different opinion, notwithstanding all the philosophical speeches they had heard this evening. The prospects of his noble Relative's Bill were better than might be expected, although the occasion had been taken advantage of for the purpose of fleshing the maiden sword of the Liberty and Property Defence League, and for displaying the prowess of that body. He really did not see, in spite of that attack, and of all the arguments they had heard on this occasion, what had occurred particularly to alter the attitude of this House with respect to this Bill since last year. What occurred last year? His noble Relative had given ample opportunity to this House to discuss and consider this Bill. It had passed this House without a dissentient voice. So unanimously had it passed, that one little mild sentence of criticism and regret which had fallen from himself was the only sound which broke the general murmur of approval in this House. If there was one thing on which he thought their Lordships might justly pride themselves, it was that this House was not a changeable Assembly. It was not an Assembly that might be opposed to one set of principles one year and to another set another; and, therefore, this was an opportunity of preserving a consistency of feeling and action which was denied to what was euphemistically called "another place." He wanted to ask what would be the attitude of this House if, having passed this Bill without a single comment, with the one trifling exception to which he had alluded, they were to change their opinion and reject the Bill upon which they had not even bestowed criticism last year? There was only one thing which had occurred to change the attitude of this House since the Bill was passed last year. That was the formation of the Liberty and Property Defence League, and he could not honestly think that that was a sufficiently serious reason for depriving the promoters of the Bill and the working classes of the benefits which it would confer. He confessed that his sympathy with his noble Relative in regard to this measure was not quite so strong as perhaps it ought to be. He sympathized very much with what had fallen from his noble Friend (Lord Brabourne), when he said that after all they had done to raise the social condition of working men, it did seem a little humiliating that his noble Relative should have come forward with measures of this kind to secure the working men from the temptations of the public-house. It was quite true that the working men should be superior to those temptations, and it had been observed by the noble and learned Lord (Lord Bramwell) that the trade unions ought to have power to suppress this traffic. Well, they had power as regarded skilled artizans, but this Bill was not in defence of skilled artizans. That was where the argument of the noble and learned Lord and those who had supported him was wrong. It was not the skilled artizans that the Bill was intended to help; it was the humble classes of unskilled labourers who had no trade unions. He had been delighted to hear the speeches that had been made; but it would have given him greater pleasure if they had had somewhat more definite and detailed information.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Hear, hear!

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, continuing, said, he was glad to hear that cheer from the noble Marquess, and he could assure him that any contributions of statistics from him would be welcome to the Government. He would now bring his little contribution of information to the House, and that, he ventured to say, was worth all the philosophical arguments of the noble Lord. He had received a letter from a labourer near Sittingbourne describing the manner in which brickmakers were paid their wages. The letter was vouched for by a Member of Parliament in whom he had the fullest confidence. It stated that the brickmakers worked in gangs of from four to ten. One received the orders from the foreman, and kept account of the work done by his gang during the week. When Saturday came, one man went to the office and took the whole of the money to his gang, sometimes receiving it in gold and silver, and sometimes in notes, and it was taken to the public-house for the purpose of paying the wages. The first thing was to get change, and, of course, every man was expected to drink something, and some of them had as much as three pints while the change was being obtained; and, having reached the "don't care mood," many of them got drunk before they left the house. In other cases, the publican kept a record of the drink supplied to the men during the week, and deducted the amount before the wages were paid, the wages being thus hypothecated to pay for drink. Facts like these, relating to men who had no power of combination, and who worked in comparative isolation, were worth all the highly strung phrases they had heard that night. He would now give them another piece of practical information. When this Bill passed their Lordship's House last year, it went down to the other House, and was taken charge of by Mr. Broadhurst, whom he considered quite as good a Representative of the feelings of his class as the noble and learned Lord opposite. Mr. Broadhurst received a letter, not from a working man, but from the Chief Constable of a Northern city, who wrote—

> "Pray press on your Bill and pass it as soon as possible. No greater boon could be given to the public than this Bill. Its effect would be to suppress a number of public-houses, which practically live on the system which this Bill condemns."

These and other facts, although not so extended as he might wish them to be, pointed most overwhelmingly in favour of the passing of this Bill; and he thought that unless facts of a weightier character than mere abstract arguments were brought forward against the Bill, Her Majesty's Government had a right to preserve the attitude of benevolent neutrality, which was in accordance with their declarations last year.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, the difference, as it appeared to him, between their situation last year and this year was, that last year the question was not debated at all, while this year an interesting and instructive debate had taken place upon it; and he confessed the impression on his mind was that the House was not sufficiently informed to proceed with legislation upon this subject. The noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) had spoken of the attitude of the Government as one of benevolent neutrality; but he would rather call the noble Earl's criticism a drench of iced water, and that was all that Her Majesty's Government had been able to contribute towards the discussion of this Bill. This did not seem to him a very suitable mode of dealing with a subject of great importance. Either the Government must have some strong reason for passing this Bill, or they ought not to pass it. In support of the Bill, the noble Earl had said that a great number of public-houses would be suppressed—that was to say, that a considerable number of Her Majesty's subjects would be deprived of the livelihood that they now gained; but they were the persons probably who would be least inconvenienced by the measure. It was admitted that the large employers of labour would not be affected by the Bill. It was the small employers of labour who could not provide pay offices, and who could not conveniently pay their men anywhere else than in the public-house, who would be affected by it. Had they a right to inflict a great loss and inconvenience upon unknown numbers of people in various parts of the country, and in various trades, without having made any inquiry whatever to ascertain what was the precise nature of the operation which they were performing, and what was the precise extent of the inconvenience which they would cause? This seemed to him exceedingly rash and hasty legislation. The noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) had read a letter from Sittingbourne, upon which his case was apparently based; but that letter showed the kind of random statistics on which they were proceeding, for the letter, if he understood it right, referred to a case where wages were not paid in the public-house at all, but at a place near the public-house. Supposing the evil was as great as the supporters of the Bill said it was—supposing it was an evil calling for legislative interference, should they not take sufficient measures of inquiry to ascertain whether the provisions of this Bill would meet the evil in the right way? Were they sure that the measure would have any effective or beneficial operation at all? Was it founded upon a sufficient knowledge of the facts? Had they a right to strike in upon an unknown number of persons and trades, and inflict an amount of injury which they were wholly unable to calculate without having some official investigation into the facts upon which their legislation was to be based? Upon that ground alone he should certainly be unable to assent to the second reading of the Bill. But he was not so entirely indifferent to the abstract arguments upon which the noble Earl had poured his contempt. It was said that the principle involved was known to the law. They had interfered on other occasions with the liberty of the subject; and, therefore, because they had done it by way of exception in the past, they were never to plead the liberty of the subject as a thing which Parliament ought to consider. They had, he dared say, rightly interfered in the past, on grave cause being shown, with the liberty of the subject; but that was not the slightest justification for interfering now, unless there was a proved case, and a proved benefit to be obtained thereby. Undoubtedly, they might carry to bigotry the dogmas which the Liberty and Property Defence League was instituted to defend. They might lay down the rule too absolutely that they must never interfere with the liberty of the subject; but that did not diminish the importance of the great principle of allowing every man to take care of himself, so long as he did not interfere with the welfare of his neighbour. Language of the most exaggerated character had been used in this debate. The case of these men had been talked of as a thraldom. It was a thraldom to the extent that they were put within sight of beer, and it was left to them whether they should drink it or not. He should be sorry to believe that it had come to this—that they had to interfere by Parliamentary action to prevent grown men from yielding to the temptation to get drunk. But if they were resolved to do this—if it appeared necessary that for high considerations of the public weal they ought to disregard those essential principles of liberty on which their whole polity and prosperity were founded, at all events they ought to do it after careful, deliberate, and sufficient inquiry.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that all his sympathies were with the general principles laid down by the noble and learned Lord (Lord Bramwell) who opposed the Bill; and he was not disposed to sneer at what had been called the philosophic character of his remarks. He agreed with the general principle that there ought not to be undue interference with the liberty of individuals capable of protecting themselves. They were warned—and it was often a wise warning—not to take the first step; and the noble and learned Lord seemed to regard this as a first step. But it was rather late in the day to talk of first steps—it appeared to him the first step had been taken long ago. Vaccination and education were spoken of; but all these were questions of degree. As it had been stated, with regard to mines, employers were prevented from paying the wages of miners in public-houses. Parliament, in amending the truck system, had seriously interfered with liberty of contract between grown-up persons; and it had rightly done this on account of the abuses which grew up in a system capable, if properly conducted, of conferring great benefits on working people, by securing them a better quantity of goods at cheaper rates than were otherwise obtainable. There was no such advantage in the payment of wages at public-houses; and the case against it was very much stronger. It was a most extraordinary warning that they ought not to be rash on the present occasion. The Bill passed the second reading last year; and if it were not rash to pass it then, how could it be more rash for their Lordships now, after a year's reflection, to take the same course? For his own part, he confessed he was not violently in love with the measure; but still its advantages appeared obvious, and it was a very strong point that it was desired by the labouring classes, to whom it particularly applied, that it should pass.

EARL CAIRNS said, he was unwilling to give a silent vote on this measure. In the first place, he agreed with the noble Earl opposite that that House was free to take what course it pleased this year, notwithstanding the fact that last year the Bill passed almost *sub silentio.* He did not like the Bill last year, and he did not like it this year; but still, on reflection, it appeared to him that it would be a matter of regret if it were rejected on the second reading. He disliked, as much as any of their Lordships could, legislation which went to restrain freedom of contract, or any arrangements which employers and employed might make with each other. He looked with much jealousy on a measure of this kind, and his first impulse was to oppose it; but it should be borne in mind that they were asked to deal with places which stood in an exceptional position. Public-houses were licensed by the State, and they could not exist without the licence of the State. This was part of the legislation of the country; and, therefore, he held that the State had a perfect right to see that the places which it licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors were properly used for legitimate purposes, and that they were not used for purposes which could lead to any public injury or disadvantage. He thought this was part and parcel of the conditions under which houses of this kind received a licence from the State. Therefore, if their Lordships found a public-house was used for a purpose which was not legitimately a purpose for which the place was licensed, and which, in itself, caused a public evil, he maintained that they had a perfect right to say that a public-house should not be used for such a purpose. For instance, there was the question as to how far public-houses were to be used for particular purposes at election times. He did not wish to prejudge the question; but no one disputed that it was a legitimate subject for legislation if an evil were seen to arise. As to this particular measure, he said it was clear that the humble class of labourers to whom it applied were bound hand and foot, and that they must, under the existing system, go to the public-house to receive their wages. He agreed that working men ought not to be placed in that position. The wages should be paid elsewhere, and the public-house should not be used for the purpose. It had been urged that, although the men went to a public-house, they might, nevertheless, abstain from taking liquor. Well, a great deal of the virtues of many of themselves depended on the absence of temptation; and if they mechanically brought people face to face with temptation, they were doing a thing which was wrong, and which ought, if possible, to be avoided. He thought the Bill would do a great deal of good by preventing the continuance of the present system. He was aware of the danger of legislation of this kind; but still, speaking for himself, he thought the arguments in favour of the second reading were stronger than the arguments against it.

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 58; Not-Contents 20: Majority 38.

CONTENTS.

Selborne E. (*L. Chancellor.*)

Abercorn, M. (*D. Abercorn.*)

Hertford, M.
Northampton, M.

Belmore, E.
Cairns, E.
Camperdown, E.
Derby, E.
Granville, E.
Kimberley, E.
Leven and Melville, E.
Manvers, E.
Morley, E.
Nelson, E.
Northbrook, E.
Onslow, E.
Redesdale, E.
Shaftesbury, E. [*Teller.*]
Stanhope, E. [*Teller.*]
Stradbroke, E.
Waldegrave, E.

Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.
London, L. Bp.

Belper, L.
Boyle, L. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Carlingford, L.
Carrington, L.
Clements, L. (*E. Leitrim.*)
Coleridge, L.
Congleton, L.
Cottesloe, L.
Crewe, L.
Denman, L.
Ker, L. (*M. Lothian.*)
Meldrum, L. (*M. Huntly.*)
Methuen, L.
Monson, L.
Mount-Temple, L.
Penryhn, L.
Ramsay, L. (*E. Dalhousie.*)
Reay, L.
Rosebery, L. (*E. Rosebery.*)
Saltersford, L. (*E. Courtown*)
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Ventry, L.
Walsingham, L.
Watson, L.
Waveney, L.
Wimborne, L.

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Richmond, D.

Lansdowne, M. [*Teller.*]
Salisbury, M.

Dartrey, E.
Lathom, E.
Sondes, E.

Hutchinson, V. (*E. Donoughmore*)
Sherbrooke, V.
Sidmouth, V.

Amherst, L. (*V. Holmesdale.*)
Brabourne, L.
Bramwell, L. [*Teller.*]
Fitzgerald, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Kenry, L. (*E. Dunraven and Mount-Earl.*)
Leconfield, L.
Ponsonby, L. (*E. Bessborough.*)
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Windsor, L.

Resolved in the *Affirmative.*

Bill read 2^{a} accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

LAND LAW (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE, in rising to move—

> "That a Select Committee be appointed to continue the inquiry, commenced by the Select Committee of last Session, into the working of recent legislation in reference to land in Ireland and its effect upon the condition of the country,"

said, he did not think it would be necessary for him to trouble their Lordships with many remarks in reference to the Motion, as it was simply to revive the Committee of last Session. The Committee had already published two Reports of a considerable quantity of evidence; but the subject was a very wide one, and the Reports could hardly at the present moment be called complete, as there were statements made about property during the last Sitting of the Committee, which could, perhaps, be refuted by other statements. He was bound to confess that it was a matter of surprise to him that there should be any opposition to the re-constitution of this Committee on the part of the Government, because last year, when Her Majesty's Government opposed the Committee, they said it was not opposed on the grounds of its constitution, but because it was inopportune. The work of the Committee, so far as he knew, was very satisfactory, and encomiums had been passed upon it, he believed, by certain Members of the Government. The Report had also been of great service to them in that House, since it had enabled noble Lords opposite to meet the arguments of their opponents. He would, therefore, move that it be re-appointed.

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to continue the inquiry, commenced by the Select Committee of last Session, into the working of recent legislation in reference to land in Ireland and its effect upon the condition of the country."—(*The Earl of Donoughmore.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the noble Lord was quite right as to the position which the Government took in this matter. If his noble Friend had used formidable arguments in favour of his Motion he did not know that he should have felt himself bound to answer them, because the Government treated the Motion as little more than a matter of form. His only object in rising was to say that the Government maintained the same position on the matter as they took last year—that they were not convinced of the necessity, or the utility, or the public advantage of this Committee. But the matter had already been decided against the Government, and they offered no opposition to the renewal of those inquiries now, just as they were renewed last year after an adjournment of the House. Therefore, on behalf of the Government, he wished to say that they were no parties to the Committee, though they did not wish to divide the House upon it.

LORD DENMAN said, he could not see any use in again appointing this Committee, because their Lordships' House had already before them all the evidence that was necessary in order to come to a proper decision on the working of the Land Act. It was quite evident, from the evidence of Colonel King-Harman before the Select Committee, which he had been privileged to hear, that the poor Irish people supposed that they should be the owners of the land, and should pay no rent; therefore, he did not see the use of going into the matter further. It was said that the poor people knew no better; but it was the duty of their Lordships' House to set them right on the point, because they knew that if peasants became proprietors of land, they would expect all the privileges as to rent, in case of non-occupation, which landlords were legally invested with. He, for one, could not see the use of allowing people to believe that they could borrow money from Parliament to buy the land when they had no capital to work the land. He considered the opposition in "another place" to the appointment of the Select Committee of 1882 an entire waste of time; because, in 1839, the Resolutions passed by this House by the attack of Lord Brougham, although carried by a large majority, made no impression whatever on Viscount Melbourne, the Prime Minister, nor on the House of Commons.

Motion *agreed to.*

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY asked the Lord Chancellor whether he would postpone the second reading of the Representative Peers (Scotland) Bill until the middle of April, for the convenience of the Scotch Peers generally? The noble Earl said, he did not think the request at all an unreasonable one, as a number of Scotch Peers could not conveniently be here until after Easter. They in Scotland should like some time to consider a subject of this kind, and therefore he hoped the noble and learned Earl would not bring on the second reading of this Bill sooner than Tuesday, the 17th April, and would also, in that case, give an assurance that the Committee would not be taken sooner than the first week in May. The Scotch Peers generally would thank the noble and learned Earl very much if he followed that course.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that nobody could be more desirous than he was to consult the convenience of all their Lordships, and certainly of the Scotch Peers as much as other Members of their Lordships' House, on a subject in which they were especially interested. He could not, however, entirely assent to the proposal of his noble Friend, as to taking the second reading on the 17th April, or as to the time he suggested for the Committee; but it appeared to him he would meet the views of his noble Friend if he said he would not move the second reading until after Easter. He thought it would be reasonable that he should move it on an early day after their Lordships met again after Easter, which date he did not at present exactly know; and if Scottish Peers did not think it worth while to come up for the second reading, they would have an opportunity of considering the measure in Committee, which he should fix at a reasonable interval after the second reading.

House adjourned at Seven o'clock,
to Thursday next, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 6th March, 1883.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Alloa, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy Railway, *debate further adjourned;* Barry Dock and Railways, *debate further adjourned;* Exeter, Teign Valley, and Chagford Railway, *debate further adjourned;* Hull and Lincoln Railway, *debate further adjourned;* Oxford, Aylesbury, and Metropolitan Junction Railway, *debate further adjourned;* Seafield Dock and Railway, *debate further adjourned;* Windsor, Ascot, and Aldershot Railway, *debate further adjourned.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

ALLOA, DUNFERMLINE, AND KIRKCALDY RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Chaplin.*)

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, it would be in the recollection of the House that on the occasion when this and other Bills were last before the House the debate was adjourned for a week; and he was asked, on behalf of the Board of Trade, after the opinion which had been pretty generally expressed in the House, if he would see whether he could not make some proposal in the matter which should be satisfactory to the House. This was one of a class of Bills to which objection was taken on the ground that it increased the rates charged upon certain classes of agricultural manures. On the merits of that question a good deal might be said upon both sides; but he did not propose to discuss the matter now. Upon one point there appeared to be a general agreement—namely, that in future Bills of this kind, proposing an alteration of rates, should not, as in the past, *per incuriam*, be allowed to be passed without the special attention of the Committee to which they were referred being directed to them. He was now about to propose that all the Bills which dealt in this way with agricultural manures should be postponed for another week; and he did so in order that the House, in the meantime, might have an opportunity of discussing and disposing of the Motion which stood in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) for a new Standing Order, which it seemed to him (Mr. Chamberlain) would, to a large extent, meet the desire generally expressed on the last occasion by the House—namely, that—

> "In the case of any Bill relating to a Railway, Canal, Dock, Harbour, Navigation, Pier, or Port, the Committee on the Bill shall consider and specially report on any Clauses giving power to levy tolls, rates, or duties in excess of those already authorized for that undertaking, or usually authorized for like undertakings."

Of course, it would be impossible to make an alteration unless the attention of the Committee were specially directed to the matter. But he thought it convenient and desirable, while he accepted the principle of this proposal, that he should go a little further. On the last occasion, the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) suggested that the Board of Trade should be instructed to make a Report. He (Mr. Chamberlain) pointed out that, at one time, that had been the practice; but it had been allowed to fall into desuetude, because so little attention was paid to the Reports when they were made. If the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sclater-Booth) would propose a new Standing Order in the terms in which he originally placed it on the Paper, and by which he provided that the Committee should make a Report to the House stating whether any Report relating to the Bill had been referred to the Committee, and, if so, in what way any alteration or recommendation contained in such Report had been dealt with by the Committee, he (Mr. Chamberlain) would undertake that the Board of Trade should make a Report in each case, and he thought that this would provide a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. It would be perfectly useless to provide that any Report furnished by the Board of Trade should be dealt with by the Committee, without insuring that after it had been dealt with there should be a special Report to the House. He should support the Standing Order of the right hon. Gentleman; and he hoped it would be accepted by the House, with this addition—

> "That no Bill by or under which power is sought to increase or vary tolls or rates already authorized, or to be authorized, higher than those sanctioned by previous legislation shall be read a second time until a Report from the Board of Trade has been laid upon the Table of the House."

If the House were pleased to accept the Standing Order with that addition, he thought they might then very well allow these Bills to go to a second reading, and be referred to a Committee upstairs, accompanied by that Instruction. In order that the matter might be properly discussed, he proposed to move now that the adjourned debate upon these Bills be further adjourned until that day week.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE said, that he had put his name down upon the Paper in opposition to the second reading of that and other Bills for reasons which he had mentioned the other day. He trusted the House would therefore permit him to say that he was perfectly satisfied with the propositions of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain); but he should hold himself permitted to retain his Notice of Opposition to these Bills upon the Paper until the question of the new Standing Order, about to be proposed by his right hon. Friend the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth), had been fully discussed by the House; because it might be that, after the House had discussed that question, the provisions of the Standing Order might not be altogether, although he hoped they would be, satisfactory to the agricultural community. He therefore wished to say that he was perfectly satisfied with the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, that the discussion upon these Bills should be postponed for a week. He understood from the right hon. Gentleman that he did not propose that these Bills should now be read a second time, but that they should be deferred until a future date, pending the debate upon the Standing Order about to be proposed by his right hon. Friend the Member for North Hants.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, he had listened with great satisfaction to the concluding remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain); but he wanted to know why the course now proposed was not adopted by the Board of Trade last year? The Board of Trade was supposed to be the guardians of the public interests, and not the guardians of the interests of the Railway Companies. No less than 11 Bills passed through the House last year, containing clauses of a similar objectionable character with those now proposed. The President of the Board of Trade stated, last week, that there was no precedent for opposing these Bills; but he failed to show the House that, although there might have been no precedent, there was no reason for opposing them; it was certainly not in the interests of the public that such Bills should be passed. There was no doubt that the Bills introduced last year slipped through the House without the agricultural interest being fully informed of their nature. There was, however, one Bill which was opposed, and that was the Great North of Scotland Railway Bill. He had taken it on himself to move the rejection of that measure, but he failed to carry the House with him on that occasion; and, as far as he was personally concerned, he was very thankful that the Bill had to be referred to the judgment of "another place." There could be no question that these objectionable clauses, when introduced by a new Company, were backed up by the big Railway Companies; otherwise, how was the fact to be accounted for that the Lobbies of the House of Commons were swarming last week with persons connected with the large Railway Companies, if they had no interest in that question? Certainly, if the House gave its consent to the enactment of these exceptional powers in the case of new Companies, he failed to see what arguments could be adduced for rejecting similar provisions when the old Companies came to the House and asked for increased powers.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he thought the House was greatly indebted to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) for the readiness he had displayed in meeting the feeling so generally expressed last week. He did not propose to enter upon the subject-matter of the debate, because he considered that hon. Members on both sides of the House were now agreed that something ought to be done to safeguard the public interests in relation to this important matter. But he thought that the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard) had been a little too hard upon the Board of Trade, because the House itself must accept the blame and responsibility for not having hitherto directed its legislation in the channel in which it was now considered desirable to see it directed.

Hitherto Private Bill Committees had been in want of special directions, and had been in the habit of taking account only of the cases submitted to them for decision by the promoters of a Bill on the one side, and by the opponents on the other. They had not been specially charged by the House, as he thought they ought to be, with the duty of having regard to the public interests apart from any case which might be submitted to them for their decision from any particular side. It was in order to cure that evil that he had proposed that the House should pass a Standing Order, on the analogy of the Standing Order passed at his instance last year, with respect to Bills and sanitary regulations. His right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade now proposed that the Bills standing on the Paper should be deferred for a week, in order that that Standing Order might be discussed; and his right hon. Friend had suggested some modification and enlargement of the Standing Order as he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had placed it on the Paper. As he understood his right hon. Friend's Amendment, it would fit in better with the form of the Standing Order as he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had originally proposed it. Personally, he preferred the Order as it was originally proposed, and he had modified it only on the advice of the Speaker's Counsel, who thought that a shorter and more condensed form of words would answer the purpose better. If his right hon. Friend would allow him, he would place the Standing Order on the Paper as he intended to move it on Thursday. He hoped it would meet the difficulty, and that no mischief or prejudice would happen to the promoters of these Bills. Nobody wanted to interfere with them, except in regard to this particular point. They would not be prejudiced by the delay, and when the question came on again upon that day week, it would be found that the matter had been settled by the new Standing Order.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that, whatever might be the result, they were all glad that a definite mode of dealing with this important matter had now been arrived at. There was, however, one objection to the course proposed, which he would point out to the House. The noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Folkestone) had assented to the proposed adjournment of the second reading of the Bill, in order that the question involved in the Standing Order might be discussed; but the noble Viscount intimated that he would not withdraw his opposition unless the mode to be decided upon on Thursday for dealing with the matter was satisfactory to himself. If it were satisfactory, then the noble Viscount would abstain from further opposition, and would allow these Bills to pass. He (Sir George Campbell) could only say that the Kirkcaldy Bill was an important Bill in the interests of agriculture in that part of the country, and he was sorry it was to be delayed for another week if the opposition were then to be renewed. Of course, if the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade insisted upon a further adjournment, it would be futile to oppose him.

Viscount FOLKESTONE said, he wished to be allowed to explain. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had misunderstood his meaning. He had understood the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) exactly as the hon. Member did himself; and all he (Viscount Folkestone) had stated was that he should not oppose these Bills, if the proposition of his right hon. Friend on the front Opposition Bench (Mr. Sclater-Booth) was satisfactory to the agricultural community. At the same time, he proposed to keep his Amendment upon the Paper, until he knew what course would be taken with regard to his right hon. Friend's proposal.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, he thought the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) was a step in the right direction. It carried out, so far, the recommendation of the Committee on Railway Rates, &c., which sat last year, and which called the attention of the Board of Trade to the subject, suggesting that in respect of Bills of that nature the Government should make some Report to the House. He wished to remind the House that the question was not only one of rates, but also of policy. Down to last year, the policy adopted in all Railway Bills was that all kinds of manures should be carried at the lowest rates. Now, the real essence of the proposal before the House in the

Bills objected to was that certain kinds of artificial manure should be raised from the first to the third class, and charged accordingly. The effect of that would be to raise the rates for the carriage of manures very seriously; and it was, therefore, an important matter not only for the farmer, but to all who were interested in land. The question, as he had said, was not entirely one of rates, but of policy. He wished to know whether the Standing Order proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) would apply to unopposed as well as to opposed Bills? Opposed Bills were fought out in a Committee upstairs; but when a Bill was unopposed it was not the duty of anyone to take cognizance of it. He thought the House ought to express a clear opinion on the matter of policy altogether independent of the Standing Order; and he should reserve to himself the right of opposing these Bills, when they came forward again, and of taking the opinion of the House on the question of policy. It was most important to know whether the policy was going to be reversed, which had hitherto been adopted, of charging the rates on all kinds of manures on the lowest scale. Farmers looked to the Members of that House to protect their interests. Practically, they had been giving power to the Railway Companies to make their own charges, and the Railway Companies were now showing a disposition to increase their rates. The Great North of Scotland Railway Company had, two years ago, made an attempt to increase their charges for manures, and that attempt had resulted in the question being brought before the House. It was afterwards referred to a Committee, and the Bill was subsequently thrown out by the House of Lords.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL rose to Order. He wished to know whether the Question before the House was not the adjournment of the debate; and whether, in that case, it was competent for the hon. Member to discuss the merits of the Bill on that Question?

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he apprehended that the Question before the House was the policy of the Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled, upon the Question of the adjournment of the debate, to go into the merits of the Bill.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he had not proposed to discuss the general merits of the Bill; but he was simply giving reasons why the House should consider the question of policy before adopting the Standing Order.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he must presume that the object of postponing the consideration of these Bills for a week was to enable the proposed Standing Order to be discussed in the meantime. He believed that, in some instances, the promoters had agreed to alter their rates, and the delay of a week might seriously inconvenience them. He would, therefore, appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) to put the Bills down for an earlier day than that day week. He also wished to point out that the whole of these Bills did not hang together. Some of the schemes were opposed on a different ground altogether from that of an increase in the charges for the carriage of agricultural manures. He thought, therefore, that such Bills might be discussed, and that the House should not take the whole of them together. He might inform the House that, in some cases, the agents had already intimated their intention of altering the Schedules attached to the Bills; and he presumed that, in that case, the opposition would be withdrawn.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that, although he had already addressed the House, he hoped he would be allowed to answer the question which had been put to him. He did not think it would be possible to take these Bills on an earlier day than that day week, because the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) would not propose the alteration of the Standing Order until Thursday; and, therefore, the adjourned debate on the postponed Bills could not be conveniently taken on an earlier day than Tuesday next. In regard to Bills which did not contain provision for increasing the rates, he saw no reason why they should not be taken earlier, as they were, practically, unopposed Bills.

MR. HICKS said, he wished to point out that, in drawing up the new Standing Order, care should be taken that no words should be used which by any possibility could be construed into allowing the legislation of last year to be a precedent for the future. He saw in one of the Bills objected to that there was a provision enabling the Company, from time to time, to demand and claim for the railway authorized in the Act such tolls as were authorized in any Act passed in 1882. He thought they should take care, in framing this Standing Order, that the rates and classification to which the Standing Order referred should be those which had been in general use for a considerable time, and not those which might have been hurriedly allowed, and passed without observation or remark in that House, in the last year or two.

Mr. R. H. PAGET thought there ought to be a clear understanding on the matter; that the Report of the Board of Trade should not deal only with the proposed Bills. If that were done, it would only be a half cure. What was wanted was a Report from the Board of Trade upon the clauses of any Bill which would have the effect of imposing rates in excess of those previously scheduled. He was very glad that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had accepted the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) in regard to the alteration of the Standing Order; because that Standing Order, as it was down on the Paper, would not, in his (Mr. R. H. Paget's) judgment, have been sufficient to meet the circumstances of the case, and he should himself have been prepared to move an Amendment to it, very much in the sense he understood the President of the Board of Trade had now himself suggested to the House. There was one other question to which he wished to draw the attention of the right hon. Gentleman, and it was this—would he undertake, on behalf of the Board of Trade, not only that there should be a special Report laid before Committees on Railway Bills, but that there should be an officer of the Board of Trade ready to attend before such Committees, and give such information as might be desired? He laid particular stress on this for several reasons. Those who had had to deal with Railway Committees would be aware that the earlier clauses of a Bill were those which were chiefly fought out between the two opposing parties. They were scrutinized word for word, and there was very little chance of anything being allowed to creep into them unobserved; but the moment the Committee came to deal with the rating clauses of a Railway Bill all the opposition of rival lines ceased. All Railway Companies, however much they opposed one another upon other points, were only too ready to support each other in obtaining the biggest rates they could get in these Bills. If the object of amending the Standing Order was to protect the interests of the public from the imposition of new rates by Railway Companies, he maintained that, in order to afford the public full protection, there ought to be not only a Report of the Board of Trade, but that the Committees should have power to examine an officer of the Board of Trade, so as to obtain full information in regard to these rates.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must interrupt the hon. Gentleman, and call his attention to the fact that the Question before the House is the adjournment of the debate. The observations of the hon. Gentleman will be more in Order when the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) is before the House.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, he fully accepted the ruling of the Speaker. He had hoped, however, that his remarks would have been germane to the Question before the House, as showing whether it was not desirable that the postponement of these Bills should take place until such time as the President of the Board of Trade could consent to a step which he (Mr. Paget) thought necessary for the protection of the public interests.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE said, he had no desire to continue the debate, because he thought they were nearly all agreed upon the course which ought to be pursued. But he wished to point out that it was not merely a question of tolls upon manures which was involved in the Standing Order of his right hon. Friend the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth), but a general revision of tolls in all Bills which might be introduced; and, therefore, the Standing Order would apply to other charges and tolls besides those upon manures, which might be equally as objectionable as any increased tolls upon manures. He therefore thought that other Bills on the Paper would have to be postponed in the same way as those which dealt with the question of agricultural manures, in order that the Standing Order might be applied to every Bill which contained a Schedule of Tolls. He thought that every Bill brought before the House, before it became an Act of Parliament, should undergo a thorough scrutiny at the hands of the Board of Trade, and of the House.

MR. GREGORY said, that the Select Committee which sat last year, and the year before, on the question of Railway Rates and Tolls, went fully into this matter, and recommended an alteration of the Standing Orders now in force, so as to give all parties interested, including the general public, a *locus standi* before a Committee upon a Railway Bill, wherever it was proposed to increase the rates and charges. It was found now that it was often an exceedingly difficult matter to get the *locus standi* of an intended opponent recognized. He thought it might be desirable that the right hon. Gentleman should consult the Officers of the House upon this question, and see whether any alteration was necessary, in order to enable a Committee to take into consideration points which it might be desirable to raise in the interests of the public.

MR. TOMLINSON said, there was one other matter which had not been referred to, and he did not know whether it could properly be brought within the Standing Order of the House. It was, however, an important matter which ought to be brought under the notice of Parliament. In the Report of the Committee on Railway Rates, they made recommendations not only in reference to new Railway Bills and to those which proposed an increase in the scale of rates already imposed, but they also recommended the consideration of the existing rates of existing Companies. It might not be known by every Member of the House, but it was a fact that the scale of rates often differed materially as between different parts of the undertaking of the same Railway Company. In 1878, a Report was presented to the House of Lords, showing the difference in these rates. In that Report, for instance, the various different rates and charges imposed by the Great Western Railway Company covered 20 pages.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in Order in going into these details.

MR. TOMLINSON accepted the correction of the Speaker. He had thought it desirable that, in considering the terms of the Standing Order, attention should be drawn to the existing rates of existing Companies.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Tuesday* next.

BARRY DOCK AND RAILWAYS BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

EXETER, TEIGN VALLEY, AND CHAGFORD RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

HULL AND LINCOLN RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words, "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Creyke.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in moving, as a further Amendment, "That the Debate be further adjourned until Tuesday next," said, he would suggest to his hon. Friend the Member for York (Mr. Creyke) that that would be the best course to take. He was aware that the Bill was opposed on another ground than that of an alteration of rates — namely, on the ground of interference with the navigation of the Humber; but as it was one of the Bills which contained a proposal for an alteration of rates on agricultural manures, it would be for the convenience of the House that the second reading should be postponed until that day week, when the objection raised to the Bill by his hon. Friend on the other point could be taken at the same time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

Mr. CREYKE said, he fully assented to the course proposed by the right hon. Gentleman, and would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Tuesday* next.

OXFORD, AYLESBURY, AND METROPOLITAN JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

SEAFIELD DOCK AND RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

WINDSOR, ASCOT, AND ALDERSHOT RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [27th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

MIDLAND, BIRMINGHAM, WOLVERHAMPTON, AND MILFORD JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON urged that the Bill might be read a second time, as the opposition to it was on account of the Commons Preservation Society, in the name of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN asked if this was one of the Bills which contained provisions for an alteration of rates?

An hon. Member: Yes.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Second Reading be deferred till Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Chamberlain,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

SPAIN — INTERNATIONAL LAW — SURRENDER OF CUBAN REFUGEES— THE PAPERS.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that the Government had promised to lay on the Table of the House some Papers relating to the Cuban refugees. They had not yet been furnished to the House, and unless they were in the hands of Members by Monday next, he would make a Motion on the subject.

QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE — CONTRACTS — THE MAIL SERVICE BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, before taking the Contract for the carriage of the Irish Mails from an Irish Company, the Government provided that the London and North Western Railway Company would carry the Mails between Holyhead and Dublin in vessels equal to the existing Mail Packets in size, power, and draught of water; and, whether any and what provision was made with the London and North Western Railway Company as to the size of the Mail Packets they would use in the service, and the convenience of passengers, so as to ensure that the accommodation would not be lessened, and the charges would not be increased?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Sir, in connection with this Question, I would like to ask the hon. Gentleman whether it is true that the smallest mail boat at present in use is 343 feet in length, and 1,467 tons register, while the *Lily* and the *Violet*, which are of the same class as those about to be substituted, are only 230 feet long and 1,031 tons register?

Mr. COURTNEY: It is quite impossible for me to answer that Question without having Notice. I am not furnished with the dimensions of the particular ships about to be furnished. ["Oh, oh!"] I say it is impossible for me to know the exact size of the vessels. With respect to the Question of my right hon. and learned Friend, I have to say that the form of tender for the mail service referred to is in the usual terms, that a sufficient number of steam vessels of adequate power, and in all respects suited for the service, should be supplied; and that, before they are supplied under the contract, they should be submitted for approval to the Postmaster General. If I understand his Question rightly, my right hon. and learned Friend seems to think the contract should contain regulations for the passenger service. I must point out that that is not the primary object of the contract.

Mr. GIBSON: Was any provision whatever made for the accommodation of passengers?

Mr. COURTNEY: The usual provision. The terms of the contract are that the vessels should be adequate in all respects for the service.

Mr. GIBSON: Has any arrangement whatever been made to prevent the London and North Western Railway giving inferior accommodation, and increasing their prices after they had obtained the contract?

Mr. DAWSON: Is not the hon. Gentleman aware that it is the intention of the London and North Western Railway, expressed with the assent of the Government, to change the port of entry from Kingstown to Dublin; and is he not also perfectly well aware that steamers of a sufficient tonnage and size, such as are required for the mail and passenger service, cannot be used in the river transit of Dublin, which is already subject to several collisions even at the present time?

Mr. COURTNEY: I must say that it is not the fact that the vessels are intended to go to the North Wall. The contract requires that the vessels shall run to Kingstown or North Wall as the Government may direct; and I may say that, from the information in the hands of the Government at present, they think the North Wall is totally out of the question. In reply to my right hon. and learned Friend opposite (Mr. Gibson), I must repeat that the contract referred to the postal service, and required that the vessels should be of sufficient dimensions to meet the requirements of the service adequately, and that they should first of all be approved by the Postmaster General.

Mr. PARNELL: May I ask the hon. Gentleman whether it is the intention of the Department to insist that the vessels for the mail service shall be equal in size, tonnage, and seaworthy capacity to those which have been performing the service since 1859; or whether the Department intends to permit an inferior class of vessels to those which ran 23 years ago to be put on this important service?

Mr. COURTNEY: I think the Question is already answered in the answer I have already given. The object of the

Treasury and of the Post Office is to obtain the due carriage of the mails, and we have undertaken a contract for the Company to secure that the vessels shall be adequate and in all respects sufficient for the service. No vessels would be put on the service that are not previously approved by the Postmaster General. The carriage of passengers is not the primary part of the Government's duties. [" Oh, oh!"]

Mr. GIBSON: Is it any part, primary or secondary?

Mr. COURTNEY: I do not think it is the duty of the Government to provide for the carriage of passengers. [" Oh, oh!"]

Mr. O'DONNELL: In consequence of the declaration of the Government that they do not intend to consult the convenience of Irish Members obliged to attend in this House, I beg to give Notice that I will raise this question when the salary of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury comes up for consideration, and also that legislation promoted by the London and North Western Railway Company will obtain the attention of Irish Members for the future.

FAC-SIMILES OF IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, How many plates have appeared in each of the volumes of the facsimiles of Irish MSS.; whether the preface and appendix in the last volume do not far exceed in length those which have appeared in previous volumes; whether this additional length of mere printed matter has largely tended to increase the price; and, whether the next volume will complete the series?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the number of volumes is four, and the numbers of the plates in the volumes published are 45, 49, 70, and 47; but mere numbers are no criterion of cost, as those in the last volume are in divers colours, and very much more elaborate than the others, some two or three of them involving, I am told, upwards of 20 printings. The preface and appendix to the new volume are much longer than in former cases; but the two together probably did not make 10*s*. difference in the price. The next volume will complete the series.

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT).

Mr. KENNARD asked the Postmaster General, Whether the Commission of Inquiry on the Post Office Savings Banks in 1875 condemned systematic extra work as prejudicial to the health of the clerks, and opposed to the true interests of the Department; whether the extra work performed in the office has steadily increased from 100,000 hours in 1874 to 190,000 hours in 1882; whether the office is still kept open from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m.; and whether the Postmaster General will state his reasons for so long restricting the staff to a number far below the requirements of the Department; whether the building in Queen Victoria Street has proved totally inadequate in point of size, and whether portions of the male staff have been removed to other premises in order to make room for additional female clerks; whether more than 200 female clerks have been appointed to the Savings Banks Department since 1875, and whether the Postmaster General will restore the relative proportions of the upper and lower classes as recommended by the Commission of 1875, seeing that the neglect of this recommendation has destroyed all flow of promotion among the male staff; and, whether it is true that the Postmaster's Accounts for January 1882 were not checked by the books of the Department till August last; whether those of June last were only commenced to be checked in December last; whether they are yet completed; and whether, in consequence of this irregularity, a fraud of considerable magnitude might not have remained undiscovered for a lengthened period?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, the hon. Member asks me ten Questions in one. I will endeavour to answer them as briefly as I can. Within the last two or three years the number of depositors in the Post Office Savings' Bank has increased by more than 400,000 a-year, and the annual addition to the aggregate deposits has increased by more than £3,000,000. I think it will be obvious to the House that it would have been impossible to have provided for so remarkable an increase of business without a considerable amount of overtime. It was necessary, for instance, to ascertain whether this large and sudden growth of business was only temporary, or whether it was likely to continue. Care will continue to be taken to prevent the amount of overtime from being unduly large, and with this object as many additional clerks were appointed as room could be found for. The new premises in Queen Victoria Street, although they have been opened little more than two years—and it was then thought they would provide ample accommodation — have been found too small. As my right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) stated the other day, the difficulties which prevented the acquisition of fresh accommodation have now been removed, and the new premises will be ready for occupation next month. The number of superior appointments is regulated by the requirements of the service. Although I think the House would not wish me to trouble them with unnecessary details, I may state that in the last two years the number of principal clerks has been increased in the male branch from three to eight, and in the female branch by two. I believe that great advantage has resulted from the employment of female clerks, and the number employed in the Savings Bank has been increased within the last two years by 91. As the hon. Member suggests the possibility of fraud, I can, in conclusion, assure him that there has been no fraud, and that, in my opinion, the method of keeping the accounts of the Savings Bank is entirely satisfactory.

NAVY—CASE OF WILLIAM BOWLES AND G. MUNDEN.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any legislation will be undertaken to assure to William Bowles and G. Munden the pension to which they may be entitled, as suggested in letter F 4, page 141, of the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General, or what other steps will be taken to prevent these men from suffering prospective injustice from no fault of their own?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the Correspondence appended to the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General shows that, in the opinion of the Admiralty, the two men named by the right hon. and gallant Admiral are placed, through no fault of their own, in a most unfortunate position. There are very serious objections to legislation on behalf of individuals; but we have reason to believe that these men will not ultimately be made to suffer on account of the omission that has been made in their case.

ARMY—ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY RAILWAY CORPS.

VISCOUNT NEWPORT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, after the recent experiences in Egypt, the Government intend to establish a Military Railway Corps?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes, Sir; arrangements are being made, and I hope will shortly be completed, for the formation and training of a Military Railway Corps.

ARMY—VACCINATION OF RECRUITS.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether every recruit on entering the Army is compelled to be vaccinated, without reference to any objection he may entertain to the operation, to the fact of his having been previously vaccinated, or to his having had the small-pox; and, if so, whether recruiting officers have orders to explain this fact before enlistment?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, every recruit without exception is vaccinated on entering the Army. No orders are given to recruiting officers to explain the regulations as to vaccination before enlistment; but no case of objection has ever been brought to notice.

EGYPT (INDIAN CONTINGENT)—EXPENSES.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is a fact that the men of the Anglo-Indian regiments, sent from India to Egypt last year, retained their Indian pay and allowances till October 10th 1882, whereas the officers were put on English pay, &c., on landing in Egypt?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, it appears from the pay lists of British regiments sent from India to Egypt that both officers and men were put upon British rates from the day of landing in Egypt.

POOR LAW—VACCINATION OF PAUPER CHILDREN.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the Order of the Local Government Board of January 27th, addressed to Boards of Guardians, does not recite, with approval, that—

> "Some Boards of Guardians have passed a resolution requiring the medical officer, subject to the exercise of his judgment as to making exception in particular cases, to secure the vaccination of all children born in the workhouse as soon as possible after birth;"

whether the Local Government Board place any and what limit of age before which a newly born child shall not be vaccinated; and, whether the Department is aware that its orders or directions form no defence in point of Law to the vaccinating officer on a charge of manslaughter by reason of too early vaccination?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, I presume the hon. Member refers to a Circular letter of January 27, 1882, as there is no Order under that date in the present year. The practice is as stated by the hon. Member in the first paragraph of the Question. The Local Government Board had never fixed any limit of age before which a newly-born child should not be vaccinated, and they are aware that its Orders form no defence in point of law to the vaccinating officer on a charge of manslaughter. There has never been any charge, except the one which recently occurred.

UNITED STATES—THE NEW TARIFF.

MR. M'LAREN asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he can give to the House any exact information by way of a printed précis or other statement, in a form of which the public can avail themselves, of the effect of the new Tariff Law in the United States, comparing the old and present Duties on each class of goods?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I have not yet received any official information on this subject; but as soon as I get the Returns I will see in what way the object of the hon. Member can be attained.

EGYPT—THE NEW EGYPTIAN INDEMNITY LOAN.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as stated in the "Standard" of the 5th instant, that funds for the New Egyptian Indemnity Loan are to to be provided by retrenching the amounts now available for the internal administration of this Country, a step which is said to be exciting the "liveliest indignation;" and, whether, under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government will support the Egyptian Government in altering their decree known as "The Law of Liquidation," so as to provide for the indemnity from the revenues assigned for the payment of the bondholders?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, it is the object of the Egyptian Government to introduce economy into the different Departments of the Public Service of that country, so as, if possible, to meet the demands upon it without imposing fresh taxation. The issues raised by the second portion of the Question are, I fear, of too great importance to be answered within the limits of an answer to a Question.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Is the money to be taken from the unassigned revenue?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is a fresh Question, of which I must have Notice.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: No, no.

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT).

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact that many male clerks in the Savings Bank of from ten to fourteen years' service are still on the lowest class of the establishment, with very remote prospects of promotion; whether any scheme for the amelioration of their condition is included in the "beneficial changes" said to have been determined upon; and, whether he will state the number of appointments respectively to the male and female establishments of the Post Office Savings Bank since the 1st day of January, 1876, together with the number of superior appointments created since that date in each case?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, I am not in a position to state what will be the effect of the changes to which the hon. Member refers. It is the case that there are clerks in the third class of 10 to 14 years' service. Their chances of promotion in the future depend upon the requirements of the Department and their individual efficiency and conduct. The number of appointments made since the 1st of January, 1876, has been 158 on the male staff with 13 superior appointments, and 156 on the female staff with 15 superior appointments. I may add, however, that the salary allotted to a superior appointment on the female staff is about one-third of that allotted to an appointment of the same rank on the male staff.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked, whether complaints had reached the right hon. Gentleman on the part of the female clerks, that they were required to do the work of male clerks for very much less than the remuneration of male clerks?

Mr. FAWCETT, in reply, said, he had no doubt that female clerks would be extremely glad to have an increase of salary; but he might say that the female establishment at the Post Office was in a very satisfactory position, and he had no difficulty in finding most eligible persons to fill the appointments.

CHANNEL TUNNEL SCHEME.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the President of the Board of Trade, with reference to a Notice of Motion on this subject standing in his name, Whether it would be brought on that night?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he felt it would probably be inconvenient that a matter of so much importance should be left uncertain, and he would undertake that it should not be brought forward that night.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—REPORTED MURDER OF LORD ARDILAUN'S BAILIFF.

Mr. LEA asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he had any information as to the reported assault on Flynn, Lord Ardilaun's bailiff, one day last week, by which he received such injuries that he had since died?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter), in reply, said, he was happy to state that, so far as the death of the man was concerned, the report was entirely devoid of foundation. There was an ordinary trivial assault committed upon Flynn some time ago; but he was informed by the Sub-Inspector of Police that he saw Flynn yesterday at a distance of 10 miles from his own residence in perfectly good health.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND NAVY ESTIMATES.

In reply to Mr. W. H. Smith,

Mr. COURTNEY said, that the Civil Service Estimates were in the hands of the printers, and he hoped a few copies would be ready on Thursday, though they could not be generally distributed till Monday. He could not say when the Navy Estimates would be ready.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he trusted the Government was aware that it was not reasonable even to ask for a Vote on Account until hon. Members had been afforded an opportunity of examining these Estimates.

ARMY RETURNS.

Colonel ALEXANDER asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, which had been promised for that day, and which, according to *The Times* of that morning, had just been issued, was not in the hands of Members; also, when the Tel-el-Kebir Return, ordered on the 6th of November, 1882, would be laid on the Table of the House?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that he had been assured that the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting would have been in the hands of Members that day; but he had not yet ascertained the cause of the delay. He could not reply as to the Tel-el-Kebir Return.

ARMY ESTIMATES—THE MILITIA VOTE.

In reply to Earl Percy,

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that he thought the Government could not hope to have more than one night for the Army Estimates before Easter, and he feared there was no possibility of taking the Militia Vote on that night.

SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.

Lord COLIN CAMPBELL: I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, What is the course the Government intend to take with regard to the Seed

Advances (Scotland) Bill, the debate on which was adjourned at an early hour this morning? Either that Bill is an urgent measure, or it is not. If it is urgent, I think the House will be curious to know—[*Cries of* "Order!"]——

Mr. SPEAKER: The noble Lord can put a Question, but he cannot enter into debate.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): My noble Friend has not given me any Notice on the subject, and I can only now repeat what I said last night. The Bill is proposed by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), and I concurred last night in the solicitation to adjourn it until it could be debated. When it is debated, I will state to the House the views of the Government upon it.

Lord COLIN CAMPBELL: My Question to the right hon. Gentleman is, Whether the Government would give the House an opportunity of discussing the Bill on an early day?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): No, Sir; the urgent Business of the Government is such that we could not possibly do that; but we certainly should wish to have the Bill discussed, and at a reasonable hour.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

In reply to Mr. Gorst,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, that it would be necessary to obtain the Supplementary Estimates on Thursday, so that the Appropriation Bill might be passed before the end of the financial year.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION.—RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. CRAIG-SELLAR, in rising to call attention to the system of Private Bill Legislation; and to move the following Resolutions:—

"1. That, in the opinion of this House, the system of Private Bill Legislation calls for the attention of Parliament, and of Her Majesty's Government, and requires reform.

"2. That in place of Private Bills which have passed a Second Reading in either House of Parliament being referred to Committees as heretofore, they should be referred for consideration and report to Commissions to be established for England, Scotland, and Ireland.

"3. That if any party who shall have appeared before the Commission should appeal against the report thereof, the appeal, together with the case, notes of evidence, and report, with the reasons therefor, should be referred to a Parliamentary tribunal, composed (in the manner recommended in 1869 by the Joint Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons on the Despatch of Business) of Members of both Houses, with power to award costs,"

said: In moving these Resolutions on Private Bill Legislation, of which I have given Notice, I think it right that I should offer an apology to the House for having ventured, as a young Member—one of its youngest Members—to introduce a subject of such great importance, bearing, as it does, so closely on the Business of the House and the jurisdiction of Parliament, when there are so many hon. Members, both older and of much greater knowledge and experience on this subject than I can boast of, who could have discharged the duty so much more adequately and with much greater effect. I feel that I shall speak at a disadvantage in presence of many hon. Members who have spent years in this House, and who have seen and watched both the good and the bad points in connection with Private Bill Legislation; and I can only express the hope that in the course of this discussion we shall have the benefit of the knowledge and experience of those hon. Gentlemen. I would venture to inform the House why it was that I turned my attention to this subject, and have obtruded it upon the House, and I will do so in a few words. Knowing Scotland and the opinions of the people and the constituencies of Scotland very well—as well, perhaps, as any hon. Member in this House—I am aware that there is a great feeling of dissatisfaction, from one end of the country to the other, with the manner in which the present system of Private Bill Legislation is conducted. I would appeal to my hon. Friends and Colleagues from Scotland whether it is not the case that the enormous expense, the increasing uncertainty in the decisions of Committees of both Houses of Parliament, and the fact that the evidence with regard to local affairs is taken up here in London, and not in the locality affected by the Bills, are matters of serious grievance and disadvantage to Scotland, and matters which require reform. Passing from Scotland,

and looking across to Ireland, I find that the same complaints are heard from that country. Year after year Bills have been introduced by Irish Members dealing with this matter, and asking that the people of Ireland may be allowed to legislate for themselves, or, at least, to conduct their local inquiries before Commissioners in Ireland, relating to matters now dealt with by Private Bill Legislation, such as railways, canals, gas and water works. When I come to examine the matter in the light of the discussions in Parliament, and of the Reports of Select Committees, I find that the dissatisfaction is not confined to Scotland and Ireland. Since 1824 there had been grumbling almost from one end of England to the other. Year after year Committees of this House, and of the other House of Parliament, have sat and taken evidence upon this matter. I think there have been at least 15 Committees or Commissions, during the last 50 years, appointed by Parliament to investigate the reasons of the unsatisfactory manner in which Private Bills have been dealt with; and while the recommendations of those Bodies have been hesitating and irresolute, the evidence of the witnesses has not infrequently been pronounced and decided enough against the present system. In the words of the Committee of 1863, the witnesses seemed to hold that "the present system on which Private Bill Legislation is founded is not satisfactory," and I may add that it cannot be made satisfactory without some drastic change. My original intention was to confine my proposals to Scotland, where I felt sure of my ground. I had intended to propose that a permanent Commission should be appointed for Scotland, before whom the evidence on Private Bills should be taken; but I found that what was bad for Scotland was bad for Ireland, and what was bad for Ireland and Scotland could not be good for England. I felt, also, that if I limited my proposal to one part of the country, I should be met with the ready answer that it was impossible to legislate on an important matter of the kind for one part of the country only. That was the answer which was given by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) in 1871 on the Local Legislation (Ireland) Bill. The noble Marquess, who was then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, stated that he considered Private Bill Legislation, as regarded England and Scotland, required amendment; and in 1880 my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), who was then Chief Secretary, admitted that Private Bill Legislation was inconvenient for Ireland, and still more inconvenient for England and Scotland, and that he looked forward to the time when the Three Kingdoms should have a tribunal to conduct these inquiries which should ultimately defer to the House of Commons. On these grounds, therefore, I determined to extend my proposal to the Three Kingdoms. Having made this explanation, I hope that the House will acquit me of presumption, and will bear with me while, in the words of my 1st Resolution, I attempt to prove that the system of Private Bill Legislation calls for the attention of Parliament and of Her Majesty's Government, and requires reform.

What are the main objections to the present system? They are three in number—the expense, the uncertainty of the decisions of the Committees, and the unprofitable waste of public time. It is universally admitted that there is no more expensive tribunal in the world than that which deals with evidence on which our private legislation is founded. It is impossible to give anything like an accurate account of the cost of any individual Private Bill; but I shall mention two or three of the more conspicuous cases which have come under my notice. In 1862, at an important meeting of the Social Science Congress in London, some papers on Private Bill Legislation were read, in which several cases were cited, and from those the following instances of the expense of the present system are taken:—Before the crisis of the railway mania, it was calculated that the lines then existing had been taxed for law and Parliamentary expenses £1,800 per mile; and that up to the year 1857 the Great Western Railway Company had spent no less than £760,000 to get the sanction of Parliament to their undertaking. The Great Northern Railway had spent £420,620 in Parliamentary expenses before a spade was put into the ground. It was also stated before a Committee in 1863 that a railway was planned from Oswestry to Christchurch, a distance of 18 miles, and the expenses in that case with reference to the Parliamentary contest amounted to between £60,000 and £80,000 for the preliminary powers only. There were several cases where as much as 15 per cent, and even 17 per cent, of the capital of small and insignificant Companies was eaten up by Parliamentary expenses; and it was not the Railway Companies only who suffered in this way, for the Gas and Water Companies fared no better, they being mulcted in a similar manner. The Carlisle Gas Company's Parliamentary bill amounted to £1,372, or 8 per cent of its capital. It cost Devonport £1,611 to secure their original Act, and £699 more for power to increase their capital; the Blackburn Gas Company spent 5 per cent of its capital, the Cambridge Company 12 per cent, and the Filey Company 15 per cent of their capital; and the Clifton Suspension Bridge across the Avon cost £1,257 for Parliamentary expenses, although the Bill was unopposed. It may be said that these figures are unofficial. I will give one or two results taken from other figures, which cannot be gainsaid. In 1862, Colonel Wilson-Patten, now Lord Winmarleigh—than whom no man is a higher authority on such matters—procured a Return through the Board of Trade of the expenses incurred by Railway, Gas, and Water Companies in promoting or opposing Private Bills from 1855 to 1861. Returns were received from 270 Railway Companies, 37 Gas Companies, and 50 Water Companies. The total amount spent in these years by the Railway Companies was £1,812,659; by the Gas Companies, £90,125; and by the Water Companies, £101,000. The whole amount spent by these Companies in these years in promoting Bills in Parliament was rather more than £2,000,000, not including the fees of the two Houses of Parliament. But these figures, it may truly be said, refer to 20 years ago, and perhaps we have grown wiser since, and do not spend our money so recklessly. But is that the case? The system remains unchanged. The main cause of these expenses is the professional charges, and these remain the same as they were 20 or 40 years ago. If anything, they have increased. Thirty guineas a-day is the least fee that even a junior counsel can take for his first day in Committee; and though the minimum is fixed, the maximum is not, and what it may be no one can say. It is not an unheard-of thing for senior counsel to get 500 or even 1,000 guineas for their brief fee, and the usual "refreshers" and consultation fees for every day in which they appear in Committee. These fees you may multiply five or six times, because there are always five or six counsel on each Bill, it being the practice, under the existing system, which drives the work into a few months in each year, when several Committees are sitting at the same time, to employ more counsel than are absolutely necessary; and, accordingly, if you multiply by five or six, and add the fees paid to this House and to the other House of Parliament, the fees of the Parliamentary agents and local solicitors, the remuneration of engineers, surveyors, and skilled witnesses, which is always heavy, and, finally, the allowances to ordinary witnesses, you will arrive at a total which accounts for the fact that Companies spend a large proportion of their capital in order to obtain powers to make a proper use of the balance. As we find that the professional charges have not diminished, so we find that the time during which Bills are kept lingering in Committee is not shortened, but, if anything, is extended. Only two years ago the Hull and Barnsley Railway Bill was kept before the Committee for 24 days, and the expense was so lavish as to be almost inconceivable. Again, last year, the Southampton Branch of the Didcot, Newbury, and Southampton Junction Railway had to spend £1,000 per mile in defending themselves against the South-Western Railway Company before a sod was cut. This year the Manchester Ship Canal is one of the biggest concerns before the Committees; and it appears that a Provisional Committee has called for subscriptions and assistance to raise a fund of £100,000 to defray the expense of an application to Parliament to carry out the scheme. I think I have now said enough to show that this is the most expensive tribunal that exists anywhere. In 1867 a Royal Commission was appointed, and before that Commission much valuable and important evidence was taken. Among other witnesses examined was a well-known gentleman, who had been at one time a Commissioner of Works in Ireland. He afterwards went to Prussia, where he had a good deal to do with the superintendence of the construction of the Prussian railways. He was asked about the difference between the expenses there and in this country, and he stated that the system of legislation in Prussia was totally different from ours. The preliminary expenses there, he said, were very small indeed; and he also said—

> "I believe I am right in saying that the various expenses accompanying the passing of Railway Bills in this country through Parliament before a sod was dug would amount to something very nearly like the cost of the whole Prussian system."

This costliness is due to the system which now exists. Great Companies, with boundless purses, come to this House and to the other House; and they are, perhaps unconsciously, not unwilling to expend enormous sums, and to protract discussion as long as they can with decency protract it, in order to drive off the smaller Companies, with smaller capital, who might wish to interfere with the monopoly of the greater Companies. It is the interest of those great Companies to lengthen the proceedings, and the system plays into their hands. Parliament sits only half the year, and the Committees sit only for a few hours in the week; and that fact, coupled with the fact that the professional men and agents engaged are not anxious to hurry the proceedings, causes great delay. I do not for a moment say that either the Parliamentary counsel or the solicitors desire to spin out those inquiries to an inordinate length. It would be unworthy of me to make such a suggestion. Neither do I suppose that the municipal officials—the town clerks and the great deputations of town councillors who come up to London—are not in a hurry to go home again, but wish to stay in London at the public expense longer than is absolutely necessary. I do not make those charges against any of these professional men and official gentlemen; but I do say that the professional gentlemen, knowing that their principals, the great and wealthy Companies, wish delay, it would hardly be in human nature for them to baulk their principals of their desire. Then, again, the hours are short. In one hearing of eight hours, you could do more than could be done in two days of four hours each; and, therefore, when the Session is so short, and the hours are so short, and the tribunal inexperienced, the difficulty which counsel feel is to know when to stop. Naturally, they think it advisable to go on calling evidence until the tribunal stops them, and so the matter lingers on needlessly in one House, to be followed by similar tactics, similar delay, and similar expense in the other House.

This brings me to my second objection to the present system, and that is the uncertainty in the decisions at which the Committees in this House and the Committees in the other House arrive. I will not say one word in prejudice of the *personnel* of the present Committees. Members of Committees in both Houses have shown great industry, sometimes very great ability, always high honour, and they have rendered service in these difficult and delicate investigations, for which they have received inadequate credit, both from the House and from the public. But the system is one that will not bear investigation. In the first place, how is the tribunal constituted? Members of the present and leading Members of the late Administration rarely serve on Private Bill Committees. Hon. Gentlemen in large professional practice, and who have great businesses to conduct, are, as a rule, exempt; and you have also to exempt those who are connected with property through which the lines will pass, or who have pecuniary interests in the localities affected by the Private Bill. You have further to eliminate the Directors and Chairmen of other Railway Companies, and who number in this present House of Commons about 113. So that, by this process, you practically exclude from the service of these Committees the very pick of the business faculty in the House. The Committee of Selection have got to select the Chairmen, and their choice is always good; but each year, we are told, it is more and more difficult to man the Chairmen's Panel; and yet the whole system really turns on the selection of Chairmen, because, where only the inexperienced are left to fill the Committees, the whole burden really falls upon the shoulders of the Chairmen. If it was difficult to man those Committees properly before, it will be much more difficult now, for it will be remembered that it was decided last

year that 160 picked Members of the House should be drafted off to serve on Standing Committees. I am aware it is supposed these will represent a microcosm of the House; but if these Standing Committees are to be successful—and it is believed they will be—more of them will be appointed, and it will come to be regarded as a considerable honour to serve on them, and an honour sought after by the best of the non-official Members of the House. If that be so, you will find it almost impossible to man your Private Bill Committees, except by those who have not the ambition to serve on the Standing Committees. The tribunal will become weaker and weaker; it will not be a question of abolishing the tribunal; but the difficulty will become so great that it will be impossible to continue the system. This difficulty of manning the Committees is not confined to the House of Commons. So long as 20 years ago, a similar difficulty was experienced in the House of Lords; and Lord Redesdale stated that he was not able to take more than a certain number of Private Bills for origination in the House of Lords. Mr. Massey, who was Chairman of Committees at that time, was examined before the Select Committee that sat in 1863 upon this very question. He was asked whether it was not his duty to meet the Chairman of the House of Lords' Committee, and to decide what Bills should originate with the House of Lords, and what with the House of Commons; and the answer to that was, that the Bills were selected by the Chairmen of the Committees of the two Houses. In answer to another question, he said there was considerable difficulty with respect to the selection of the Bills for Committee in each House, because the number of cases Lord Redesdale would undertake was very small in comparison with the number that must commence in the House of Commons. That year they had nearly 400 Private Bills, some of which went off; but of those Lord Redesdale would only consent
27ake 82. Well, Sir, has that difficulty
ment, overcome? This year there are
Redesdaate Bills introduced into Parlia-
take more Chairmen have met, and Lord
320 Bills thas found it impossible to
only 96; and n 85. Last year, out of
use of Lords accepted
*Mr. Craig-Sel*81, out of 231 Bills
the House of Lords accepted only 65. In both Houses, therefore, there is danger of a dead-lock, and this year there is greater danger than ever there has been in the history of Private Bill Legislation owing to the appointment of Standing Committees. Such is the tribunal which this expensive system creates. It has been called—I am not using my own words—"a weak jury without a Judge to moderate between the jury and the Bar." The Parliamentary Bar is, perhaps, the strongest and most experienced of any Bar in this country; and what possible chance has the Committee, or the jury, as it has been called, against such a Bar as that? And it is not one jury, it is two juries, two Courts of original and co-ordinate jurisdiction, which is an anomaly in itself, and it is incumbent upon the parties to establish their case before these two Courts, to whom are entrusted some of the most difficult and delicate duties that can be entrusted to any tribunal. And what is the consequence? The consequence is that the decisions of these Committees come to be regarded almost as lotteries, in which the longest purse is apt to draw the prize, owing to its pertinacity. That is the opinion of a noble Lord whose experience is very great upon this question (Lord Redesdale), who, of all men, is not likely to underrate the excellence of those institutions to which he has been accustomed. He says—

> "My opinion is that both the large Companies and the small Companies would equally gain by being brought before experienced tribunals, and one reason why there is such great expense is that there is a lottery about the decision of a Committee, which they rely upon, in a great degree, as inducing them to carry on an opposition. I think if they knew that the inquiry would be brought before persons who understood the whole question, all the little trumpery matters which they now bring in for the purpose of misleading the Committee would be left out, and they would not think it advisable to continue the opposition if it was not well founded."

Mr. Hope Scott, a well-known Parliamentary barrister, says in reference to the same matter—

> "It is a lottery, and whichever side comes before me, I say you may win, or you may lose; I cannot tell you which."

And it is in the experience of hon. Members that there is always that uncertainty about Parliamentary Committees. In the ordinary affairs of life, if you go to a lawyer, he tells you either that your case is a good one, or that it is a bad one. But if you go to your Parliamentary lawyer, he will be unable to say whether you have a winning case. He will give the answer that is always given on such occasions; he will tell you—"I cannot tell you until I see how the Committee is constituted; when I see what the Committee is, I shall be able to give you some opinion." If a lawyer were to tell you, in an ordinary case, that he could not say whether your case was bad or good until he saw the Judge, the whole system of jurisprudence would be discredited, for such an answer would be unbearable. In 50 years of these contests, and after untold expense incurred therein, scarcely a single rule of practice or any principle as to the decisions given has been arrived at. The House does not know the principles that actuate Committees, and one Committee does not know the principles that rule the Committee in the adjoining room. The story of contrary decisions is well known; but it will bear repetition here. There was a question to be tried before four Committees in this House, sitting in adjoining rooms, the question being as to two lines of railway—which should be preferred, a short and direct line, or a long and more circuitous line, which passed through more villages, and gave promise of larger traffic. The Committees met to decide that important question. The first decided in favour of the short line; the second in favour of the circuitous line; the third decided that neither of the lines would do, and the fourth Committee decided in favour of both. That may be an exaggeration; but it illustrates the statement that it is impossible for Committees, however just individually they may be, to carry out any uniform principle of legislation. Viscount Sherbrooke, who sat upon the Committee of 1863 as Mr. Lowe, took the same objection, because he says—

> "The result is an uncertainty, which is not only cruel to those who undertake these enterprizes, but tends to an increase of litigation. No one's case is so good that he can have confidence in it, and no one's is so bad that he need despair. No one can say who is right or who is wrong, for right and wrong pre-suppose a standard; and although £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 have been spent in railway litigation, that standard has never been established."

So much for the two principal objections that I have to urge. The third objection I have to the existing system relates to the unwarrantable and unprofitable waste of public time it involves. I shall not lay myself open to the charge of wasting time unprofitably by dwelling on this, because it is admitted that Parliament has too much to do, and that it is necessary for us to do something to economize our resources and the time and labour of public men. The labour of the last Autumn Session was a confession of that. The labour, the irksomeness of the work, and the hours spent by Members of this House on Railway and Private Bill Committees are as extravagant of Parliamentary energy as the expenses connected with these Bills are extravagant of public wealth. A scheme of local inquiries such as I suggest would greatly economize the public time, and save the labour of Members of Parliament. Neither shall I dwell upon the objections in detail, such as the overwork of the Chairman of Committees, or the scanty scrutiny which is given to the unopposed clauses in Bills, or the hasty manner in which the clauses are considered, though, to my mind, the House had a curious illustration of this last night, when the hon. and gallant Member for Truro (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) gave such a feeling account of the sufferings which the Metropolitan Board of Works experienced at the hands of the Metropolitan District Railway in the matter of the ventilators on the Embankment. These objections will, no doubt, be stated with more force by other Members who are more experienced than I am upon the subject. There is one short argument, however, which I may urge upon the House, and which, I think, will have great weight with it, in favour of the 1st Resolution; and that is, that 10 years ago—in 1872—upon the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), this Resolution was carried in the identical terms in which it stands upon the Paper now. Nothing, however, has been done since 1872 to carry out that Resolution. The Session of 1873 was a troubled Session; the commencement of 1874 was not less troubled; and since then there have been six years during which the attention of Parliament and the country has been directed rather to external than to internal affairs, and the Resolution during that time has remained a dead letter. But now, Sir, we have come back home again. We have entered, it is said, upon an era of domestic legislation, and have already begun to set our house in order. Last year something was done in this direction; but there is still great room for more, and what is to be done must be done by delegation of the Business of the House to external tribunals. There is no novelty about this proposal. In 1845 Enclosure Bills were delegated to the Enclosure Commissioners; in 1846 Estate Bills were delegated to the Court of Chancery; in 1857 divorce cases were delegated to the Divorce Court; and in 1868 Election Petitions were delegated to the Election Judges.

But I have now detained the House so long upon these matters that I must shorten as much as I can the few remarks I wish to make upon the remedies that I venture to propose to the House. Many proposals have been made in the direction of improvement of Private Bill Legislation. Lord Redesdale has proposed to appoint a Committee, consisting of one Peer and two Members of Parliament, which should sit *en permanence* during the autumn and winter months, and inquire into the schemes which were to be brought into Parliament in the following Session; Earl Grey proposed the appointment of a tribunal in connection with the Board of Trade, whose decisions should be embodied in Provisional Orders; Colonel Wilson-Patten proposed the appointment of an extra Parliamentary tribunal to inquire into the facts of each case; Sir Erskine May proposed, and has repeatedly proposed, that a permanent tribunal of high position and high repute should be appointed specially constituted to investigate the merits of Private Bills; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster proposed, as I before observed, in 1872, an extended system of Provisional Orders, and a permanent tribunal to take evidence. Another proposal which is influentially urged is the appointment of a Government Department in which the powers now possessed by different Departments with regard to Provisional Orders should be vested, and all matters dealt with by Private Bills should be dealt with by this Department. That proposal has many supporters, and, undoubtedly, there is much to be said in its favour, seeing that it would materially diminish the expense, invest the decisions of the tribunals with certainty, and save the time of the House. But there is one great objection to the proposal, which to many minds is almost fatal to it; and that is the jealousy which, whether rightly or wrongly, exists to some extent in this House and this country, and to an enormous extent in Scotland, against Government Departments. They say in Scotland, and I believe in great many parts of England there are many of us who consider, that centralization has gone to its utmost limits; the cry is now for decentralization, and the evoking of the work and the faculties of the localities. To my mind, the objection of increased centralization is insuperable against this proposal. Another proposal is made which goes in the opposite direction. It is said that a great deal of work in connection with this Private Bill Legislation might be done by local authorities, by municipal bodies, or by County Boards, when we have them, assisted by assessors sent down by a Government Department or appointed by Parliament. Personally, I incline to this view. These Municipal Councils and County Boards might do a great deal in the investigation of the smaller matters of Private Bills; but the scheme which, in conjunction with my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) and others, I have attempted to present goes half-way between the scheme of centralization and the scheme of decentralization. We do not propose to give the management of evidence now taken by Private Bill Committees exclusively to Government Departments, nor exclusively to local authorities. I should be glad if the whole system of Private Bills could be delegated to permanent tribunals, Parliament retaining nothing more than powers of confirmation. I believe the work would be better done, and Parliament would be greatly relieved; but I am well aware that Parliament would never listen to such a proposal coming from a private Member; therefore I should be only too glad if even the limited scheme I am going to mention could be approved. The scheme we propose would work in this way. Private Bills would go through all the preliminary stages, just as at present, and the first and the second reading would be taken as at present. After that they would go before Commissions for investigation—English Bills before an English Commission, Scotch Bills before a Scotch Commission, and Irish Bills before an Irish Commission. The constitution of these Commissions should be on a large and liberal scale, so that the services of the best men could be secured. It would be necessary that the Commissioners should be remunerated on such a scale as would raise them above all suspicion. They should consist of, perhaps, three Members for each Commission; and upon these Commissions the Parliamentary element, the legal element, and the lay element would be represented. I should not have Members of Parliament, but ex-Members of Parliament. There is no lack of funds to remunerate such Commissioners handsomely. The amount of fees paid in 1882 to this House amounted to £45,000, and the amount of fees paid to the other House of Parliament was £38,000, and out of that fund ample means could be secured to remunerate these Commissioners. These Commissioners should go on Circuit, and take evidence in open Court, which should be taken down by official shorthand writers; the counsel should appear who are wanted, and there should be all the formalities attending a High Court of Justice, and they might sit either singly or in twos or threes according to the importance of the measure brought before them. So that there might be as many as nine Commissioners sitting at the same time for the Three Kingdoms, which is above the average of Private Bill Committees that sit in this House, and they would sit all the year round. If their decision were acquiesced in, the Bill would return to the House, and would go through the remaining stages as at present. If it were not acquiesced in, there should be an appeal to a Parliamentary tribunal, composed of leading Members of both Houses, upon the system suggested by the Committee of 1869, and this tribunal should have power to inflict costs upon the losing parties to the appeal. This Parliamentary tribunal would take the place of the Committees of the House. Their decisions would be final, and no fresh evidence would be allowed to be taken before them. This is the scheme which I venture, with some diffidence, to suggest to the House. I am well aware—no man is better aware—that there must be many imperfections in this scheme. It may be that it will not be difficult for hon. Members of experience in these matters to pick holes in the scheme, or even to say that it is unworkable. I fain hope it will be otherwise. I believe and hope that the imperfections will turn out to be imperfections of detail, rather than of principle; and I shall await the criticisms of experienced Members with much interest and attention. Neither I nor my hon. Friend who seconds these Resolutions is wedded to the details of the scheme; but we do attach importance to the two principles contained in it —the principles, namely, of local inquiry, and of an appeal to Parliament; and our reason for having produced this scheme is a simple one. It is that we know that the House does not like abstract Resolutions; and we have formulated a scheme, and laid it before the House, because we think it due to the House that when we have attempted to destroy some portion of the existing system, we should at least try to build up something in the place of it.

Before I sit down I hope the House will bear with me while I say a few sentences upon the advantages which I expect from this scheme. In the first place, there would be a great saving of expense. The sources of expense are the professional charges, the expense of witnesses, and the double inquiry before this House and the House of Lords. With regard to professional charges. If these Commissioners were to go on Circuit, no human being would think of taking leading Parliamentary counsel over to Dublin and Belfast, or to various places in Scotland, when they could employ the Irish or Scotch Bar; and in small cases the local solicitors could be employed. The expense under that head would be largely diminished. In the next place, the witnesses and deputations coming to London would cease; there would no longer be reason for the whole of a Town Council to come up to London in May, and wait for months. In the next place, the double inquiry would be done away with. There is, I am aware, the question of appeal to the Parliamentary tribunal, which might be said to introduce an element of expense. But there are several considerations to be laid before the House on that head. In the first place, I suppose there might be, for the first year or two, frequent appeals; but if confidence were once established in the local tribunal, and if the local tribunal were constituted of able, conscientious men, whose decisions were well received, the appeals would become infrequent, and acquiescence would be the rule and appeals the exception. Then there is always the fact that this Parliamentary tribunal has power to inflict costs, which, to a certain extent, would be a deterrent to prevent Companies who had not a good case from appealing to the tribunal. In the third place, the element of uncertainty in the decisions would be eliminated, as you would have a tribunal going on systematized rules of procedure in taking evidence, and in other matters of that kind. It would diminish the uncertainty, and do away with the haphazard decisions which are given at present. The tribunal would, of course, be a tribunal of the most experienced men in the House—men who would, under the present system, be selected to the Chairmen's Panel—and it is material to remember that no fresh evidence would be taken before this tribunal. On these grounds, I feel certain that the expenses would be greatly diminished. But there is also this important consideration. The local inquiry would elicit the truth much more accurately and simply than at present before Parliamentary Committees, and it would also enable many to give evidence who could not go to London. In the debate on the transference of the jurisdiction, in the case of Election Petitions, from the House of Commons, Sir Robert Collier stated that local inquiry was the most potent agent to elicit truth. And more than that, there was a Select Committee in 1846 to consider the value of local inquiries. And what did that Committee say? It stated that local inquiry would be of incalculable advantage in diminishing the great expenses incurred by parties for the attendance of agents and witnesses in London, and in saving a large portion of the time of Members of the House, and in supplying to the Committees on Bills the local and trustworthy information which, under the present system, appears to be so much wanted. But it is not on the ground of saving expense or eliciting the truth only that I would urge this matter. I would urge it on the ground that only by local inquiries could justice be done to small places and to poor men. There are many small places in Ireland which are anxious to have tramway schemes, or gas works, or water works, or harbour works, and who are unable to carry out these useful undertakings, owing to the enormous expense which would fall upon them if they were to come to Parliament. In Scotland I know of many instances where small towns and burghs are prevented from having such appliances and undertakings; and I know others which have been almost ruined by being brought up to Parliament, in order to secure the passing or to defeat the provisions of some Private Bill. One of the burghs which I have the honour to represent was dragged up to Parliament in 1863 to defend itself against unjust assessments which were proposed to be levied upon it by the county, owing to some Road Bill. They came up, and had the objectionable clauses modified in their interest; but at what a cost? It cost them 77 per cent of their income. I know of another small burgh in Scotland represented by the hon. Member for the Ayr Burghs (Mr. R. F. F. Campbell), with an income of £3,500 a-year, and two years ago it had to spend no less than £2,500 in securing the passing of a Bill to provide it with pure drinking water. The expenses in these two cases, and in many others which could be mentioned, would be trifling, if the inquiry had been conducted in the locality. I am sure there are many of my Colleagues from Scotland who, in their own experience, can give similar instances. But if this is true of small places, how much more important is it when it affects poor men? I urge the importance of these local inquiries on the ground of the injustice often inflicted on those who are unable, from poverty, to defend themselves. I urge it not in my own words, but in the words of a man whose utterances were always heard with attention, with satisfaction, and with respect in this House—the words of the late Duke of Newcastle, who, as Lord Lincoln, in introducing the Enclosure Bill in 1845, said that—

> "In nineteen cases out of twenty, Committees of this House, sitting on Private Bills, neglected the rights of the poor. I do not say that they wilfully neglected those rights: far from it; but

this I affirm, that they were neglected in consequence of the Committees being permitted to remain in ignorance of the claims of the poor man, because by reason of his very poverty he is unable to come up to London to fee counsel, to produce witnesses, and to urge his claims before a Committee of this House. A Commission, I think, may, therefore, be so constituted as to afford to the poor man, by examination on the spot and at his own door, more certain security than any system of private legislation."—(3 *Hansard*, [80] 25.)

On these grounds, Sir, I urge the necessity—I urge the justice—of establishing tribunals, whose duty it shall be to institute inquiries with a view to Private Bill Legislation in the localities affected by the Bills. I beg to thank the House for the attention I have received.

MR. HORACE DAVEY, in seconding the Resolution, said, he thought the House would be inclined to congratulate his hon. Friend upon the industry and ability which he had shown in bringing forward this subject. He felt sure that nobody would question the value of the services which were rendered by Members of the House who served on Private Bill Committees. There were many Members who did not take a very active part in the debates of the House, but who yet rendered very valuable service to the country; and he could not help admiring the patient industry and intelligence of the men who, although not brought up with legal training, yet showed great aptitude for legal and other business in the Private Bill Committees. But, although he should be sorry to lose the services of such men, it was well known that every Session brought more Public Business before the House; that the debates were longer than they used to be; and that there was a greater strain put upon the strength of hon. Members than used to be the case formerly. In addition to this the House determined last autumn to try the experiment of having Standing Committees to deal with certain classes of Bills. He hoped the experiment, if successful, would be extended, and that every Member would find a place on one or more of the Standing Committees; but it should be remembered that these Standing Committees comprised about 160 or more Members, and caused a greater demand upon the time and strength of Members of Parliament; therefore, this was an additional reason for considering the question whether they should any longer continue the present system of Private Bill Legislation? In the present Session there were 221 Private Bills, of which 151 were Railway, 35 Tramway, 14 Gas, and 21 Water Bills, the capital involved amounting to about £95,000,000. These were interests of considerable magnitude, and deserved careful consideration. Out of that number of Bills probably 50 were opposed, which would occupy the attention of about 200 Members. In these Committees the most important element was the choice of a Chairman; and those Gentlemen whose ability and experience qualified them to serve as Chairmen of the Committees were just the sort of men whom it was desirable to place on the Standing Committees proposed to be introduced. Under these circumstances, there was, he thought, a feeling that the question of Private Bill Legislation deserved the immediate or early consideration of the Government. What was the remedy for the existing state of things and the inconveniences of which his hon. Friend had called attention? Down from 1845 to the present time Parliament had delegated functions which used to be performed by Private Bill Committees to other bodies. In 1845 the Enclosure Act was passed, which was the first Act which dealt with the subject of Private Bills by Provisional Orders, and that system was continued in the Public Health Act of 1848, and in subsequent Acts, ending with the Electric Lighting Act of last Session. There were several bodies which dealt with legislation by means of Provisional Orders. For instance, there were the Land Commission, the Local Government Board, the Board of Trade, and the Home Office, which were empowered to issue Provisional Orders or certificates. In his opinion, it would not be satisfactory to the House or the country that questions of the magnitude and importance which were usually dealt with in the class of Private Bills which now come before Parliament should be dealt with in the way of a Provisional Order. Nothing could be more important than that the best possible mode should be devised for dealing with questions of that character. Considerable jealousy would be felt at the entrusting interests of magnitude and importance to a Department such as the Board of Trade, which was one of the great Departments of the Government, and was presided over by a Member of the Cabinet, who was necessarily a Member of one of the great political Parties. In his opinion, the remedy was to be found in the creation of an impartial tribunal or Commission, which should report to the House. He considered it of the greatest possible importance that the House should retain its control over these questions, and he, for his part, would be sorry to see the House part with its control over Private Bills; but he should like to see the House delegate its functions of inquiry into facts, and into the Preambles of Bills and the settlement of clauses, to a tribunal independent of the House. If they had a Commission sitting permanently throughout the greater part of the year, and taking their cases in order, they would get that consistency of decision and continuity of policy, the want of which was now so much complained of. Having quoted the opinions of Lord Sherbrooke, Sir Erskine May, and Lord Salisbury in support of his argument, the hon. and learned Member went on to point out how, by means of a Commission sitting the greater part of the year, those defects might be corrected. Another advantage of such a Commission, he urged, would be that it would be capable of sitting either in the locality to take evidence that could be best obtained there or in London when that was most advisable, and they would thus gain greater elasticity of procedure than was possible in the case of Parliamentary Committees. But he would like the Commission to report to the House simply. It should not exercise the functions which were exercised by the Board of Trade, or the Home Office, or any other public Department which made Provisional Orders; but it should simply report to the House, and on the Report hon. Members would have the same power of calling attention to the points of the Bill brought forward which they now exercised; in fact, the House would have the most free and absolute control over Private Bills. Another important consideration was the degree in which the public interests were sometimes overlooked in the clash of the mighty warriors who crossed swords before the Committee on Private Bills. The questions there raised were often raised more as between two litigants than as concerned the general interests, and there was nobody there whose business it was to protect the public. It would, therefore, be wise to give directions to any Commission that they should go through the Bill and draw the attention of the House in their Report to any clause that affected the public—whether it had been brought under their notice by the litigant parties or not. Sometimes a clause in a Private Bill exempted a Corporation or a Railway Company from the operation of some general law; and it was clear that some more efficient check upon the promoters was necessary in regard to such matters. It should be part of the duty of the Commissioners who might be appointed under his hon. Friend's scheme to protect the public interests in those cases. They were told there was a danger of such Commissions becoming judicial bodies, and of their decisions crystallizing into precedents, and that the elasticity and flexibility attaching to Parliamentary Committees would be lost. No doubt it would be a misfortune if their policy as to the great Railway Bills, for example, were not capable of being adapted, from time to time, to the wants and requirements of public opinion. But that could be secured in two ways—first, by retaining the control of Parliament as efficiently as was done at present over the Bills when they came back from the Commission; secondly, by giving an appeal, as suggested by his hon. Friend, to a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament from any part of the Report which should affect any of the parties appearing before the Commissioners. With regard to the expense of the proposed system, he found it stated that the fees which were paid by promoters of Private Bills ranged from about £40,000 to £130,000 a-year, leaving an ample margin within which to provide the expense of such a Commission as his hon. Friend had suggested. Some scheme might be devised by which, when the Petition for a Private Bill was presented, and when a Private Bill was lodged, it should immediately, by the order of the Chairman of Ways and Means, be sent for inquiry to such a Commission as that proposed to be established by his hon. Friend. He had much pleasure in seconding the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the opinion of this House, the system of Private Bill Legislation calls for the attention of Parliament, and of Her Majesty's Government, and requires reform."—(*Mr. Sellar.*)

MR. RAIKES said, that the proposal of these Resolutions had occasioned him some surprise, which he thought must be shared by other Members—first, because it had recalled to his recollection the fact that Her Majesty's Government had not themselves taken up this question, as they might, not unreasonably, have been expected to do after the course taken by them in recommending the institution of Standing Committees; and, secondly, that it should have fallen to an hon. Member who had not been, he thought, a month in the House, to bring forward this particular Resolution. But having heard the speech of the hon. Member, he was bound to say that he had acquitted himself in a manner which would entitle him hereafter to speak with authority on the subject; and the House would, therefore, be not too hasty to take note that he should have brought the matter forward at the outset of his Parliamentary career. He gathered from what had fallen from the Mover and Seconder that they did not wish to bind the House to the precise terms of the Motion; but that they believed it to be their duty to formulate some proposal as an alternative to the existing practice. Those who had sat in that House 10 or 12 years would remember that the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), who was then Chairman of Ways and Means, had made a very similar proposal, and that it would probably have been accepted had it not been that the right hon. Gentleman sought to put on the Government the responsibility of taking the matter up, while the Government wished to divide that responsibility between themselves and the House. The hon. Member, not being aware of this probably, had fallen into a trap, and allowed the very words which frustrated the Motion at that time, for the reason he had stated, to stand now in his Resolution. For his own part, he should have thought it better if the hon. Gentleman had proposed to make it incumbent on the Government to find a remedy for the evil of the present system of Private Bill Legislation. He agreed with almost all the Mover of the Resolution had said with regard to the evils of the present system. Such experience as he had had of the difficulties attending Private Bill Legislation in the House, had entirely confirmed him in the opinion entertained by the Chancellor of the Duchy in 1872. There could be no doubt that the present practice was dilatory, costly, and uncertain; and he feared—though he was unwilling to believe it—that it was rather losing that prestige which used to attach to it in the eyes of the public. He did not mean to say that the Committees of the House did their duty with less earnestness, honour, and devotion than in former times; but, as Public Business continued to make greater inroads upon the time of Members, it became increasingly difficult to get Members of the most useful type to serve upon these Committees. His right hon. Friend the Chairman of the Committee of Selection might well regard the prospect before him with terror. Indeed, he (Mr. Raikes) did not see where the men were to come from. The new institution of Standing Committees had enormously increased his difficulties. He did not mean that Members would on that account be excused from Private Bill Committees; but if they happened to be among the 160 Gentlemen selected for the Standing Committees, it was obviously impossible for them to be engaged in the discussion of both Public and Private Business at the same time. To those 160 they must add 30 or 40 official and ex-official Members, bringing up the total to 200. From the remainder must also be subtracted practising barristers, and busy merchants, and the residue only, the non-official Gentlemen, and Gentlemen not busily employed and distinguished in any occupation would be left. Thus, something like half of the House of Commons would have some very good reason for not serving upon Private Bill Committees, and they would be left with the half which, he feared, the public might cease to regard with the admiration which in past years was supposed to have been felt for the proceedings of the Committees of that House; indeed, it would be impossible for them to feel the same confidence in the success of their deliberations. He did not think the hon. Member had said quite as much as he might have done in praise of that very distinguished, meritorious, and able body of men—the Parliamentary agents—to whom the House owed so much with regard to the transaction of its Business, and of whom the public out-of-doors knew but little. The principal objection to the proposed change would lie in the fact—if it were a fact—that in future the Private Business of the House would have to be carried on without the assistance of these Gentlemen; but he hoped that such might not be the case, and that in any scheme which might take the place of the present system they should endeavour, as far as possible, so to adapt it to existing necessities as to secure the continued assistance of these valuable public servants. The present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), in the proposal which he made to the House in 1872, was in favour of a system of Provisional Orders; while the hon. Member advocated a scheme by which a Bill was to go through some of the present stages in the House, but that the most important stage should be taken outside the control of Parliament and referred to those Commissioners whom it was proposed to send about the country who, again, should refer the Bills back to the House for Report and third reading. He did not consider that the most convenient method of reforming the procedure; but expressed his preference for the scheme which the Chancellor of the Duchy proposed in the first instance, observing that the Provisional Order system was the one to which they must look in the future for the conduct of Private Bill Legislation. One great defect in the proposal of the hon. Member for the Haddington Burghs was that it would fail to obtain public confidence. Some years ago, when he himself was the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, he had drafted a measure which the pressure of Public Business prevented his bringing before the attention of the House, but in which he followed the lines laid down by his right hon. Friend. That scheme comprised the following points:—If the work was to be done satisfactorily they ought to create a really important tribunal, whose authority should be, if not equal to that of Parliament, at least equal to that of a Court of Law. For this purpose he was anxious to institute a Commission or Court, which should consist of five Commissioners. These Commissioners should be assisted by, say, from five to ten Assistant Commissioners, one of whom should act as Registrar. As soon as a Petition was presented to the Commissioners by the promoters of any scheme, the Petition should be referred to an Assistant Commissioner, who should proceed to hold an inquiry in the neighbourhood of the locality to be affected, or, if it were thought desirable, in London. He should find the facts of the case, and upon those facts there should be no appeal. The Commissioners should then draft an Order, and should communicate its terms to the parties who had appeared in the local inquiry, and should intimate to them that if there was no appeal made against it, it should after a certain time become final. When any appeal was lodged against it the parties should be entitled to be heard by counsel; but only argument, and not evidence, should be heard upon the case as stated. When the Commissioners had heard the appeal, they would consider whether they would modify or quash the draft Order. Having finally settled the Order it would then be laid before Parliament, and would, if it was not challenged, become law within 40 days. If the Order was challenged in the House it would be referred to a Standing Committee for consideration. That was the outline of his scheme; and to his mind it would be preferable to have a really important tribunal for promoting the necessary inquiry to having that inquiry conducted by a body going round the country, such as that suggested by the hon. Member for the Haddington Burghs. It might be said that his scheme would be more expensive than that of the Mover of this Resolution. He did not deny that; but he believed that the suitors already contributed in fees much more than would be sufficient to meet the expense of his proposal. He hoped his right hon. Friend (Mr. Dodson), on the part of the Government, would communicate some interesting facts to the House; but the evening would be mis-spent unless they obtained from Government some positive assurance that they would take the lead in any change that was made. Now, he thought, was the time for the Government to take an initiative for some reform in our Private Bill Legislation, as a special and peculiar difficulty had been created in this matter by the institution of Standing Committees. The Government might say—"Wait until another year and see how the Standing Committees will work." He did not think that they could afford to wait for the experience of Standing Committees. It was a question of how they were to provide arrangements alongside of Standing Committees for the due and proper performance of those duties which fell upon the House. The House would do better, for its own credit, if it did not allow itself to be deterred by its reluctance to recognize difficulties of its own creation from parting with a jurisdiction which it could no longer exercise with advantage to the State.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE thanked his hon. Friend for the manner in which he had introduced an important subject to the House; but the very fact that he had before him the Reports of so much evidence and so much investigation must have shown to him, as to the House, that it was a matter of very great difficulty, and one that had puzzled a great many clever men. He feared that the first difficulty that must occur to his hon. Friend in his proposal was that in his proposed Commission he delegated the authority which the House was bound to keep to itself, and that he would not retain that public confidence in the Commission which the public placed in the decisions of the House. It had been his lot to be on both sides of the Table at one time or another in that House, and, during an experience of 30 years or so, he had seen a good deal of the promotion and opposition of Private Bills in Parliament; and he had come to the conclusion that, with certain modifications of the present tribunal, they could have a tribunal which would accomplish that which was wanted with less dilatoriness, less expensiveness, and more uniformity of action than if the House delegated its authority. It had been alleged by the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) that the delegation of authority to Commissioners would prevent the working Members of the House being taken away. He did not think it could make any difference in a House of upwards of 500 working Members. He did not see how being Members of large Standing Committees was to exclude Members altogether from serving on Private Bill Committees. He thought the Resolution before the House would, if carried, cause a great deal more expense than the present system. Promoters would not be satisfied with local counsel, or local engineers, or borough surveyors, and counsel and engineers would have to go from London to Aberdeen or Cork with very large fees. The expense of promotion was not in bringing up the witnesses—that was a small expense. It might be true that Corporations of towns were very likely to come to town about the end of May, especially about Derby time. It had been said that the larger and richer Companies endeavoured to starve out the smaller Companies; but the smaller Companies were often the aggressors. The hon. Member the Mover of the Resolution had said that many Chairmen of Committees allowed counsel to run rampant. Now, he had seen a good many Chairmen, and he did not think they came within that charge. There was, no doubt, a great want of uniformity in the decisions of Committees of that House; but this want of uniformity was almost necessary, and in nine cases out of ten was almost right. He had often heard that the decisions of Committees, however disagreeable to one party or the other, were based upon sound common sense, and had given great satisfaction to the districts to which they were applied. Another point was that there were often eight or ten Private Bill Committees sitting at once; but how was the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) going to support eight or ten Committees with 30 Commissioners. A far better and less expensive plan would be to create in London one tribunal, composed of the Lords and Commons, sitting together on all Railway Bills. That would have a much more beneficial effect in the way of keeping down expense than any Commission or Committee which could be appointed. The right hon. Gentleman had said that if the House delegated its authority it must have ample controlling power in the House. This meant that the party dissatisfied would go behind the decision and say that the whole question must be raised in the House again, so that, instead of saving time, they would have all these questions debated over and over again.

Sir JOHN KENNAWAY said, it would be well to remember that Parliament had been engaged on this question for more than 40 years, that from time to time proposals had been made, and that the difficulties in the way of making a change had been found to be insuperable. He congratulated the hon. Member who had introduced the Motion on the interesting speech he had made, and the reception it had met in the House was a full justification to him for bringing the question forward. The subject was, doubtless, one of great importance; the interests involved were enormous, and the jurisdiction was so peculiar that the House was bound to look into it from time to time, so as to ascertain whether they were doing what was best for the country in retaining it. The fees now taken amounted, he believed, to no less than £140,000, and out of this sum the entire expenses of the House were paid. The present debate had proceeded on the lines of that introduced 11 years ago, for then the system was stigmatized as lengthy, costly, uncertain, and unsatisfactory. On the other hand, they had the statement of the late Mr. Leeman, a great authority in railway matters, that the system had, in the long run, worked out justice; and figures showed that for 10 or 15 years the average sum invested under that system was £20,000,000 annually. Whatever the decisions were, the cost, where so much was at stake, would be large; and as the question was one of policy, there would always be uncertainty. The length of time occupied in cases, no doubt, must be great when the tribunal sat only three full days a-week; but this tribunal did not, he thought, bear unfavourable comparison with other Courts in this respect. Those objections, however, were not new. As long ago as 1846 Parliament passed an Act that a preliminary inquiry should be held, and with the result that the expenses were increased two-fold. In 1851 that Act was repealed, and Parliament had retained the jurisdiction ever since. Much had been said about the dissatisfaction that existed among the public with the present system; but on what evidence was the statement based? Board of Trade Returns showed that upwards of £94,342,000 was now proposed to be raised under that system for different Companies, and that fact certainly did not go to prove that dissatisfaction existed to the extent stated with the tribunal to which the cases of those Companies were to be referred. It must be borne in mind that the objection to the transfer of jurisdiction was based on Constitutional principles. To confer exceptional powers beyond the law was the attribute of the Supreme Legislature; and where power was sought by promoters which could not be otherwise exercised, there was required a union of legislative and judicial functions which no other tribunal but that of Parliament could afford—and that especially the case where property was interfered with, and Parliament in such cases must remain the supreme jurisdiction. As to the Commission of experts, to whom it was suggested that the power should be transferred, he would ask whether such a body was likely to command confidence and support? What he thought was wanted in the matter was a changing body, who were conversant with public opinion, who would not give stereotyped decisions, and would adapt themselves to the conditions under which they were placed with regard to the questions brought before them—in fact, a High Court of Arbitration with widest powers. They must not be afraid to delegate their authority if they could not be found to use it properly, or in accordance with the wishes of the country; but too much must not be made of the fact that they delegated their jurisdiction in regard to Election Petitions, because these stood on a totally different footing, the issue in them being one of law bearing on fact. He thought relief might be found in the extension of Provisional Orders, which had already conferred so much benefit in a number of cases where provision had been made by the general law for parties who used to have to apply to Parliament for special powers in each case, or it might be that they would be able to delegate some powers to local bodies which were not at present constituted—in the way of holding a preliminary inquiry to inquire into the facts, leaving the decision to a Parliamentary Committee. The whole question, however, was one that must be taken up by the responsible Government.

Mr. DODSON: I do not intend to address the House at any great length upon the merits of this question, which has been so fully entered into, more especially by the Mover and Seconder of the Resolution. I congratulate my hon. Friend, the Mover of the Resolution, on the great care and thought he has bestowed upon the subject, and the clear and interesting manner in which he submitted it to the House. It is 50 years or more since Bentham inveighed against the system of Private Bill Legislation in Parliament, and declared that an impartial spectator would think that—

> "The maxim of the governing body was the minimization of the time employed in the performance of its appropriate duties, and to maximize the waste of it."

Since then, as the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has reminded the House, a good deal has been done in the direction which Bentham recommended —namely, relieving the House of some functions for which it was ill adapted. Some of these instances have been mentioned—Enclosures, Divorce, Naturalization, and Election Petitions. In no case, I believe, has the House repented the step that it has taken in relieving itself of inquiry into these subjects, and referring them in whole or in part to external tribunals. The defects of the existing system of Private Bill Legislation have been so forcibly pointed out to-night that I need not go over them again. It will hardly be denied that the system of Private Bill Legislation is attended with evils; that it is somewhat haphazard in its nature, and that it is expensive. It is haphazard in its nature, not from any want of industry or even of ability on the part of the tribunals, but from the fluctuating elements of which these tribunals are composed, their lack of experience and training, and the want of one uniform spirit and soul running through them. It is expensive, for this reason—that all the inquiries are crowded into one short part of the year; and, moreover, from the nature of the functions of Members, the daily sittings of the Committee must be very short. Nominally it meets at 12 o'clock, and sits till a quarter to 4, when Mr. Speaker takes the Chair. Virtually it does not sit more than 3½ hours a-day. It is obvious that these short sittings and frequent adjournments must add very much to the expenses of witnesses and of counsel, and of all parties attending before the tribunal. I think that few persons will be inclined to disagree with the proposition which is contained in the 1st Resolution of the hon. Member for Haddington—

> "That the system of Private Bill Legislation calls for the attention of Parliament, and of Her Majesty's Government, and requires reform."

Even those who have most objected to the suggestion of external tribunals have not been slow to admit that the system requires reform, and some have pointed to a Joint Committee of the two Houses as a Court which might be judiciously substituted for the two Courts, which now give the opportunities for a double trial in the case of each particular Bill. The House will not be surprised to hear that, so far as I am concerned, I am quite disposed to agree with the 1st Resolution, for it is a Resolution which I myself submitted to the House 12 years ago, with an Amendment suggested by my noble Friend the Lord Privy Seal, which I willingly accepted, and which was agreed to by the House unanimously in 1872. As regards the 2nd Resolution, I am not prepared to give my assent to it, and for this reason—that it does not go, according to my opinion of what is needed, far enough. It retains the system of Private Bills. They are to be read a second time in the House before they go to the new tribunal, and, therefore, whatever disadvantage attaches to solicitations for the second reading of Private Bills, to taking up the time of Members by discussions on Private Business, and to such Business being confined to the period of the Sitting of Parliament will still continue. Again, while establishing an external tribunal, it would not get rid of the expense attending the maintenance of Examiners of Private Bills. Then, again, so far as it deals with Provisional Orders, it would retain what appears to me to be a very cumbrous system—namely, the passing of Provisional Orders by embodying them in Bills which would have to go through all stages in both Houses. Then the hon. Member for Haddington proposes to establish Commissions for England, Scotland, and Ireland. He would be establishing an unnecessarily great and extensive machinery. No doubt, of late years, owing to bad trade and the distressed state of agriculture, private legislation has been somewhat less than in the days when people were wealthier and making money faster. But, still, there have been of late years some 30 Committees of this House, on the average, to consider Private Bills; and if you reckon Hybrid Committees, and Committees upon Provisional Orders, there have probably been about 40 Committees. Therefore, some 120 or 150 Members had annually sat on these Bills between 300 and 400 days. But a tribunal consisting of experienced men, versed in controlling discursive counsel and checking redundant or irrelevant evidence, and sitting not three and a-half hours, but six hours a-day, would get through, on the most modest calculation, in one day, the work that occupies a Committee two days. The result is that one body of Commissioners, sitting seven or eight months in the year, would do the whole work of Private Bill Committees. Then I come to the proposal to have a separate Commission for Scotland as well as for England and Ireland. I find that last Session there were four Committees on Scotch Bills, who sat together 36 days. That would have occupied a Commission 18 days. There were two or three Committees on Irish Bills, and they only sat nine days. The Commission would have disposed of that work in four or five days. Therefore, it is obvious that there is not work enough for a permanent Commission in the case of Scotland or Ireland. If you are not to appoint a Commission on purpose to perform this work, but simply to employ annually a certain number of barristers or other gentlemen to do this work, then it appears to me that you will be landed in the same evil of tribunals, consisting of fluctuating elements, and I do not think much advantage will be gained. The 3rd Resolution, providing for an appeal, is good for that purpose, but it is, of course, dependent upon the 2nd; and, therefore, if the 2nd is not adopted, the question of the 3rd will not arise. The hon. Baronet who has just sat down said that we had experience of external inquiries in regard to Private Bills, and that they had been a failure under the Preliminary Inquiry Act. That is true; but that Act provided for a local inquiry, which was to be held by an Inspector, who went down and made an inquiry in the locality; and I quite agree that, though such an inquiry may suffice where the object affects a definite locality, or where the interests at stake are comparatively small, no parties would rest satisfied with it in important railway contests or other great cases. But this is to be a a tribunal which is to hear witnesses and counsel in open Court, and, therefore, it will be one which should carry at least the same weight, in my opinion, as a Committee of the House, and, at all events, the proceedings before it would be conducted in the same way. On behalf of the Government, I am prepared to accept the 1st Resolution of my hon. Friend. But I would say that the House must not expect that the Government will be able to take any action upon it in the present Session. We have got before us a programme of work which is quite sufficient. I would like to point out to the House that the changes which will have to be made in order to give effect to this 1st Resolution, in whatever way it may be carried out in detail, must be a matter for considerable discussion, and would take up a large amount of time. I said just now that the Government cannot be expected to take action upon this subject in the present Session, in view of the programme which we have already presented to the House, unless the House should be so desirous to proceed with it that they would be prepared to repeat what was done last year, and have an Autumn Sitting for the purpose. If the House should show any extraordinary desire for that, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to give respectful consideration to the wish. I will conclude by making this one suggestion to my hon. Friend and to the House, which, I think, would be an improvement on his proposal. The Resolution he proposes to the House is in exactly the same words as that agreed to *nem. con.* in 1872. I think it is not very desirable that the House should simply repeat the Resolution it then recorded, and I venture to suggest to my hon. Friend that he would strengthen his position by a reference to what was done in 1872. I therefore propose to amend his Resolution by leaving out all the words after "that," and add these words—

> "This House adheres to the Resolution upon Private Legislation, agreed to on the 22nd of March 1872."

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House adheres to the Resolution upon Private Legislation, agreed to on the 22nd of March 1872,"—(*Mr. Dodson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. CRAIG-SELLAR expressed his thanks to the House for the extremely kind manner in which hon. Members had received his Resolution. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy (Mr. Dodson) had stated in his speech that there would not be work enough for separate Commissions. He (Mr. Sellar) confined his remarks to the work that would be done by the Commission appointed for Scotland. In 1881 the Committees sat upon opposed Scotch Bills for 59 days, and in 1882 they sat for 64 days on opposed cases; and when they looked into the number of Scotch Bills which came to the House from year to year, though the number was not very great, it was a gradually increasing number. The actual amount of money proposed to be raised by these Scotch Bills was very considerable, amounting for a period of four years to £19,000,000. The amount for Ireland was smaller; but he felt that sufficient work would be found for a Scotch Commission if it were to be appointed. He should gladly accept the proposed Amendment on the part of the Government, and withdraw his 2nd and 3rd Resolutions.

MR. ROBERTSON condemned the present system of Private Bill Legislation; and, speaking from an ample experience, said, that the great cause of the dissatisfaction given by the decisions of Committees of Parliament was not their *personnel,* nor their expense, but the uncertainty which always prevailed as to the reasons which led to the success or to the failure of Bills. All they knew was that their Preambles had or had not been proved. He would suggest, as being all that was really necessary, the amendment of the Standing Orders, so as to require Committees to report to the House not only their decisions, but the reasons for them.

MR. GREGORY said, his experience of Private Legislation dated from 1840. During the time that had since elapsed, he had seen great changes in the practice of the House, and very great improvements in the constitution of the Committees. But from what he had seen in the past, and what went on now, he very greatly doubted whether any striking change could be advantageously introduced. It would be a very doubtful policy to delegate to any tribunal outside of Parliament the power of over-riding existing Acts, and in many cases the Common Law, as was often proposed in Private Bills. No doubt, the constitution of the Committees, many years ago, was anything but satisfactory; but the new constitution introduced since then had, according to his experience, worked very well, and the result was that they had now very competent and careful tribunals. The element of certainty was embodied into their proceedings by the practice of consulting the reference. Moreover, the Bills were examined by the Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords, and the Chairman of Ways and Means in that House, who were both assisted by counsel. In this way, all Bills were subjected to a very careful scrutiny. The counsels had a full knowledge of the previous course of Private Bill Legislation. They had a distinct recollection of the various arrangements made between parties to Bills, and the connection between those Bills. This knowledge of the past, and its relation to the present, was most useful in dealing with Private Bills; but it would be wholly wanting in that new scheme proposed by the Mover of the Resolution. Besides having this knowledge, these officials were well acquainted with Parliamentary drafting. One reason urged for removing Private Bills from the present excellent tribunals and handing them over to some external body was that thereby expense would be saved. He doubted very much whether this would be the case. Where promoters had large interests at stake, and were possessed of heavy purses, there was bound to be a large expenditure in the promotion or defence of the interests at stake. This remark did not apply merely to proceedings before Committees of this House; it applied to Courts of Law, arbitrations, and references of every kind. It must be borne in mind that the expensive personages in connection with the inquiries were resident in the Metropolis. It was the counsel and the experts who were the expensive part of the machinery of Private Bill Legislation. It would cost the parties to a Private Bill a very much larger sum if these gentlemen had to be taken down to the country in order that local inquiries might be held. Again, it was said that in the localities the inquiries might be conducted longer each day; but he did not anticipate that much greater progress would be made than was at present the case.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. GREGORY resumed: With a strong Chairman, he had seen cases dealt with as speedily as they could have been in any Court of Law. Extraneous evidence was thrown aside, and attention was centred on the real facts of the case, with the result of a great saving of expense. He was old enough to recollect Lord Dalhousie's Commission in 1845, which sat upon the many railway schemes of that period. The Reports of the Commission did not receive much attention from Parliament. The Committees acted for themselves. He fancied that something like this would be the result if Commissions were now appointed.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON said, he fully agreed with the Mover of the Resolution that the main objections to the present system of Private Bill Legislation lay in the expense and uncertainty attending it. If the expense were a serious thing for England and Scotland, how much more must it operate against Ireland? He did not approve of the remedy suggested by the hon. Member for Haddington, as it was merely a compromise, and the power of appeal he proposed to give to the House would greatly increase the cost attending the promotion of Private Bills. Railway and Tramway Bills ought to be delegated in Ireland to County Boards or Provincial Councils, with the right of appeal to the Local Government Board or the Board of Works. The present system was fatal to the development of the industrial resources of Ireland.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after Eight o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 7th March, 1883.

MINUTES.]—New Writ Issued — *For* the County of Tipperary, *v.* John Dillon, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

Public Bills — *Ordered—First Reading*—County Court Judges* [112]; Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention * [113].

Second Reading — Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment [13]; Borough Franchise (Ireland) [22] [House counted out].

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—[Bill 13.]

(*Mr. Anderson, Sir Frederick Milbank, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Buchanan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read,

Mr. ANDERSON, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that last Session, when he was moving the second reading of this Bill, and was narrating some of the atrocities that had come to his knowledge in connection with pigeon-shooting, one hon. sporting Member, whose feelings perhaps were outraged, asked for a count of the House. It was late in the Session, on a Saturday, and a number of Members walked out, and conspicuously amongst them those Members of the Government who were then present. If those hon. Members had remained for a few minutes longer, possibly the atrocities he described might have been put an end to at least one year sooner than could now be the case. He quite recognized that some hon. Members were incredulous of the statements he then made, for several had informed him privately that they thought he must have been hoaxed, as it was absolutely impossible human beings could contrive or perpetrate such atrocities. He wished it were so, and he also wished it were unnecessary for him to horrify the House by repeating them; but he felt it was absolutely necessary that he should do so, because, unless he made known the full facts of the case, he might fail to create as strong a feeling against this so-called sport—this bastard sport—of pigeon-shooting, as to enable him to get it put down by law. Trap shooting at birds was never at the best much of a sport; but, at least in the old times, it was different from what it had now become. Long ago wild blue-rocks were the birds used; they were put in the trap unmutilated, and they had a chance of their lives, and that system tested the skill of the sportsman. But that was all changed now. Blue-rocks were no longer to be had; the common tame household pigeon was substituted. Still, the purveyors of the birds called them blue-rocks, but they had no more title to that name than a sparrow. Some of the birds were so tame that when the trap was opened they refused to rise, and something in the nature of a spur was used. The trapper wrenched out the tail at one pull, and, in order to make the incentive so much the greater, frequently touched the raw with pepper, and sometimes with turpentine. Sometimes the trapper would stick a pin in the rump of the bird, so that it could not sit, and through the pain was certain to fly when the trap was open. The nature of the barbarity that was applied to the bird depended entirely upon what the interest of the trapper might be—which side tipped him best, or whether his interest lay in backing the gun or the bird. Again, if he did not wish to be seen drawing out the tail feathers, be-because some people objected to that being done, he could give a very severe twist to the rump, which would be quite as effective, and possibly a great deal more brutal. He might also squeeze the fragile framework of bones so that the bird would be hardly able to fly. If the trapper wanted the bird to fly to the right he would destroy with a pin the left eye or gouge it out with the finger nail, knowing the bird would fly to the side it could see; if he wanted it to fly to the left he would put out the right eye. If he wanted to utterly confuse the flight of the bird he would put out both eyes, as was sometimes done. There was another atrocity which had occasionally been noticed, the object of which he was hardly able to state, and that was that the upper mandible of the bill was bent over and stuck through the soft centre of the lower, the object of which, he had no doubt, was to confuse the flight of the bird. When last year he told the House, and published to the country through the Press, that atrocities so devilish in their ingenuity were practised on poor tame doves—actually on those birds which by the common consent of mankind from the earliest times had been regarded as types of gentleness, innocence, and peace—the statement was received in some quarters with horror, and in others with incredulity. He had then sources of information that made him quite certain that the charges were true, and he could have substantiated them if necessary. But last month an event occurred that rendered any trouble of that sort unnecessary. At Belper, in Derbyshire, the officers of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Society were able to bring a case into Court, which was described by the Derbyshire *Advertiser*. One of the witnesses said a match was made between Mr. Samuel Hawkins, publican, and John Rogers. The birds used were tame pigeons, and were put into the trap by the defendants. As soon as the first bird got out the witness noticed how remarkably it flew about. The bird was shot by an outsider, and upon examination it was found to have a damaged eye. Another bird was let loose, and it flew to the left and was killed by a man named Cook, and when examined it was found that one eye had been forced out. He spoke to the defendants about it, and told them that they would hear of it again. A third pigeon was liberated, and one of the eyes of that had been forced out. A fourth pigeon was liberated, and it was found to have had both eyes put out, and also had a pin stuck in the flesh near the tail. The heads of two of the pigeons were produced in Court. Mr. Brown cross-examined the witness, but failed to shake his testimony. John Cook, another witness, was sworn, and deposed that he witnessed the match, and saw birds with their eyes forced out, and one had the tail feathers torn out with flesh sticking to them. Well, the two defendants were convicted, and got two months with hard labour, and they were well served. At that match there were absolutely three of the identical malpractices of which he had told the House last year made use of and conclusively proved in Court. That being so, he need hardly trouble about proving the others. Perhaps some hon. Members might say that if the ordinary law could punish a thing of this kind, what more did they want? His reply to that was that this was a solitary conviction which had been got, and it had been got solely from the reckless openness with which the offence had been committed, and which came from immunity from conviction. In general these malpractices were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Generally the shooting was not in the open, but inside a high enclosure, and it could easily be understood that where 200 or 300 pigeons were fired at in one day, even if one or two should be picked up outside the enclosure in a mutilated condition, it was almost impossible to bring home the maiming of any particular bird to any particular person inside the enclosure; therefore the possibility of getting convictions was so very small that there seemed to be no remedy for it but putting the sport itself down by law. Lord Westbury had written a letter to the papers to say that at Hurlingham and the Gun Club no act of cruelty had ever been practised. Lord Westbury must be a very credulous person indeed if he imagined that because gentlemen had made a rule that there was to be no cruelty practised, and that if there was any observed they would prosecute the trapper, that therefore everything would be right. No one imagined that noble Lords and hon. Gentlemen who were present knew anything about these matters, or would sanction them; on the contrary, most likely these malpractices were for the very purpose of plundering those Noblemen and Gentlemen; therefore they were not likely to know of it. At first he was very willing to believe these malpractices were unknown at Hurlingham; but he got a letter from a rev. Doctor, the vicar of a London parish, telling him that he had amongst his parishioners a man who was an attendant at Hurlingham, and that these malpractices were not unknown even at Hurlingham. As for the Gun Club at Notting Hill, he himself knew that they were perpetrated there, and that that place was entirely unworthy of Lord Westbury's voucher. But much as these aggravations increased the necessity for legislation of this sort, he did not wish to rest his case for this Bill upon the atrocities at all; he took his stand against the sport itself. Even without the aggravations it was as cruel as most of those that had already been put down by law, and it was more brutally cruel than any that had not been put down by law. It had no redeeming feature. There was no trace about it of genuine sport—by which he meant the pursuit of the wild animal, whether bird, beast, or fish. Even if there was some cruelty—they must all admit that these sports had some cruelty about them—it might be said there was an extenuation, there was some compensation, as they tended greatly to promote health, strength, courage, skill, self-reliance, and he thought it might not unfairly be said in their favour that they had contributed in no small degree to make our race the dominant race which it was, and to keep it so. But against the wholesale slaughter of doves there was not one word of that that could be said. It was nothing but pure, wanton slaughter. It was in no sense whatever a manly sport. It was a mere gambling game, in which the lives of the birds were made the counters. The type of innocence and gentleness was made an instrument of gambling and plunder, and there was nothing more in it than that. Every game or sport on which the gambling spirit fixed was inevitably degraded by it, and it was the gambling spirit that had originated the malpractices he had narrated, and for which there was no remedy but that of forbidding the sport by law. Some of those which were already forbidden were less revolting in their cruelty, but those were the sports of poor men, and it was very easy for noble Lords and aristocratic Legislators to put them down; but here was a sport practised by rich men and noblemen. It could only be practised by rich men, because the birds themselves cost from £8 to £10 per 100. The entries were something like £10 at great matches, and as much as £1 was charged for admission to the enclosure. At the very best it was a cruel sport. A wild bird shot at might escape; but these poor pigeons had little chance, for if one got outside the enclosure it was beset by a number of guns of outsiders all round, and if dropped wounded it was immediately chased by a lot of roughs with sticks and stones. If it escaped them and reached the roof of a house it would there die of its wounds, or be starved to death. If it escaped altogether it probably returned home or joined some of the flocks of pigeons in the neighbourhood; in either case it would be only an escape for a time, as it would be brought out again for a subsequent day's sport. He had now, he thought, said enough on that painful part of the subject, and he believed he had with him the sympathy of all genuine sportsmen in both Houses. The worst part of the sporting Press was, of course, against him, and, like Lord Walsingham, stigmatized the Bill as a disguised attack on sport in general. They described himself as a fanatical Scotchman, a hater of all sport, and one who would like to put down all sport and make all the world as sour and fanatical as himself. Those papers did him far too much honour; they judged him far too highly; he was unable to speak from that high platform. There were hon. Members, some of whom, perhaps, might take part in the debate to-day, who were able to speak from that platform, and he must admit it was a much higher moral level to be able to say they never in their lives sought amusement in any sport that inflicted death or suffering on any of God's creatures. He himself could not speak except from the lower level of one who had been much addicted to sport with rod and gun, and who had even several times engaged in the sport he now sought to put down by law. His object was no higher than to prevent all genuine sport being discredited by atrocities that were perpetrated under its name, and which had no proper connection with it at all. But this shooting at tame pigeons was not only very cruel, but it was now unnecessary. There was an invention called the "clay pigeon," which was not a pigeon at all, but a saucer made of terra cotta, and when projected from a catapult, gyrated in such a remarkable manner that it tested the skill of the sportsmen, and did it at a twentieth of the cost, for it was not broken unless struck by the shot; and he understood that such eminent sportsmen as Mr. Reginald Herbert and Mr. Cholmondley Pennell had declared in its favour. He had now very little more to add. He had said that when he first exposed these things to the House the statement was met with incrudulity in some quarters and horror in others. One gracious lady, the second lady in the land, seemed to have believed it and to have taken it to heart, and with the true instincts of a tender-hearted woman she determined to throw the weight of her high example and influence to the side of the helpless and suffering doves. She had done so with great effect, and had earned the blessings of all humane people. He took great encouragement and hope from her action; and he trusted that those who might have opposed the Bill would, through the reverence which they and the people bore to the illustrious lady, listen to her pleading when they turned a deaf ear to his own. The Bill, however, was, he saw, to be opposed. He did not know what line the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) or the hon. Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell) intended to take in the matter; but some of the opposition, he believed, was directed solely against the 2nd clause of the Bill. Now, the original intention of that 2nd clause was to do no more than to protect animals in menageries, dancing bears, and such like; but Lord Walsingham said it would stop stag-hunting also—the hunting of bagged foxes, and of trapped hares and rabbits. He must say that to keep wild animals in captivity for the sole purpose of occasionally hunting them appeared to him to differ very little from the sport of badger-baiting, which was put down by law. He thought it would require a casuist to draw a distinction between the two. One effect of Lord Walsingham's letter had been to deluge him with letters giving instances and proofs why the hunting of tame or captured animals ought to be put down. He did not intend to go into that question further than to quote one instance from a book written by Mr. Brinsley Richards, called *Seven Years at Eton*, which described how the elder Eton boys used to keep a pack of beagles, and used to hunt bagged hares and foxes; but before hunting them one of the pads was cut off—[*Cries of* "No, no!"]—that was stated by Mr. Richards—and was done in order to prevent the animal getting too far in advance of the hounds. He hoped that was not true; but if it was, it went far to show that even the sports favoured by Lord Walsingham might very properly now be put down by law. Even Lord Walsingham did not pretend that the Bill in any way touched the hunting of wild animals, and it certainly did not do so, neither was it intended to touch the hunting of tame ones; and, that being so, he was quite ready now to say that if the House desired it, or even did not disapprove of the change, as soon as the Bill reached the Committee, if it reached that stage, he would either modify the 2nd clause so as to exempt the hunting of tame animals, or leave the clause out altogether—["No, no."]—just as the House chose. The primary object of the Bill was to put a stop to trap-shooting, and he had no desire to peril the chances of the Bill by endeavouring to extend the provisions in directions wider than the House wished. That was all he had to say for himself on the subject; but he would like to express his regret, in which he was sure the House shared, at the absence of one of the backers of the Bill, the hon. Baronet the Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Sir Frederick A. Milbank). The hon. Baronet was confined to his bed by severe sickness. There was no more distinguished sportsman in either House of Parliament than the hon. Gentleman, and so anxious was he to show that his backing of the Bill was no mere formal one, that it was no half-hearted one, that even from his bed of sickness he had written a long letter on the subject, in which he not only condemned pigeon-shooting, but also the hunting of tame stags, as a barbarous amusement that should be put down by law instead of being supported by the Government of the day. He thought the hon. Member did an injustice to the Government of the day, for it was not they that supported the Master of the Buckhounds, for that expenditure was on the Civil List; but he hoped some day the Government might do something with respect to it. He would like, if allowed, to read an extract from the hon. Baronet's letter, and he the more particularly wished to do it because it related to Hurlingham. The hon. Baronet said—

> "The Hurlingham Club then consisted of a great many gentlemen who met for the purpose of pigeon-shooting, and very high stakes were shot for. After a few weeks it became evident that betting would be the very curse of the so-called sport. Scores of pounds were laid upon every shot on what were called grand days. This led to the inevitable result—rascality. One day it was observed that there was something wrong with the trapping of the birds. We kept careful watch, and observed that the trapper several times took birds from a different hamper from what he did at others. It was observed that one hamper contained good, fresh-caught birds, whilst the contents of the other consisted of wretched, half-starved ones, that made a miserable flight, so that it depended on how the money was put on whether the shooter should have a good bird or a bad one. No doubt, the trapper took his tip from someone betting whether he had backed the gun or the bird. The bird was trapped accordingly. From that time I made up my mind to have nothing more to do with pigeon-shooting. This rascality was practised, but luckily found out, at a club of gentlemen like Hurlingham; therefore, what can be expected at pigeon-shooting matches got up at low public-houses, all, no doubt, for betting purposes? It is well known that the whole of the old school have left off shooting at pigeons on account of its having got into the hands of a set of professional pigeon-shooters, who do not shoot for the so-called sport, but for making money. Now, as to the cruelty, I myself have observed birds after having been shot thrown into a heap struggling for life, and I have drawn attention to it. The poor birds are picked up by a wretched creature who is called a trapper, who has no more feeling than a stone; and whether the birds struggle for life for half-an-hour after they have been picked up or not is a matter of perfect indifference to him. If such things exist at Hurlingham, where there is a certain supervision, what may be expected at other places where the butchery is carried on, and there is no one to look after the sufferings of the poor creatures? Of the disgusting practices you mention I have no knowledge, except that the tails of the birds are invariably pulled out, and that in many cases they are squeezed there can be no doubt."

He could use no stronger argument than that; therefore, without making any comment on the letter, he would now move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL said, that, although he had placed an Amendment upon the Paper adverse to the second reading of the Bill, he did not wish it to be supposed for a moment that he was an advocate of the particular practice which the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had declared it was the primary object of his Bill to prevent. He fully appreciated, and claimed, a large amount of sympathy with the amiable motives that had induced the hon. Member to bring forward this measure; and if he thought that the Bill would go no further than putting an end to the practice of pigeon-shooting, he, for one, should not have ventured to oppose its second reading. He was as anxious as the hon. Member could be that the time should arrive when civilized men could enjoy themselves without their pleasure being mixed up with the sorrow of even the meanest creature that breathed; but they had to look at these things in a practical light, and, if they admitted the principle of this Bill, he was inclined to ask where they were to stop? He could not avoid noticing the strong appeal which the hon. Member had made in reference to some letter which, it was alleged, had been written by a lady of exalted rank, expressing a strong opinion discouraging the practice of pigeon-shooting. He believed that a statement to the effect that such a letter had been written had appeared in the newspapers; but he had never heard or seen any confirmation of that statement from reliable sources—[Mr. ANDERSON: Or contradiction.]—and, for his own part, he believed that statement to be apocryphal. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not believe that the Princess of Wales had expressed any opinion as to the merits or demerits of the practice of pigeon-shooting; but he readily admitted that, had she done so, her opinion would certainly have had far greater weight with him than the arguments which had been put forward by the hon. Member for Glasgow in support of his Bill. Where was the line to be drawn? It must be remembered that pigeon-shooting was akin to other forms of sport which were usually recognized as legitimate. He would ask what well-defined line was there between shooting pigeons from traps—pigeons which had been reared and carefully fed and tended for the purpose—and shooting at pheasants which had been carefully bred and tended in a cover netted at the end? ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members said "Oh, oh!" but it was an undoubted fact that in Lincolnshire and in the adjacent counties the breeding and sale of pigeons for shooting formed an important industry. They were carefully fed and tended in cots for the purpose of being shot at the matches. Pheasants were likewise bred and reared in large numbers, and carefully fed and nurtured during the summer for the purpose of being shot in the season. There was, therefore, very little to choose between the two classes of sport. At all events, it involved a very nice question. The hon. Member had strengthened his arguments with details of a most revolting character, and he must admit that if the practices described by the hon. Member were followed, no expression of abhorrence could be too strong for them. The hon. Member had said that in order to prevent pigeons which were too tame from sitting upon the trap a pin was inserted in that part of their body upon which a pigeon did not usually sit. If these barbarities could be proved, he quite admitted that a very strong case would be made out for the entire suppression of the practice of pigeon-shooting; but he thought the hon. Member had entirely failed to make out his case. At Macclesfield, the Cheshire magistrates the other day fined a trapper 50*s.* and costs. That showed that the ordinary law was strong enough to interfere and obtain convictions. The hon. Member quoted a solitary conviction; he had quoted another; and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals last year recorded four convictions obtained for the improper treatment of pigeons in trap-shooting. The state of affairs which the hon. Member had described might point to an alteration of the law being required in order to bring offenders in this respect more within its power; but he hardly thought the hon. Member had made out any case for the entire suppression of the practice. He had been informed that at certain pigeon-shooting matches which were held at Hurlingham last summer, several officers of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals were present by invitation, and they, having witnessed the proceedings, declared that no cruelty had taken place during the meetings. He should be perfectly willing to give these officers every facility for putting a stop to anything like cruelty at these matches; but he objected to the prohibition of a sport which might be cruel, but which was only one or two degrees more so than other pursuits which were recognized as legitimate, and which he trusted would remain legitimate. He must confess, however, that he had the greatest reluctance to oppose this Bill, which was intended to ameliorate the conditions of animal life. He must remind the House, however, that this country was a long way ahead of other countries in the care which we bestowed upon the lower animals. Long might it remain so; but he trusted that, in exercising that care, we should never be led to take indiscreet action. He asked the hon. Member to look at his measure, from the standpoint of the pigeons. The hon. Member denied that the birds were blue-rocks. That was merely the name by which they were known; but what he wished to point out was this, that if the law put an end to pigeon-shooting, these blue-rocks would never be brought into existence at all, because it would be worth nobody's while to breed and rear them. Therefore, the hon. Member proposed to ameliorate the conditions of the pigeon's life by preventing its life at its very inception. He wanted to ask the hon. Member this question—whether, if he were a blue-rock, he would rather accept life under the condition of his life being a short and happy one and violently terminated, or whether he would reject life at all upon such terms? He rather thought, therefore, that, from the standpoint of the pigeons, the existing law was more merciful to them than that which was proposed by the hon. Gentleman's Bill. Many other animals profited by being the object of man's sport. Thus, foxes would have long ceased to exist in this country had they not been used for the purposes of hunting, and the race would have been exterminated instead of leading a short and a merry life. [*A laugh.*] Well, a fox's life was a merry one, because for six months in the year he lived entirely unmolested, and for the remaining six months he had to take an occasional chance of losing his life; but generally he was able to take good care of himself. He had heard the opinion expressed that the hon. Member for Glasgow had himself once been young, although it was true that he was now approaching maturity and had abandoned the errors of his youth altogether. He had even heard it stated that the hon. Member had himself engaged, and probably not unsuccessfully, in pigeon-shooting matches. The hon. Member had, however, discontinued the pursuit, and now seemed inclined to

> "Compound for sins he was inclined to,
> By damning those he had no mind to."

The hon. Member condemned pigeon-shooting, but practised the gentle art of fishing. But was there greater cruelty in the one than in the other? He would suppose that the hon. Member for Glasgow was going fishing, and sent to the garden to have worms dug up. Afterwards he visited his favourite stream, and, probably, to attract his victim, he would drown a handful of these worms by throwing them into the stream. Having done that, he would proceed to impale upon the hook, through the entire length of its body, one of these wretched invertebrate animals, which being invertibrate would not be included in the provisions of the Bill. If successful, some hungry fish swallowed the worm. Now, the degree of pleasure the hon. Member would derive from the success of his efforts would be in direct ratio to the anount of resistance he met with and the amount of agony inflicted upon the victim—that was to say, he would receive more pleasure by playing the fish for half-an-hour than if he were able to land it at once. Now, he would ask whether there was a greater degree of cruely in pigeon-shooting, when it was legitimately practised, than there was in connection with fishing? He believed that this Bill would deal a blow at all field sports. He remembered asking a gentleman once whether he went in for riding? And his answer was—"No, I can't bear the sight of a horse. He bites you with one end, kicks you with the other, and makes you sore with his middle." Was it to that that English gentlemen and sportsmen were to be reduced? They all retained certain traces of their barbarian ancestry; they could not keep it out; it would return, and the instinctive pursuit would assert itself, whether it was in the collection of butterflies or the hunting of small animals; and he thought they would do well to regulate it, but not to prevent it altogether. He knew there were sickly philanthropists who would not be content until the youth of this country proceeded forth only on the bloodless bicycle, and, instead of training race-horses, confined their attention to such innocent amusements as the cultivation of cucumbers. But his principal objection to this Bill was because he believed that the 2nd clause would affect a good many more sports than its promoters intended. He had no idea when he put his Amendment on the Paper that the hon. Gentleman meant to withdraw that clause. If that were so, why was it ever inserted in the Bill? If, however, that clause were allowed to stand as it was, then stag-hunting would become an illegal pursuit. The hon. Member said he would not be sorry if that were the result; but he thought that was a very narrow view to take of the matter. The relative amount of cruelty inseparable from stag-hunting and fox-hunting was very difficult to define, and hon. Members might rest assured; if they consented to any Bill that abolished the chase of such animals, the day was not far distant when all field sports would be put an end to, in obedience to the intolerant spirit to which they were unhappily becoming accustomed. He congratulated the hon. Member for Glasgow in having attracted attention to the abuse of which he complained, for he believed it would have the effect of directing the attention of the officers of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to those evils, and that the existing law would be found sufficient to meet the circumstances of the case; but he must ask the House to hesitate before it accepted hysterical and grandmotherly legislation, which, in his opinion, was discreditable in its character. He, therefore, begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "although the Legislature is willing and anxious to give further assistance in the suppression of Cruelty to Animals, this House cannot approve of a Bill which threatens seriously to interfere with recognised and legitimate sport,"—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, the hon. Baronet had made a very amusing speech of a somewhat contradictory nature. He understood him to say that he would make no opposition to the Bill if it had been confined to pigeon-shooting, and he used a rather strong expression in condemnation of the practice; but it seemed to him (Mr. W. E. Forster) that the most part of the hon. Baronet's speech was in vindication of the sport, and in explanation of the manner in which it should be conducted. He made one very amusing appeal to his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), who so ably brought forward this Motion, by asking him to put himself in the position of a blue-rock; but this would be difficult, for the position was not a blue-rock in existence, but a blue-rock before it was born. It was, however, a serious matter whether they should oppose this Bill, and prevent what appeared to him to be a cruel and disgraceful sport, and being thus admitted by public opinion generally, a demoralizing sport to all those who took part in it. The hon. Baronet thought the officers of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals ought to attend all pigeon-shooting matches and put a stop to the cruelties of the sport. The officers of that Society did attend these pigeon-shooting matches, and did their very best to put a stop to the cruelties perpetrated; but they could not. In one or two cases, by extraordinary good fortune, they might be able to stop it; but, generally speaking, they found themselves utterly unable to do so. He supposed he should be considered one of the fanatics of that House. His hon. Friend was somewhat in the position of a repentant sinner, and held a strong view in favour of sport generally. That was the view generally held by men who, he believed, were as humane—probably more humane—than himself (Mr. W. E. Forster). But he happened to hold a different view with regard to it, because he never had to do with killing animals for sport. In fact, to make a candid confession, he never shot a fellow-creature but once, and that was a favourite cat whose life was a misery to it. But if he were as strong a sportsman as many of his Friends, he should say that in the interests of legitimate sport they could not by any possibility do anything more likely to preserve sport in the country than to support the Bill of the hon. Member for Glasgow. Whereas, if they wished to injure sport, and increase what he thought was more or less a growing public opinion against unnecessary cruelty, even for the purpose of amusement, they could not do better than oppose the Bill. Depend upon it, it would go very much against the sense of people and their feelings to find that English sport, of which so many persons were proud, was to be defended by legalizing and continuing this shooting of doves out of a trap. They must remember what had happened in past times. There was quite as much to be said—in fact, more to be said—in favour of cock-fighting.

The hon. Baronet had said the breeding of pigeons was an industry. So was the rearing of cocks in the old days of cock-fighting. He thought there was much more to be said in favour of cock-fighting than of pigeon-shooting. He believed the cock did enjoy fighting, and he did not suppose the pigeon particularly enjoyed the flight it took from the trap. The Legislators of a former time found that such was public feeling against the sport of cock-fighting that it had to be given up. He strongly advised all friends of sport now to do the same with regard to pigeon-shooting. He did not think any argument could be adduced in support of this particular sport. There was no courage, or endurance, or outdoor exercise required in connection with this sport. The hon. Baronet said that we retained some traces of the barbarism of our ancestors. If he meant that any of those qualities which had enabled Englishmen to rule the world were cultivated for pigeon-shooting, he denied that that was the case. To take enjoyment in killing or attempting to kill perfectly helpless animals could not, in his opinion, tend to the keeping up of any of those qualities by which we had made and kept our position in the world. The remark that this was an unmanly sport had been cheered on both sides of the House. If possible, there was an adjective that still better applied to it—that it was unwomanly. He could conceive few things more revolting than seeing a pigeon match conducted under the auspices of gentlemen of position, with ladies of beauty and rank looking on with approval. The Royal Buckhounds had been referred to. He thought there was a very great deal to be said against the practice of keeping deer for the purpose of subjecting them to torture from time to time; but he advised his hon. Friend who introduced the Bill to get what he could, and if he found that he could secure the Bill by dropping out the 2nd clause, relating to stag-hunting, he would recommend him to do so. In conclusion, might he be allowed to make a suggestion to sportsmen on both sides of the House? If they should start a movement, with the object of giving prizes for showing how the amusement of sport could be obtained with the least torture to animals, it very likely would result in changes in a great many sports. What they had now to do with was this particular sport. Its object was gambling, and its result was gambling. There was not one of the qualities for which sport was held up to admiration to be found in it, except merely the technical and mechanical act of shooting in a particular way. He could not help thinking that the country would by a very large, almost an overwhelming, expression of opinion, support a law similar to what his hon. Friend had introduced; and if the Bill were rejected in consequence of the resistance of sportsmen, he thought that sport would not gain thereby.

Earl PERCY said, he was anxious to intervene early in the debate lest the sports which he favoured should come in for condemnation; but up to that time he was happy to say that no sport had been abused for which he had the slightest liking. He remembered having once shot a pigeon freed from a trap, and ever since he had felt ashamed that he should have done such a thing. He was very much inclined to agree with the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken as to the desirability of living without giving pain to dumb animals; but he feared that condition of things would never come in the present state of the world. At the same time, he asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider that it was not in those countries where there was the least sport that there was the least cruelty to animals. The subject before them was a very difficult one, and there appeared to him to be a considerable confusion of mind amongst those who discussed it, both in and out of the House. It was said by the supporters of the Bill that the practice which they desired to abolish inflicted a great deal of pain upon dumb animals. That was an argument which might be used against all kinds of sport. One hon. Member seemed to think that the old modes of pigeon-shooting were less cruel than the present system because in former times more birds escaped. To that hon. Member he would point out that many birds must have escaped in a wounded condition and suffered greater pain than they would have suffered had they been despatched at once. Now, as far as cruelty was concerned, he thought the very strongest argument he had heard in favour of shooting tame birds was that so few of them escaped. If they were hit at all they were killed, and the sportsman was spared the pain of thinking, as he had often done after a good day's shooting, of how many birds he had wounded, but which had escaped. If pigeon shooting was demoralizing, let them put it down; but let them understand distinctly the ground upon which they did so. But the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had had the courage to show that cock-fighting was not nearly so cruel as many of the sports engaged in by half the Members of that House. It was said that the sport to which their attention was particularly directed led to gambling; but so did nearly all other sports. The objection, therefore, did not apply exclusively to the sport in question. And, for his part, he could not see why they singled out one sport on that ground, unless they were prepared to put down all sport to which that objection applied. It had also been said that this sport was a rich man's pastime. He had been very much surprised to hear that statement, for it was admitted that the matches were mostly arranged in low public-houses. Did rich men go to low public-houses? He did not know. They might do so. He asked for information. With the very best motives the Legislature had, for many years past, been putting down one after another the sports of the poor man —while they had never touched the sports of the rich. Was there any greater cruelty in pursuing a rabbit with a terrier, than in hare-hunting or fox-hunting? He did not like to hear hon. Members talk about the cruelty of poor men's sports, when they must know that the kinds of sport in which they themselves indulged were just as cruel. He thought, therefore, the House would be making a great mistake if, in its honest endeavour to minimize the infliction of unnecessary pain on animals, it laid itself open to the imputation of striking at the sports for which its Members had no liking, and forgetting altogether the sports against which just as much might be said on the ground of cruelty.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he thought that all who had the interests of sport at heart ought to be very grateful to his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) for having brought this Bill before the House, and for having cleared an institution which they regarded as English, and of great value to the country, from any imputation of complicity in the infliction of unnecessary cruelty. The hon. Member, unlike many persons who took up what were called sentimental arguments, had not begun by begging the whole question, and by assuming the existence of cruelties which had not been proved to exist. He had brought before them, almost with painful elaboration, statements of cruelties which were undoubtedly most amply founded on fact. Speaking as one who had great sympathy with sport, and was himself a sportsman, he (Dr. Farquharson) also wished to have an opportunity of saying a word for his own profession. Medical men were occasionally spoken of by certain sections of the community as being so hardened and brutalized by their training that they occasionally sympathized with cruelties; but he was prepared to say, after consultation with some of the most distinguished members of the profession, that they were in hearty sympathy with this Bill, and would give it all the support in their power. He thought that the strong point in favour of the Bill as regards pigeon-shooting was not so much the cruelty of shooting itself, as the unsportsmanlike character of the practice, and the degrading cruelties by which it was surrounded. In defending any sport, all that could be pleaded in justification was that the cruelties were counterbalanced by great advantages and benefits to the community; but whenever the cruelties of these sports got too apparent, and whenever they became surrounded by heartless abuse, and the sentiment of sport became overborne by the mere pleasure of killing, then they should very likely have to deplore an agitation got up in the community to endeavour to sweep away sport altogether. There was no doubt that the real danger to sport in this country was from the altered agricultural state of the country. Farmers were no longer able to take part in the sport, and hunting was no longer confined to the country gentlemen. Special trains brought down large parties of men from London, who trampled down and destroyed crops, and who very often paid nothing to the hunt, and the people whose lands they destroyed obtained nothing except damage.

He thought their only hope for sport in the future was that they must cultivate sympathetic relations with the farmers, show them the sport was in no degree to injure their property, and enable them from time to time to share the sport, and then sport would be made on a firm basis, undisturbed by legislation. They had heard from the hon. Baronet who had opposed the Bill several arguments against it. They had been told that Lord Westbury and other noble sportsmen went to Hurlingham and elsewhere, but heard nothing of these things. He did not think that this argument could hold water for a moment. It was not at Hurlingham that these things took place, but at the low public-houses which were frequented by the lower classes, at which these cruelties were only too frequent. They had been asked, where was this kind of legislation to stop? He said no doubt if they went back to the discussions when this Cruelty to Animals Bill was introduced 30 years ago, they would have heard the same arguments made use of with regard to badger-drawing, bull-baiting, and cock-fighting, which, they were told, were all English sports, and were necessary to keep up the pride and prestige of the country. Then they were told that the ordinary law was sufficient to stop these evils. The hon. Baronet answered that argument himself when he told the House that under the ordinary law in the past year only four convictions took place, and as the hon. Member for Glasgow brought forward a great many instances of gross cruelty, it would appear that the ordinary law was not sufficient. The hon. Baronet said they did not prevent other cruelties, and why should they prevent this? The old argument was a very good one, that two blacks did not make a white. They must begin somewhere, and he hoped they would not stop until they had swept away all unnecessary cruelty. The hon. Member seemed rather to deplore the cruel instincts of mankind, but these must be repressed when they spring up. They were told that sports of poor men were not to be touched by legislation. Unfortunately the sports of the poor man were too often cruel. The upper classes conducted their sports with a minimum of cruelty, because they had been educated up to the point; but, unfortunately, in the lower classes the cruelty still remained, and it must be repressed. Those who objected to sport which involved cruelty might be called sickly fanatics, but they must be content to hear that; and he, for one, had much pleasure in supporting the Bill.

Mr. C. ROSS said, that, although he had been a Member of that House for two years, this was the first occasion on which he had ventured to address it, and he did so now in defence of the defenceless. His main object in rising was, as a member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and one of its Council, to tender the most cordial thanks of that Society to the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) for having brought this measure forward. The object of that Society was not to put down sport, but deliberate and cold-blooded cruelty. Pigeon-shooting did not come within the category of real sport. Though a member of the Society to which he had referred, he was as fond of sport as any Member of the House, and loved fishing and shooting. There was a certain element of uncertainty connected with real sport that made an enormous difference to his mind between it and such practices as that of pigeon-shooting. One might tramp a moor for hours without getting a shot, or draw cover all day long, and get a few tumbles and have a blank day; and there was, therefore, about real sport an uncertainty that added a dignity to it, and which deprived it of all resemblance to the cold-blooded and deliberate intention to slaughter a bird out of a cage. The hon. Baronet (Sir Herbert Maxwell) had asked the hon. Member for Glasgow to join with him in imagining what he would think of pigeon-shooting if he were a blue rock. Now, both Gentlemen were countrymen of his own, for he was half a Scotchman himself, though representing an English constituency; and as Scotchmen had never been distinguished for any great amount of imaginative power, he could not regard the question from that point of view, and should be content to regard it from the point of view of a man. As a man, he thought pigeon-shooting ought to be condemned by law as an unmanly and brutal pastime. He thanked the House for having borne with him, and he thanked the hon. Member for having brought forward this Bill, which he trusted, in the interests of manly sport as well as of poor dumb, defenceless creatures, would find a place upon the Statute Book.

MR. MONK said, they had heard a great deal about real sport; but he would like to ask them what was "real sport?" Pigeon-shooting was said to be no sport at all, and probably to those who never shot it was no sport at all; but, although it certainly was not the highest kind of sport, he believed it afforded sport to a great number of their fellow-subjects. No doubt there was a great deal of sport in walking over a moor; but if they were to define what sport was, he thought they would have some difficulty in coming to a satisfactory decision; certainly, if they were to take for granted all that they had heard from those who had introduced this Bill. When 150 or 200 pheasants rose and were covered by six or seven guns, which killed or wounded almost every one of them, he should like to ask his hon. Friend whether that was sport. The hon. Member for Glasgow had laboured to bring an accusation against Hurlingham, and had read a long letter from the hon. Baronet the Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Sir Frederick Milbank) as to what took place there. Many years ago the hon. Baronet and himself were members of the Hurlingham Club, they had shot pigeons together when the House of Commons shot against the House of Lords, and there was no more distinguished shot than the hon. Baronet. On a certain occasion the hon. Baronet said that he noticed something unfair going on—that blue rocks, which were fast birds, were taken out at one time and slow birds at another; but his hon. Friend did not say what took place in consequence. He had no doubt the trapper was dismissed. His hon. Friend must be aware that the manager of Hurlingham was a gentleman of high birth and connections, and was probably known to a majority of the Members now in the House. Whenever there was pigeon-shooting at Hurlingham the manager was almost invariably present, and he could assure the House that none of the cruelties which he had heard mentioned with horror and indignation had ever taken place there. He quite agreed with his hon. Friend that animals deserved full protection from cruelty; but, if that was the object of the Bill, did his hon. Friend think it went far enough; and did he, for instance, not wish to suppress such cruel practices as the crimping of salmon and cod, and the boiling of live lobsters? Whatever was done ought, at least, to be done sincerely; and if because the House had heard of certain cruelties at low public-houses, do not let them put down that which was certainly as genuine a sport as shooting tame pheasants, brought up by hand, at a "hot corner." Again, did his hon. Friend intend to persevere with the 2nd clause of the Bill, which related to tame stag-hunting? He had once been in a stag hunt; but, after the pitiful sight of the poor, hunted tame deer, with the hounds hanging on to its flanks, he had never taken part in another. Was the hon. Member further aware that in Norfolk and Suffolk hares were caught in nets and put in confinement and sent to other parts of the country for the purpose of being coursed, and did he mean to put down such sport as that? If this Bill was to pass it should be extended so as to apply to netted hares and bagged rabbits. He had given up pigeon-shooting for many years, but he was not at all ashamed that he had shot pigeons. Certainly he had never seen, nor would he have tolerated, any cruelty with respect to the sport in which he had engaged. There were probably many anomalies and inconsistencies in the attitude of the law to sport and animals in general, but he would not now discuss them; his only object had been to vindicate Hurlingham from the charge of cruelty.

MR. BLAKE said, he entirely concurred with what had fallen from the hon. Member who introduced the Bill; and, for his part, he should certainly support the Motion for the second reading. He was only sorry that the Bill had not taken a more exhaustive scope, and that it did not prohibit fox-hunting and hare-coursing. ["Oh, oh!"] Those were his opinions, and he would tell the House why he held them. The hon. Baronet (Sir Herbert Maxwell) had asked where were they to stop if they admitted the principle of this Bill, and what was the difference between shooting pigeons and pheasants? That was a very simple question, and easily answered. We were justified in killing animals for the purposes of food, and we were justified in killing all animals that were vermin and annoyed us. But in both cases we were absolutely bound by the laws of God to do the killing in the most rapid and instantaneous manner. It was a most cruel and brutal proceeding, utterly inexcusable from his point of view, to prolong the sufferings of any animal merely for sport. He could not imagine anything more brutal, more sinful, or demoralizing than the practice of hunting bagged foxes and hares. In the case of the fox the animal, it was true, was vermin, and ate our chickens, and ought to be destroyed; and as to the hare, he should be killed in order that we might eat him. But the killing in both cases should be as expeditious as possible. [Colonel King-Harman: What about salmon crimping?] He would ask the hon. Member where, on any occasion, he ever prolonged the pain of the salmon beyond the time necessary for catching it? As to pigeon-shooting, it was condemned by Sir Robert Peel, and he (Mr. Blake) supported the Bill in this respect. He would reply to the hon. Baronet (Sir Herbert Maxwell) by saying that he killed pheasants in order to eat them; but if they could be killed more rapidly by cutting their throats, by all means let us do it. Pheasants might be killed to be eaten, but their sufferings ought not to be prolonged for sport only. The hon. Baronet might just as well contend that we were not justified in killing chickens and ducks for food. He entirely disagreed with the noble Earl (Earl Percy) that it was justifiable to set a dog after a rabbit, and hunt it for amusement, or that anybody was justified, for the purpose of sport, in torturing for one single instant any of God's creatures. In the presence of his hon. Friend the Member for Queen's County (Mr. Lalor), who was an active member of the Land League, he said there was nothing he more thoroughly sympathized with in the Land League—although its object was not the same as his own—than in its endeavour to prevent fox-hunting in Ireland. He thought their funds could not have been spent in a more justifiable way, and he congratulated them on the partial success of their efforts. No matter how popular fox-hunting was, both inside and outside the House, as practised in Ireland, it was a most monstrously brutalizing, cruel, and sinful sport. What could be more unfortunate than to see the hon. Member beside him (Colonel King-Harman)—with whom he differed in politics, but, in common with most of his countrymen, whose personal qualities he admired as well as his personal appearance—what could be more unfortunate than to see the hon. Member for County Dublin, mounted on a horse, and with his pack of hounds pursuing an unfortunate animal from sunny morn to dewy eve? Surely, if anything could demoralize such a noble specimen of humanity, it was that sport. The practice in France when they went out to hunt a fox was to take a gun on the saddle, and shoot him at the first opportunity. That was the right thing to do. He remembered reading of an ardent French sportsman who was brought to an English hunt by an equally keen English sportsman. The former went and provided himself with a gun. A fox was started, and the report of a gun was heard. The visitor turned to his host with the greatest possible elation, and said—"Do you know what I have done? I have shot the fox." There was a great hubbub in the hunt, and the gentleman was requested not to come out any more. On one occasion, and on one occasion only, he had been out to a fox-hunt himself. [*Laughter.*] Yes; he had. He went out with the Kilkenny hounds, and he went for the purpose of seeing if he could be of any use to the fox. The master was the great Sir John Power. The horse went much faster than he had anticipated, and soon, to his very great horror, he found himself leading the hunt. He knew where the fox was, and he was asked the question, and he was sorry to say that, in the interest of humanity, he was guilty of a little fiction, for he sent the hunt the wrong way. Afterwards the master of the hunt came up and said—"Do you know you sent the hunt the wrong way; you pointed in one direction, and the fox went in another." His reply was—"That is quite true, but it is consistent with my principles;" but the master of the hunt rejoined—"You may keep your principles, but you must keep away from the hunt in future," and accordingly he did so. As these were his principles, he hoped the House would excuse him for having expressed them so strongly.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he thought the speech of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) proved conclusively the necessity for opposing the second reading of this Bill. The hon. Member for Glasgow stated, indeed, that if the Bill were allowed to pass the second reading, he would, if such a course were in accordance with the feeling of the House, modify or withdraw the second clause. But the hon. Gentleman was met with cries of "No, no!" from both sides of the House, and the last speaker said he would not be allowed to withdraw it. He would not follow the hon. Member in his amusing and interesting speech further than to say that the hon. Member, in referring to him, did certainly touch upon a barbarous case of cruelty to animals when he said that he (Colonel King-Harman) had followed the chase on one horse "from sunny morn to dewy eve." If, in point of fact, 18 stone had been carried over Dublin County "from sunny morn to dewy eve" on the back of one unfortunate hunter, that would indeed have been an instance of cruelty to an animal. He was asked whether he had ever unduly prolonged the agony of a fish. His reply was, "Certainly not," as he had always brought the fish to bank as soon as possible. He would, however, remind the House that the hon. Member for Waterford was for some time a Commissioner of Inland Fisheries, and that as such it was his duty to see that the laws were duly respected which allowed salmon to get up from the lower waters, where they might have been taken almost painlessly with a net, to the upper waters, where they were killed, after a long struggle, with a rod and line, and after enduring half an hour's agony. He would ask the hon. Member how it happened that, although he deprecated cruelty to some kinds of animals, he never, in his capacity as a Fisheries Commissioner, said anything about crimping the unfortunate salmon and the harmless cod? He agreed with the first portion of the Bill, and if it applied solely to pigeon-shooting the hon. Member for Glasgow would find him among his supporters. He had himself been a pigeon-shooter, but he gave up that amusement a long time ago, because he thought it was unsportsmanlike and unnecessarily cruel. He was not now speaking of the barbarities in pigeon-shooting that were practised in some parts of the country and the suburbs of London, for nothing could be said in extenuation of those horrible practices. Pigeon shooting, even when practised as it was now at Hurlingham, and as it used to be at the Gun Club, was not a manly pursuit, and it was one that was decidedly cruel. The hon. Member for Glasgow spoke of this pursuit as having fallen into disrepute because of the gambling with which it was associated. In former days he had attended a great many pigeon-shooting matches, and he found that the betting was always for ready money. He was surprised that this practice of ready-money betting was not put down by the officials of the law, who would not allow it on racecourses. In his opinion, if ready-money betting were put down at pigeon-shooting matches, there would be very little pigeon-shooting. The hon. Member for Glasgow quoted a statement made by an author not much known to fame, to the effect that a mutilated hare was pursued by Eton boys, with beagles or harriers. He (Colonel King-Harman) spoke in the presence of many Etonians and of many others who knew what Eton boys were, and he fearlessly asserted he did not believe that in the history of Eton College such a base act of barbarity was ever committed. The hon. Member for Glasgow said that the object of the 2nd clause of his Bill was to secure the better treatment of animals in menageries. Perhaps the tender heart of the hon. Member was so touched by the departure of Jumbo from our shores, and the piteous sorrow of the mourning Alice left in the Zoological Gardens, that he had brought in this Bill to provide that the keepers should not longer be permitted to interfere with the tender affections of the animals committed to their care. He presumed the hon. Member for Glasgow had been to Hengler's Circus, and had seen the wild boar of the forest compelled, at the bidding of his keeper, to pick up the letters A, B, B, A, and so on. It was necessary to prevent such tortures as must have been inflicted in order to teach that noble but unsagacious animal to go through such a performance. If the Bill had been confined to the cases of hares caught in boxes and let out, or to the hunting of tame rabbits, he could have supported it just as he would that part of it referring to pigeon-shooting; but this 2nd clause was artfully drawn up, and might be twisted by zealous humanitarians into almost any shape, and be made to cover almost every description of sport enjoyed in the British Isles. So far as the question of shooting pheasants was concerned, he read a story, which he did not believe to be true, that some years ago, at a large shooting party, when the birds were laid out, one of the visitors noticed that the cock pheasants all had their tails broken. On inquiry, it appeared that some of the birds had been put under flower-pots, and, in order that the rise should be gradual, the keepers went along and took off the pots one by one. It might, perhaps, seem odd for an Irishman to object to setting birds ont of traps, for Irish landlords were generally shot at from a trap, and there was not even a close season for them. He could well understand that, in the districts where fox-hunting and hare-hunting abounded, the stag-hunt seemed an ignoble pursuit; but in the neighbourhood of large cities, and in certain parts of the country where there were no fox covers, it was the only way in which gentlemen, and especially business gentlemen, whose hours of relaxation were small, could get sport and exercise. What would be thought by numbers of City men if they were debarred from running with Her Majesty's Staghounds once or twice a week? Could it be said to be a cruel sport when it was practised by the Queen's Buckhounds, and presided over by the Master of the Buckhounds? The Ward Union Staghounds in Dublin afforded the present Lord Lieutenant almost the only sport he had during his brief periods of relaxation. It seemed to him that this Bill was the outcome of the meddling and humanitarian legislation which had been pressed upon the House from time to time. A certain amount of pain would be inflicted and blood would be shed so long as the instinct of sport was allowed to prevail in the human mind, and so long as we were allowed to live, like our forefathers, on wholesome beef and mutton, fowl, game, and other products of nature. He looked upon this Bill as one that should be thrown out, not as regarded pigeon-shooting, but on its merits as a whole. It ought to be thrown out as a meddling attempt to interfere with legitimate and honourable sport, and as a precursor of legislation under which fishermen would be imprisoned, butchers would be hung, and we should all be ridden over by rampant vegetarians, and there would be in our markets "neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring."

Mr. R. T. REID said, he must deny that this Bill attacked fair and honest sport. If any gentleman cared for legitimate fox-hunting or shooting, or any kind of sport which involved the chase or destruction of wild animals, he would not be interfered with in the smallest degree by this Bill. In his opinion, that which was not confined to the chase and destruction of animals in a state of nature was not genuine sport of which any true sportsman could approve. This Bill would afford relief in a great many cases in which it was desirable that relief should be afforded. There was often practised towards animals kept in menageries great cruelty, which would excite just indignation in the minds of those who knew of it; and a Bill of this description was necessary to protect those animals from such treatment. Pigeon-shooting was another case to which the measure ought to apply, that not being an instance of legitimate sport. The real question was not one as to bagged foxes or carted stags. The hon. Member for Glasgow was prepared, if the House desired it, to alter and modify the Bill, so as to prevent it from applying to cases of that kind. For himself, he regretted that it should be necessary to make any such amendment as that; but he earnestly hoped that the House would not reject a Bill which would unquestionably have the effect of preventing cruelty, which he was sure they would all deprecate. He believed that, sooner or later, more of these Bills would be brought forward, and more support would be given to them in future, not for the purpose of putting down genuine sport, but in order to suppress cruelties by which some so-called sports were accompanied.

Mr. ECROYD said, he felt obliged to the hon. Member for Glasgow for introducing the subject. He thought it was impossible to draw a clear logical distinction between different kinds of sport on the ground of the entire absence or presence of cruelty. He would not go the length—as some estimable people did—of condemning all sports on the ground of the cruelty inevitably connected with them; but he was afraid that, so long as man exercised his supremacy over the lower animals, and used them as food, there would always be a certain amount of cruelty in his dealings with them. But there was a broad distinction between genuine manly sport and that abuse of sport which was now exciting a feeling of reprobation in the country; and he would support the Motion of the hon. Member for Glasgow, among other reasons, from an interest in the preservation of true and reasonable sport. The old-fashioned, manly sport which had been practised for generations by English gentlemen, and which brought them the enjoyment of fresh air and genial, pleasant society, while it strengthened them physically and encouraged them in good fellowship, was far too valuable ever to be willingly sacrificed by the English people. At the same time, he looked back with regret on the days when our sportsmen were more content to seek their sport in the fair pursuit of wild animals than they appeared to be now; and he thought that the desire manifested in recent times to concentrate a large amount of slaughter in a small space and a short time was to be reprobated. If it were persisted in, it would give rise to so widespread a feeling of disgust that even the most legitimate sport might be brought into great danger. He hoped, therefore, that the Motion of the hon. Member might find favour with the House, and that would be satisfied with carrying that part of his Bill which was likely to obtain practical support. At the same time, he trusted the result of the discussion might be the preservation of English sport from those excesses which threatened to bring it into general disrepute, and to increase the feeling against it amongst classes of the community who themselves took no part in it.

MR. HENEAGE said, he thought it was about time the House should know where they were. After the speech of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), they were under the impression that he would withdraw the part of his Bill which was objectionable to all true sportsmen; but, since the amusing address of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake), things had got a little mixed. He should like to know from the hon. Member for Glasgow whether it was to be understood that if the Bill was allowed to pass a second reading, the hon. Member would undertake, in Committee, to move the omission of the 2nd clause? [Mr. MONK: No!] The hon. Member for Gloucester said "No;" but if the 2nd clause was to be omitted he would give the Bill his hearty support; but if they were asked to acknowledge the principle of the 2nd clause, he, for one, could not consent to do so. He entirely concurred in the letter which had been read from the hon. Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Sir Frederick Milbank). He thought, however, that the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had spoiled his case by overstating it. He did not believe in the stories about putting out the birds' eyes; but he believed there were few pigeons put into the trap, at Hurlingham or anywhere else, without having some feathers extracted from them. With regard to the speech of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake), he thought it came to this—that there was no cruelty in killing an animal if they ate it afterwards. Pigeon-shooting in olden time was quite different from that now practised, and he thought that, as it was now carried on, it ought to be put a stop to. He believed that the question before the House had become rather complicated, and he should like the House to have a clear notion of what it was voting on before they went to a division. He considered the 2nd clause a dangerous one, and hoped the hon. Member would withdraw it.

MR. LABOUCHERE had come down to the House prepared to support the Bill, because he thought it an excellent Bill as it stood. At present there was a law to prevent cruelty to tame animals, and his hon. Friend wished to include in the Bill all animals, whether tame or wild. He understood, however, that his hon. Friend was to withdraw the clause giving those general powers. The practical result of this would be that the House would say that ratting and other things which hon. Gentlemen called manly sports, although cruel, ought to be permitted by law. The argument of the landed interest was that, if ratting were forbidden, they must necessarily forbid the hunting of tame stags, and then some monster would bring in a Bill declaring it to be cruel to kill wild foxes. If they must submit to the alteration of the Bill, let it go forth to the country that his hon. Friend had been forced by the House to withdraw a clause generally assented to, as he (Mr. Labouchere) believed, by the people of the country, because hon. Gentlemen said that it would interfere with their ideas of sport. If the clause were removed, the Bill would simply forbid the shooting of birds liberated from traps or other contrivances, though they might still have their eyes put out. The House was told that pigeon-shooting was poor sport, because betting took place upon it. If he were a pigeon, and were put into a trap to be shot at, he should be quite indifferent as to the betting. Betting did not make the sport cruel. He was reading the other day that certain persons in the East End of London were in the habit of catching birds and blinding them in order to make them sing; if the 2nd clause was struck out, they would still be able to practise that cruelty. If, however, the hon. Member must modify the Bill so as to enable hon. Gentlemen opposite to hunt tame stags, well and good; but if he reduced the Bill merely to a prohibition of shooting pigeons from traps, he would recognize, or would rather call upon the House to recognize, the fact that there was to be a distinction between cruelty towards a tame animal and cruelty towards a wild animal.

Sir. EARDLEY WILMOT said, he had always been an ardent sportsman, and the reason why he should support this Bill was that he thought it would promote instead of discourage legitimate sport. He could not help feeling that the tendency of modern sport was to alter somewhat its genuine character by enabling it to be carried on with less trouble and less exercise than formerly. Even in battue-shooting, however, it frequently happened that the pheasant, being a free bird and at liberty to exercise its natural instincts, escaped the gun of the sportsman stationed at a "hot corner;" but that was not the case with pigeon-shooting. The unfortunate pigeon was kept in a trap, and the only time it had for escape was a very short one. He had become a great enemy to pigeon-shooting ever since he had visited Monte Carlo, where the so-called sport was carried on in all its glory. [The hon. Baronet described the process.] The only argument in its favour was that it enabled men who were not qualified otherwise to have sport, to enjoy some amusement and to obtain skill in the use of the gun. On the other hand, he thought a strong argument in favour of suppressing pigeon-shooting was that it was antagonistic to what was manly, athletic sport, which involved taking exercise over the stubble, or wandering along a river in pursuit of salmon, or seeking for snipe along the banks of a brook, perhaps up to one's knees in snow. That was something like athletic exercise, and was a kind of sport that would always find favour in this country. If this Bill had a tendency to discourage legitimate sport he would be one of the first to oppose it; but he did not believe that it would have any such result.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, they had had a long and interesting discussion on the Bill, and he thought the course of the discussion had shown that it could not be regarded from any point of view as a Party question, but rather that it was a question on which hon. Members would form their own independent opinion, and one upon which he did not think the Government were called upon in any way to guide the decision of the House. It was eminently one of those questions in which the House ought to reflect the public opinion of the country. It would be a great mistake in questions of that kind, whatever might be their own opinions, to outrun public sentiment upon the question; and as it was their duty not to fall behind that sentiment, so they ought not to exceed it. On that question, which interested everybody—the question of humanity to animals—there could not be the smallest doubt that opinion in this country had been progressive for a long time, and progressing in the direction that everybody would desire; and it was the duty of the House to represent that progressive opinion on proper occasions. One, perhaps, of the most interesting records of English oratory was the celebrated speech made by the great orator, Mr. Wyndham, in defence of bull-baiting. Mr. Wyndham himself was a celebrated fighter and sportsman; and he (Sir William Harcourt) commended the speech he made in defence of bull-baiting to the attention of hon. Members who had not read it for the ingenuity and power with which he defended that sport. It was a complete defence of bull-baiting. He did not think, in the course of this debate, anybody had been bold enough to defend pigeon-shooting from the point of view from which Mr. Wyndham had defended bull-baiting. They had seen many sports favoured, before public opinion had advanced as it had now done, and not condemned. Bear-baiting was a celebrated sport in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and for a long time afterwards; and bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and many other sports had at one time been popular, which public opinion now condemned and the law prohibited. The only question, then, which they had to consider was whether the proposal of the hon. Member for Glasgow was a reasonable proposal, and corresponded with public opinion in the country. He was not endeavouring, on behalf of the Government, to influence the opinion of that House in the matter; but was merely expressing his own personal opinion, and that was strongly in favour of the proposal of the hon. Member for Glasgow. A great deal had been said about the sport of pigeon-shooting, and his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow had been able to reinforce himself with the opinion of a Gentleman whose name was on the back of the Bill, and whom he had very properly described as one of the most distinguished sportsmen of this Kingdom—the hon. Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Sir Frederick Milbank). But the hon. Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell), who had moved the rejection of the Bill, had called for some logical definition of sport, and of that which was to be regarded as not sport, but as cruel. He should not attempt to give any definition of the kind. He did not think it was possible to give it. He thought it was very likely that what was now commonly regarded as legitimate sport might be regarded in future times as the other sports to which he had referred were regarded now. He did not feel at all called upon to defend the hunting of the carted stag. He knew that he had resided sometimes in a county where it was pursued, and that it was not regarded with very great favour by the gentlemen over whose lands it was pursued. But with regard to the question of pigeon-shooting, and whether it was sport or not, they had had great and justifiable eulogiums upon the manly exercise that was derived from sport. He was afraid that, in modern times, sport had a little lost that character; and sport, even in his recollection, had not improved in quality as it had increased in quantity. The sport which was spoken of was not a sport which involved walking three or four miles in the course of the day, with a luncheon at a suitable interval. That was not the sort of sport to which our ancestors were addicted. It began at 3 or 4 in the morning, and ended about 2 in the afternoon, and did not begin at 11 and end at 3 or 4. But, without entering into these elaborate distinctions of sport, let them ask if this pigeon-shooting was entitled to receive the protection given to sport? He was inclined to concur with the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) in hoping that the intimation of the hon. Member for Glasgow with reference to the 2nd clause would be thoroughly understood and acted upon. These were matters, after all, in which they must proceed according to clearly developed public opinion. He believed public opinion was made up on the main point which the hon. Member for Glasgow sought to be established. Then, let the point be established, and the other matters could be discussed at another time. He knew his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) thought that would be a very incomplete chapter in the "coming democracy." But they were not all so impatient as his hon. Friend, and they were willing to make their progress in a more reasonable and cautious way. He would, therefore, strongly advise the hon. Member for Glasgow to make it clearly understood that the question of stag-hunting was out of the field, and that the House was dealing now with the question of pigeon-shooting alone. On that point he had no doubt the hon. Member would secure an overpowering majority of the House. It was not only the sufferings that the unhappy birds endured, but there was another thing to be considered, and that was the outrage upon the feelings of the people who witnessed those proceedings. He had received the other day a letter from a lady in reference to this matter. [*A laugh.*] He thought when hon. Gentlemen heard the letter they would think it worthy of their attention. She resided in the neighbourhood of a notorious gun ground. It was about 200 yards from her residence, and she wrote that she had had many sad opportunities of seeing the cruelties that were called sport. Birds were found to have been inhumanly treated before being put into the trap—their eyes put out, their beaks turned and twisted inwards, and other cruelties inflicted which she could not mention, while hundreds which escaped death by the guns had lingered for days on the roof of the house where she lived. Besides the cruelty of it, he (Sir William Harcourt) thought that that letter showed that pigeon-shooting was an absolute nuisance. Why should any person who resided in these neighbourhoods be exposed to the outrage upon their feelings which practices of this kind brought about? These were matters that ought to be considered. He himself fully believed that the opinion of the country was against these practices, and that, by supporting the Bill of the hon. Member for Glasgow, confined, as he hoped it would be, to the clauses prohibiting pigeon-shooting, the House would reflect the overwhelming opinion of the country.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought that one or two of the remarks which the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) had just made had been dictated rather by candour than by prudence. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that the Government did not intend to interfere in the discussion of that Bill, because it was not a Party question, which meant, he supposed, that they did not see their way to making political capital out of it. And the right hon. and learned Gentleman went on to remark that he thought it of the greatest importance that the House of Commons should decide this question for itself, because the House of Commons reflected the true mind of the country, whereas, he indicated, the Government did not do so. With both those statements he (Lord Randolph Churchill) could most cordially agree. He also agreed with the Home Secretary in the sentiments he had expressed with regard to pigeon-shooting; but he differed from him entirely with respect to the 2nd clause, which he looked upon as the germ of the Bill. He hoped the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) would on no account consent to abandon that clause. The hon. Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell) said they must look at the principle of this legislation; and asked where they were going to stop when it was passed. Well, he should say "stop here," because this Bill interfered with a particular class of sport, which was recognized by the large body of public opinion in this country to be objectionable and cruel. It did not interfere with true sport, and therefore this Bill would mark a convenient stopping-place upon the road. The hon. Baronet took up very dangerous ground when he said—"If you put down pigeon-shooting you must also put down pheasant-shooting." If the same amount of cruelty prevailed in the one case as the other, then, undoubtedly, pheasant-shooting would follow; but everyone who knew anything about it was aware that pheasant-shooting was perfectly safe under the Bill. The hon. Member for Wigtonshire said pigeon-shooting as practised at Hurlingham was not cruel, and he mentioned that on some occasions two of the officers of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals had attended the pigeon-shooting, and had come away declaring that there was no cruelty at all practised there. All he could say was that those two officers, instead of being connected with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, ought to be denominated officers of a society for the promotion of cruelty to animals. He supposed they saw, in the course of their experience, such horrid atrocities that their feelings became blunted to what cruelty was. In his opinion, the sight of a pigeon-ground, abounding with masses of feathers and blood, and wounded birds surrounding the trap, contrasting so hideously with the green grass and the trees all around, with the sun, perhaps, shining brilliantly on the scene, was, without exception, the most horrible and repulsive sight possible to imagine. Reference had been made by the hon. Member for South Warwickshire (Sir Eardley Wilmot) to the pigeon-ground at Monte Carlo. He had had the opportunity of watching the sight at Monte Carlo, though he never had the satisfaction of killing a pigeon himself. The pigeon-ground at Monte Carlo was conducted on the same principles as that at Hurlingham, and under similar rules.

He saw the birds taken out of the basket, and before being put into the trap a man cut their tails with a large pair of scissors. That probably was not very cruel, because he only cut the quill, though at times he seemed to cut very close. But worse followed. After cutting the tail, he saw the man take the bird in one hand, and with the other tear a great bunch of feathers from the breast and stomach of every pigeon. On asking the man what he did that for, he replied that it was to stimulate the birds in order that, maddened by excitement and pain, they might take a more eccentric leap into the air and increase the chance of the pigeon gamblers. He saw another very curious thing too. One of the pigeons was struck and fell to the ground; but when the dog went to pick it up the wretched bird fluttered again into the air, and for an appreciable time it remained so fluttering, just a little higher than the dog could jump. While the bird's fate was thus trembling in the balance, the betting was fast and furious, and when at last the pigeon tumbled into the dog's jaws, he never would forget the shout of triumph and yell of execration that rose from the ring-men and gentlemen. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of pounds changed hands over the dying agonies of the unfortunate creature. They were told that there was actually no difference between that and other kinds of sport; but the fact was that pigeon-shooting now was kept up simply for the sake of betting, and if the hon. Member for Glasgow had chosen to deal with this subject by way of rendering it illegal to make bets at pigeon meetings, there would not be a single pigeon shot from one end of the country to the other. It seemed to him that if people wanted to gamble and undergo this exciting way of earning money, they ought to accompany the Prime Minister to the Riviera and gamble at roulette and such like games, which would not injure the lives of innocent creatures. Pigeon-shooting, he ought to point out, was not one of the sports which, as the hon. Member for Wigtonshire seemed to suppose, they had inherited from their barbarous ancestors; it was entirely a modern sport—so modern that they might look upon it as a Radical sport. There was no doubt that it originated not more than 50 years ago, and as it had not the merits of the more ancient sports of this country, that constituted another reason why the Tory Party should put it down. With respect to the 2nd clause, however, if it was abandoned, he should really feel disposed to oppose the Bill of the hon. Member, on the ground that it would be dealing piecemeal with a very important question, and in a very imperfect manner. The great merit of the Bill, in his eyes, was that it put down the abominable amusement of stag-hunting. He was sure that every genuine fox-hunter would be glad to take an opportunity of putting down stag-hunting. He was told that if this Bill was carried, Lord Cork, the Master of Her Majesty's Buckhounds, would be summoned before a magistrate. Well, what was he? Lord Cork was an Irish Whig. If an Irish Whig chose to indulge in those amusements connected with following staghounds across country he had only himself to blame if they brought him to the police-court or somewhere worse. As far as the Queen's hounds were concerned, he did not think they need be in any fear, because he had no doubt that if stag-hunting was made illegal the Queen's buckhounds would be transferred into the Queen's foxhounds. Who were the followers of the Queen's buckhounds, and by whom were they supported? Why, the "meet" was mainly composed of the counter-jumpers of London—that class of persons who were denominated by the generic term of "'Arry." He believed that in the East End of London these hounds were generally known as "'Arry's 'ounds." The persons who followed the stag were hardly ever genuine sportsmen. There was another reason why this 2nd clause ought to receive general support, and that was because stag-hunting did an infinitude of harm to the land through which the hunters went. This sport attracted more people than any other kind of sport, and many of them did not know the difference between a wheat field and a field of oats. On all these grounds he would support this Bill, in which he thought the hon. Member had drawn a very wise distinction. The distinction in it between fox and stag-hunting was this—you rendered it illegal to capture an animal and keep it in captivity in order to pursue it over and over again; but you did not interfere with the legitimate sport of hunting wild animals for the purpose of killing them and giving pleasure to everyone engaged in such sport.

Colonel KINGSCOTE said, he did not see any difference between pigeon-shooting, pheasant-shooting, partridge-shooting, or any other kind of shooting at birds. He saw no greater cruelty in shooting a pigeon than a pheasant or a partridge, provided they were not tortured beforehand. It was not nearly so cruel to hunt a tame stag as to hunt a wild stag, because the tame ones were trained and kept in perfect condition. He considered that the law, as it at present stood, was quite strong enough to prevent any malpractices such as had been described by hon. Members. He did not stand up for pigeon-shooting; it was an amusement he never cared about; but, notwithstanding all that had been said, he had still to ask, Where were they going to stop? If they passed this Bill they would have a Bill to prevent the keeping of squirrels in a cage, or to prevent the shaving of poodle dogs in a tender part of their bodies. He had been brought up a fox-hunter, and he hoped he might continue one. But he could see no reason why stag-hunting should be stopped any more than fox-hunting. As far as his humble vote went, he should give it most cordially against every provision of this Bill.

Lord ALGERNON PERCY said, he did not quite understand the grounds upon which the hon. Member for Glasgow asked the House to pass this Bill. Was it upon the ground of cruelty? or that the pastime—for he would not call it sport—was a demoralizing one? He denied that there was any special cruelty in pigeon-shooting from traps, apart from the inhuman practices which it had been said were associated with it, and which were quite unnecessary for carrying on the sport. By all means let these inhuman practices be put down with a firm hand; but they afforded no reason whatever for putting a stop to the sport of pigeon-shooting. It had been urged that the mere shooting of pigeons was in itself cruel; but he denied that there was any cruelty in putting an animal to a speedy death. Horse-racing, in the opinion of some persons, was conducted with a considerable amount of cruelty. Some people said that horses enjoyed racing; but if anyone had seen a close finish of a great race, they would know to the contrary. If this Bill were to pass, where was the line to be drawn? One hon. Member had talked about gentlemen standing around in order to stop the escape of the birds. He should be very sorry for anyone who stood in front of a gun at Hurlingham. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had alluded to Monte Carlo. He (Lord Algernon Percy) could only say that in those countries where love of sport did not exist as it did in England there was great cruelty; and therefore he did not think that they were good examples to quote. If the 2nd clause was omitted, the Bill would be useless, and if it was retained, the Bill would strike at all forms of sport.

Mr. ANDERSON said, that, as there seemed to be some doubt on the subject, he might repeat the announcement he made at the beginning of the debate. It was that he would be willing, if the House wished, or if it did not disapprove, either to modify the 2nd clause or to leave it out altogether. The general opinion seemed to be in favour of modifying the clause. No doubt the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) took a different view, but his position was somewhat illogical; because, while stating that he regarded Clause 2 as the germ of the Bill, and that if that were withdrawn he would vote against the Bill, he had given them a most vivid description of the cruelties of pigeon-shooting, which was dealt with by the other clauses. Surely, if they could not get all they wanted, it was wise to take a half, provided that half was a distinct advantage. He did not propose to withdraw from his announcement. The primary object of the Bill was to put down pigeon-shooting from traps. Its second was to protect wild animals in captivity; and he was quite willing to avoid interference with hunting, and confine Clause 2 to menageries and other things of the same kind, or, if that were not possible, to withdraw the clause altogether.

Mr. CHAPLIN observed, that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had attributed to him a course which he did not intend to take, and opinions which he did not entertain. From what he had heard he was still at a loss to know on what grounds they were asked to support this measure. If they were asked to support it on the ground of the cruelty inflicted, then he failed to see any great distinction between the cruelty of shooting pigeons, on the one hand, and the cruelty of shooting partridges or pheasants, on the other hand. They must not allow themselves to be the victims of humbug or cant. There was no sport which was practised in this country, or could be practised, which was not attended with some cruelty. The noble Lord had given a harrowing description of the horrors of pigeon-shooting at Monte Carlo. He was tempted to ask the noble Lord if he had never been present at a battue or in a warm corner? He had always understood that the noble Lord was a distinguished shot, and that he had covered himself with glory on many occasions. Had the noble Lord, when pursuing his favourite sport, never seen wounded birds and rabbits brought in by the dogs? Even if the Bill were confined to pigeon-shooting he should oppose the second reading, because he thought it was one of those matters which had best be left to public opinion. The predicament they were placed in was this—If public opinion was opposed to the proposition made by the hon. Member for Glasgow, then he did not think they would find that it would work very satisfactorily. If, on the other hand, public opinion was in advance of the Bill, why then the country did not want it. If the practice of pigeon-shooting were a public nuisance, let it be dealt with as such by means of the law that already existed. In his opinion, modern sports contrasted favourably with those of their ancestors. Inasmuch as the hon. Member for Glasgow had now thought fit to withdraw the 2nd clause, he assumed that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock would feel himself bound to vote against the second reading of the Bill. He did not himself care about stag-hunting. As an hon. Member had said, they might as well hunt a jackass. The noble Lord had made a suggestion which he would certainly like to see carried out—namely, that the Royal Staghounds should be abolished. There were many gentlemen in the Metropolis who could not enjoy sport in any other form than by following the Queen's Staghounds. It had been said that if the staghounds were done away with there would be foxhounds. But to keep a pack of foxhounds there must be foxes to hunt, and there were very few, if any, foxes in that part of the country. On several grounds he should be compelled to oppose the second reading of this Bill.

MR. GIBSON entirely agreed with what had been said by more speakers than one as to the necessity of a Bill of this nature following public opinion. The hon. Member for Glasgow had himself recognized this. As far as he understood the present position of affairs, the hon. Member had modified his views as to Clause 2 during the debate. At the outset the hon. Member had said that he was willing to go with the feeling of the House, and if they were opposed to the Bill he would modify it. Now, he stated that he would issue the Bill again without this clause at all.

MR. ANDERSON said, he wished to modify the clause so as to confine it to wild animals in menageries, &c., or, if that were not found practicable, to abandon it altogether.

MR. GIBSON said, he was afraid that that left the debate on this Bill exposed to considerable doubt and uncertainty. He felt there was a very strong feeling with reference to Clause 3. If Clause 2 was kept in the Bill it would affect the chance of Clause 3. The best way of getting rid of Clause 2 would be to bring in the Bill again *pro formâ* without the clause. He did not think the opinion of the country was at all ripe enough for Clause 2. Possibly the hon. Member had not considered that his extention of the definition of the original Act to vertebrates would make it apply to a great number of fish confined in parks and ponds. He very much regretted that Clause 3 had not been presented to the House with the clearness that it might have been. It was an instance of the abominable system of referential drafting. It would have been a great deal simpler and more logical, and would have effected the purpose of the hon. Member far more efficaciously, if he had drawn up a complete clause of his own. If the hon. Member's draft passed as it was, those who were interested in keeping up pigeon-shooting from traps, and who made money from it, could readily carry it on with the most perfect impunity, notwithstanding the amiable and well-intended legislation of the hon. Member. He would find that Clause 3 of the Act, which he sought to amend, applied to acts in themselves obviously cruel, done in a place used for the purpose. He advised that if the Bill passed the second reading it should be committed *pro formâ* and re-cast.

Mr. ANDERSON said, that to prevent any misunderstanding he would withdraw Clause 2 altogether.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he wished to know clearly whether the hon. Member for Glasgow intended to deal with anything besides pigeon-shooting? If he proposed to deal with any other sport he would not obtain any support in that House, or succeed in passing his Bill during the present Session. Public opinion should be brought to bear, and it would do, as he believed, all that was necessary to check the abuse in all these matters; and, believing this, he should vote against the second reading of the Bill. The Bill would, as it appeared to him, interfere with sparrow-shooting clubs, and thus deprive the poor man of the only sport he had. This was a matter that surely ought to be taken into consideration by those hon. Members opposite who sat below the Gangway. He thought the House already exhibited too great a tendency to deal with sentimental grievances. If the hon. Member for Glasgow would get up and state that he would withdraw Clause 2, he would have a far better chance of carrying the Bill.

Mr. WIGGIN said, that if the hon. Member had confined the Bill to the abolition of pigeon-shooting he should have cordially supported it; but he was informed on high authority that the retention of Clause 2 would possibly make fox-hunting a criminal act — ["No, no!"]—and if that was so he should oppose the Bill as strongly as he possibly could.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, it was unfortunate the hon. Member could not withdraw the clause, especially as the opportunities of opposing a Bill in its future stages were fewer than they had been.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he could not record a silent vote, and he was sure they would forgive him for saying a few words. He could not support the second reading of this Bill. He could not swallow the cant which it contained. He did not defend pigeon-shooting as connected with betting, and had no sympathy with it; but when he was told that it was cruel to kill a certain class of animals and not cruel to kill another, he said that was absolute cant. The amount of torture connected with pigeon-shooting was far less than was involved in a day's cover-shooting, when hundreds of birds might be brought down and many of them left to linger in agony for hours, while the pigeons that were wounded were at once put out of their misery. He felt bound to deprecate efforts such as this, which did this grievous harm—that they dealt a deadly blow at what he thought they should preserve most of all in their national life, and that was their old national sports.

Mr. ANDERSON said, that, as hon. Members did not appear to be quite satisfied with his assurance upon the point, he would, following the advice of the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), move that the Bill be committed *pro formâ*, in order to be re-cast, to meet the objections which the right hon. and learned Gentleman told him existed, in which case he would omit Clause 2 altogether.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 195; Noes 40: Majority 155.—(Div. List, No. 19.)

Main Question put, and *agreeed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* next.

BOROUGH FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 22.]

(*Mr. Biggar, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Gray, Mr. Callan, Mr. Leamy.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. DAWSON, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he would not detain the House at any length, and, were it not for the Amendment which had been placed on the Paper by the hon. Member for Downpatrick (Mr. Mulholland), he need hardly have gone into the matter at all. The principle of equalization of the franchise had long been admitted by statesmen; and, therefore, he would apply himself, not to the Bill, but to the Amendment. The hon. Member's was the only

Amendment which had been put down in opposition to the Bill, and he presumed that the Amendment expressed the only tangible objection felt against it. That Amendment said that this was not an opportune time in the history of Ireland for carrying such a Bill. He said, in reply, that this was the most opportune time; and that the circumstances to which the hon. Member himself referred in that Amendment proved the urgency and necessity of the measure. It would be vain, perhaps, to refer the hon. Member to the speech delivered recently by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), who spoke of the necessity for equalizing the laws for England and Ireland. His own position in the House, as one always favourable to law and order, prompted him to put forward the advice of Sydney Smith—"If you want to eradicate a vice set up a virtue in its place." No doubt, Ireland was unsettled, and no doubt un-Constitutional proceedings had taken place, which had earned his earnest disapproval; but the way to prevent such proceedings in future was to remove all causes of dissatisfaction and discontent from the Irish people by giving them a legal and Constitutional share in the Government and politics of the country. Perhaps the hon. Member would take to heart the words of Mr. Disraeli, in 1866, when, in reference to the Reform Bill, he strongly condemned the restriction of the franchise to the monied classes, and asked, were those who had not a money qualification to be left to fall into the hands of the very lowest agitators? He thought if the hon. Member had no other reason to give against his Bill than the one which he had put in his Amendment he ought to give way to it and allow the Bill to pass. He would not detain the House with an enumeration of the miserable causes which prevented the people from exercising the franchise. In the City of Dublin, with a population of 300,000 persons, there were but 8,000 who were occupiers entitled to the franchise. In Leeds, on the other hand, with a population of 300,000, instead of 8,000, there were no less than 49,000 voters on the register. Again, in Newcastle, where there was an election the other day, 145,000 people had 24,200 votes, while a population twice as great in Dublin had only 8,000 rated voters. If they went to Limerick, in a population of 49,000 people, there were only 1,900 voters; while in Gloucester, with a population of only 36,000 persons, there were 5,600 voters. He need not go further into the question, but would leave it to the good sense of the House. The Government were committed on the matter. The Bill had been a Government measure, and had been promoted by the Government, and therefore he had no reason to dilate upon it. He could do no better in closing than to quote the words of Lord John Russell in moving the Reform Bill—

> "When I propose the reform of Parliament, when I propose that the people shall send into the House real Representatives to deliberate on their wants and consult their interests and consider their grievances, I do it under the conviction that I am laying the foundation of the greatest improvement in the comfort and well-being of the people."

He appealed to both the Government and the Opposition to support the measure in the interests of law and order, and, by passing the Bill, to secure the peace and prosperity of Ireland.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time.—(*Mr. Dawson.*)

Mr. MULHOLLAND, in rising to move, as an Amendment—

> "That it is inexpedient, in the present unsettled condition of Ireland, to introduce any measure making large changes in the present Irish Parliamentary Franchise,"

agreed with the hon. Member for Carlow Borough that everything should be done which would conduce to the cause of law and order in Ireland; but he regretted he could not agree with the hon. Member that this Bill would have that effect. The Amendment expressed a truth which, to his own mind, appeared very obvious, and he trusted would appear equally obvious to the majority of the House, and he must insist upon pressing it. The speech of the hon. Member who moved the second reading had not been so much a defence of the Bill as an attack upon the Amendment. Considering the lateness of the hour, instead of going in detail through the provisions of the Bill he would confine his remarks to a defence of the terms of the Amendment. If they were to go into the whole question of the franchise—whether it was a right inherent to every individual, or a trust confided by the community in persons after they had proved their fitness to hold it—the debate might be spun out to great length. He had no desire to go into that or kindred questions. Turning, then, to the terms of his Amendment, it would be admitted, he believed, after the debate with which the Session opened, that Ireland was now unsettled. If so, he did not think there would be very much difference of opinion as to the second part of the Amendment—that it would be unwise to add fuel to the smouldering fire by introducing any large question of Constitutional change at this moment. It would not be a slight change in the political condition of Ireland which this Bill would effect. The number of electors which would be added through the change proposed by the hon. Member would be, if they excepted Dublin and Belfast, considerably more than the total number now entitled to the franchise in Ireland. In other words, it would effect a complete transfer of political power from the class which at present held it —[*Cheers from the Irish Party*]—he was glad to see that hon. Members admitted his accuracy—to another class whose fitness for the trust must certainly, under present circumstances, be considered doubtful. If Ireland were at present unsettled, the class to whom this Bill proposed to transfer the whole political power was the most unsettled class; and, if so, would any sane man propose, where such a state of things existed, to make that transfer? The unsettled class would then outnumber the class that at present held the franchise. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) said on a former occasion that similar results had been predicted from the English Reform Bill, and did not come to pass; but he thought it would be admitted that the conditions existing in Ireland were quite dissimilar, and indeed the very opposite, to those which existed in England. In England, there was a great middle class —in Ireland, unfortunately, there was scarcely any middle class. In England, the social *strata* were not unequal. In Ireland, the lowest *stratum* outnumbered all the others put together. He considered that it would be most illogical to look for the same results following from the application of similar principles in England and Ireland. Many hon. Members seem to hold the idea that the state of representation now in Ireland was that which existed previous to the last change in the franchise of England; that the change which took place in England in 1867 was never extended to Ireland; and that it was that change which was now proposed for Ireland. That was entirely erroneous. The present position of the Irish franchise was fixed in 1868, the year after the change in England. The principles of the two Bills were understood to be identical. The differences in detail were caused merely by differences in the conditions of the two countries. In Ireland the occupier of a house rated below £4 was not merely not rated to the poor, but his landlord was absolutely precluded from recovering any portion of the rates from him, and the franchise in the two countries was understood to be based on the payment of rates. Either the occupier paid rates and had a vote, or he had as a substantial advantage for not possessing the franchise that he escaped the payment of rates. This was settled between the two Parties in the House at the time the Bill was before the House, and Lord Carlingford then expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the principle. In the Return for 1880, the last submitted to the House, it would be found that the total number of houses in all the Irish boroughs, excluding Dublin and Belfast, rated over £4 was 4,500 less than the number rated below £4, which proved his former statement, that the class to whom this Bill proposed to give the franchise outnumbered the class which was entitled to it. In Drogheda he found there were twice as many houses rated under £4 as above it, and in many other towns the proportions closely approximated to the same ratio. The figures adduced a few nights ago in the discussion on education by the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Mr. Lyon Playfair), though unpleasant to him as an Irishman, bore out his present argument. The hon. Member was proceeding to quote these figures, when——

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR rose to Order. He wished to know whether it was regular for the hon. Member to quote a speech delivered in that House during the present Session?

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member is only referring to a speech he is not out of Order.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: But the hon. Member is quoting passages from a speech delivered by the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh in the course of the present Session.

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member is quoting passages from a speech delivered in the House in the present Session he is out of Order.

MR. MULHOLLAND said, he was not quoting the speech of the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh. He was only referring to certain figures made use of by the right hon. Gentleman which were already in the possession of the House. It appeared from those figures that the average educational standard in Ireland was, unhappily, very much lower than that of England or Scotland, and this amount of ignorance was predominant in the class which it was now proposed to enfranchise. There were 32 per cent of the population who could not write, and in parts of the West 80 per cent. They might presume that there was some connection between their ignorance and their love of peace and order. He need not refer the House to the voting at the Dublin Election on the day when the candidate was elected who pledged himself to support law and order. Some philosophic Liberals had told them that it was better even anarchy should occur in Ireland than that any principle of their creed should be infringed. Universal suffrage was part of this creed, and they would extend it to Ireland, whether she was fitted to receive it or not. He most certainly objected to the country in which he lived and had his property being sacrificed by such means to Liberal principles. If hon. Members would put theory aside and look practically at the real position of the Irish representation he did not think they would find any practical grievance. The Nationalist Party, which had been founded on ignorance, and built up by agitation, was not it adequately represented in that House? The class best fitted for public life, which had education and property—was that class over-represented? This was more than an Irish question; and he thought hon. Members sitting below the Gangway would say that the despatch of Public Business was not likely to be facilitated by an increase to the strength of the Party which admitted that their object was to obstruct all legislation. He believed there were some Irish Members on the Government side of the House who were not in favour of this Bill. They were afraid they were too moderate for their constituents. Let the House and the Government remember that they had had no lack of warning of the effect to them of passing such a Bill as this, even from the Party who had now introduced it, and he thought they would support the Amendment which he now proposed.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "it is inexpedient, in the present unsettled condition of Ireland, to introduce any measure making large changes in the present Irish Parliamentary Franchise,"—(*Mr. Mulholland*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. TREVELYAN said, that at another time of the day he might have spoken at some length on the subject. That he should support the main object of the Bill would appear to be only consistent with his former votes and speeches; but, looking critically at the construction of the Bill, he found in it certain things about which he had suggestions to make. There was no doubt whatever that the Bill was an extremely effective and effectual Bill, and that it was for the purpose of doing for the Irish boroughs what was done for the English and Scottish boroughs by the legislation of 1867 and 1868. But he was afraid, for certain reasons which might almost be called historical, the machinery of the Bill was in some respects rather clumsy. The late Lord Beaconsfield found it necessary to abolish compound householding in England, and yet the very first thing the succeeding Government found themselves bound to do was to set it up again. It was rather singular, and in some respects almost grotesque, that this Bill should imitate the beginning of this remarkable proceeding, which in Ireland was completely unnecessary. The occupier under this Bill who was not rated now was to be rated; but the landlord was to pay. He thought it would have been better for the hon. Gentleman who introduced it to have brought in a simpler measure, enacting that every householder, with rateable premises, should have the franchise, provided that he or the landlord paid the rates. He listened with great interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Downpatrick (Mr. Mulholland), although it failed to carry conviction with it. He used the old, and, at the time it was first used, the potent argument against the extension of the franchise that a man who was content to live in a house below a certain rental or rating proved himself not entitled to the vote, and that by thrift he ought to be able to get a house at a figure that would qualify him. That was the famous argument that Lord Sherbrooke carried still further. He actually went so far as to calculate the number of pots of beer the man would have to deny himself in order to raise his qualification from £6 or £7 to £10. But a man should select his house for no other reason than because it was the house which seemed best for him to live in, and, once they admitted that argument, it carried them very far indeed. If once they were to allow the consideration of obtaining a vote to enter into their choice of one sort of property or another, they really opened the road to faggot voting, for faggot voting consisted of obtaining property for the purpose of obtaining the franchise. In Scotland, immediately after the Reform Bill was passed, and just prior to the first Election after it, there were very great doubts, indeed, whether or not occupiers under £4 had a vote. In a constituency he knew very well the doubt was thrown on their privilege at a very late period, and therefore one saw very clearly the difference of class between the man below £4 and the man above £4. There was very great distress among this class, as to whether they could put in their claim in time for the Registration Court, and he remembered seeing 600 or 700 of them in one hall, writing out their claims at the same time; and it would have been quite impossible for anyone to choose between that class and the class of their own rank and occupation, who lived in working men's houses above £4, and to say which of them was more to be trusted to exercise the franchise. The hon. Member for Downpatrick said this was not a practical grievance, and argued against excluding any class from representation. The question of the representation of the classes was very interesting and important, and there had been many methods put forward for representing classes; but, in his opinion, the very worst was that which proposed to restrict the franchise over a whole country. What they did in that way ought to be done directly, not indirectly; and as to this not being a practical grievance, he thought it was the very greatest grievance that existed. He could conceive no greater grievance than that of depriving a man of the privilege of a citizen—those privileges which were considered to be the privileges of a citizen in the ordinary public opinion of the country at the time. He was not a theorist in political matters, and was very willing to hold by the general opinion of his countrymen at the time. The general opinion of the country was that a householder in a borough ought to have a vote, and that was the reason why the Government supported this Bill, and why the Government intended to introduce a Registration Bill. The general opinion of the country at large, as indicated by statute, was in this direction—that every means should be taken for carrying out that wish in every particular. Some slight allusions had been made to the general policy of the Irish Government. That policy he did not wish to reiterate at this moment. It was a policy which was not very palatable to a good many Members of the House; but it had been carefully considered, and the Government were determined to stand by it. But the very keynote of that policy was equality between England and Ireland, and the desire, as far as possible, to amalgamate the two countries. If he were in Office for a year or two more he should probably show some means by which the Government would try to carry out that policy, which would not be much in favour with hon. Gentlemen who supported this Bill. But they were not going to blow hot and cold with the same mouth; and in this case the Government were quite persuaded that if this measure was being considered for the first time, it would be their duty, in consequence of the declarations which had been made by Members of the Government inside and outside the House, to support the Bill. But the Government did not approach this question for the first time. Four times in the course of last Parliament the Liberal Party, which was then in Opposition, supported the Bill as a whole; and, if he recollected right, they supported it before the Liberal Party, as a whole, had been convinced of the propriety of extending household suffrage to the counties. They took up the question heartily, and he could not conceive any more demoralizing spectacle than their abandoning it now. They would have either to confess that between 1874 and 1878 they had completely and thoroughly mistaken the methods by which Ireland ought to be governed, or they would have to make the still more demoralizing and unfortunate confession that a Party had a right to ignore in Office those pledges it had made in Opposition. But to that confession the Government could never consent. They were quite convinced that the evils which existed in Ireland would in no sense be increased, but, as he thought, would in the long run be minimised by this extension of the franchise, and, above all, as expressing the desire of this country to give to Ireland the same rights as were enjoyed by England and Scotland; and on these considerations the Government would support the Bill.

MR. PLUNKET said, he had listened to the speech of the Chief Secretary not only with regret, but with some feelings of surprise. He could quite understand the force of the considerations upon which the right hon. Gentleman chiefly relied at the close of his speech had this measure been brought forward at another time and under different circumstances. The right hon. Gentleman was speaking in reply to an Amendment which did not go directly to the repudiation of the principle of this Bill, but which advised the House that, under the present circumstances, it would not be wise to pass its second reading; yet the right hon. Gentleman referred to declarations which he and his Party made under wholly different circumstances, and on those declarations alone he founded his reason for supporting the present Bill. The right hon. Gentleman might also have recalled some of these expressions which he and his Friends had more recently uttered as to the seriousness of the present condition of Ireland, and the desirability of avoiding, as much as possible, the introduction of any matters calculated to create further disturbance in that country. He (Mr. Plunket) protested altogether against pressing such a measure as this on the House of Commons in the circumstances in which it was brought forward. How had it been brought forward? The hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Dawson) had posed himself as the immediate successor of Lord John Russell in making a great Constitutional change in the country. But it was brought forward when there was only an hour and a-half left on a Wednesday to discuss the whole matter, and at a time when the Chief Secretary told them it was impossible to enter into a discussion of the principles of the Bill, and far less of its provisions. It was brought forward at a time when, if a division were taken, it could not be said to represent in any serious manner the opinion of the House or the country. In his judgment, it was unwise to deal with such a matter in this fragmentary manner. As regarded the general question of reform, indeed, this was only a small measure; but, nevertheless, as had been shown by his hon. Friend the Member for Downpatrick (Mr. Mulholland), it would have the effect of utterly overwhelming the present representation of boroughs in Ireland. It was well known that in Ireland there was a very large class of the population who did not agree with the views of those who called themselves the Nationalist Party, and yet the effect of such a fragmentary measure as this would be wholly to absorb their interests in those of that Party. He was not arguing that there ought to be no change in the representative system; but what he maintained was that such an important matter ought to be dealt with in a wide view, and on a broad and reliable basis, and in such a way as not to disfranchise some of the most important classes of the people in Ireland. If this Bill were brought forward as part of a scheme which treated also of the question of representation in the counties combined with a measure for the re-distribution of seats, a plan might be devised which would preserve some substantial representation in that House, of the large and important class who possessed wealth and education, and who, he thought, the Chief Secretary himself had in view when he spoke of a greater as well as a lesser Ireland. Indeed, he could not help thinking during the time the Chief Secretary was speaking that he was saying internally—"Save me from my friends." What was the duty of the Government with regard to the alteration of the borough franchise in Ireland? If the Bill were now carried they would have the principle laid down for the first time that a Bill should be read the second time on a Wednesday, when there was no time to debate its principles, and it was a monstrous and preposterous thing that such an attempt should be made. It was true that the Government had supported the Bill in Opposition, and they had done many other things. when in Opposition, which he believed they since found had left them an unenviable inheritance; but the matter in question was considered so important that it was the one Irish Bill they considered sufficient to bring forward in the Queen's Speech at the beginning of 1880. He would like to know whether the Government were now prepared themselves to introduce such a measure? If not, were they justified in supporting private Members who brought forward a Bill which they had formerly thought of such importance? Did the Government imagine the Bill was going through without opposition? Again, it was perfectly certain that if it were passed in the present state of the country it would tend to increase the influence and advance the purposes of Members below the Gangway; and, for that reason also, he agreed with his hon. Friend who had proposed the Amendment, and he felt that the Government in their hearts must be sensible that it was not wise to carry such a Bill in the present circumstances of Ireland. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, speaking lately on a kindred subject, said it would be madness for them to volunteer to Ireland the gift of more extended local self-government unless they received from the Representatives of the Irish people some assurance that it would not be used for the purposes of agitation and of weakening the power and authority of the Government of the Empire. Every word of that declaration applied with equal force to the proposal now before the House. He would ask whether the Government thought the result of the late election at Mallow tended to strengthen their position or to support their authority in Ireland? At that election the Law Officer sent to represent the Government even under the present franchise—such was the state of the country—had been rejected, and there was a total reversal of the verdict which that constituency had given a few years previously. Was it desirable to turn every borough in Ireland into a constituency, not only as liable, but much more liable, to the influences which had been at work in Mallow? The grounds upon which he intended to support the Amendment were, in the first place, because the present was not a time when it would be well to introduce into Irish politics a fresh element of excitement. In the second place, its immediate effect would be to strengthen, as far as possible, the influence and power of that political Party in Ireland with which the present Government had had so much difficulty in dealing lately. The Leaders of that Party in the House did not attempt any concealment of the use they would make of every opportunity given them. They said distinctly that if they got local self-government, or anything of the kind, they would use it as a leverage to consolidate their power and advance the movement in which they were engaged. That was a very natural desire on the part of those Gentlemen, because it would be a personal benefit to them, and because they felt it would greatly increase their power. They must decide the matter on the reasons which commended themselves to their common sense, and which were used by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War in the speech to which he had referred; and it must be plain to all that whether a measure of local self-government be good or bad in itself, or the extension of the franchise be good or bad, the present was a time when it was not wise, either for the interests of Ireland or for the safety of the State, to push it forward. What were the ultimate purposes for which such a measure as this would be used? It would be used for the purpose of advancing the cause of Home Rule, which was described by many persons as an innocent and Constitutional movement. It had been described in various ways by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); but he would venture to remind the House that on a recent occasion the hon. Member was challenged to deny the accuracy of the words he was reported to have used in a speech delivered in America, in which he pointed out that the ultimate object of the movement would not be obtained until the entire separation of Ireland from England was obtained. [Mr. PARNELL: No, no!] It was easy to say "No, no!" The hon. Member had never answered that challenge. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, a few months ago, referring to the topic of Home Rule, said that the ingenious theories of the late Mr. Butt had now faded away, and the real aim of the Home Rule Party appeared to be the establishment of a separate, and, perhaps, a hostile Government in Ireland. He founded himself on that view expressed seriously and authoritatively by the noble Marquess, and appealed to the House, under the existing circumstances, not to assent to the pressing forward of the measure. The agitation of it could have no other effect than to introduce an element of disturbance into Irish politics, and it was inadequate for the purposes for which it professed to be proposed. It would do a great injustice to most important classes in Ireland—those loyal classes on whom they had to depend—and could have no other effect than to increase the power of those who were aiming at the disastrous objects which the Secretary of State for War himself had so well described.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, the lesson he had learnt from the past two months in Ireland had been that there was a decided feeling among the larger portion of the people that it was expedient to return to law and order. The constituency of the Metropolitan County of Ireland had sent him to Parliament only the other day with this one message—that law and order in that country were to be maintained at any cost. The paramount wish of the great majority of the Irish people now was—"Give us rest." They desired rest from misrule, rest from the disorders brought about by concession to unscrupulous agitation. The Government knew that rest was necessary, if peace and order were to be restored in Ireland; and the Chief Secretary, in his speech at Hawick, had promised that they should be sustained in security and peace. It was, therefore, with great surprise and regret that he had heard from the right hon. Gentleman's speech that day that the Government were about to countenance a renewal of unrest and agitation. They knew for whom the extension of the franchise in the boroughs of Ireland was sought, and they knew they were not the friends of law and order. But the Chief Secretary did not touch the Amendment of the hon. Member for Downpatrick (Mr. Mulholland).

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

COUNTY COURT JUDGES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HASTINGS, Bill to enable County Court Judges to render assistance in the transaction of Civil and Criminal business at the Assizes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HASTINGS, Sir EARDLEY WILMOT, and Mr. HINDE PALMER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 112.]

RIVERS CONSERVANCY AND FLOODS PREVENTION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DODSON, Bill to make provision for the Conservancy of Rivers, Prevention of Floods, and other matters relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DODSON, Sir CHARLES DILKE, and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 113.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 8th March, 1883.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Contempts of Court (15); Medical Act Amendment * (16).

Second Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Limerick Waterworks) * (3).

Second Reading—Committee negatived—Consolidated Fund, &c. (Permanent Charges Redemption) Act (1873) Amendment * (13).

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY-VENTILATORS ON THE THAMES EMBANKMENT.—NOTICE.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN gave Notice that, on Monday next, he would call attention to the ventilators now being erected by the Metropolitan District Railway Company on the Victoria

Embankment and in Westminster; and move—

"That the evidence taken in 1879 by the Select Committee on the Metropolitan and Metropolitan District Railways (City Lines Extension) Bill, and in 1881 by the Select Committee on the Metropolitan District Railway Bill, and also the report of the proceedings of those Committees, so far as they respectively relate to the subject of ventilators, be printed and circulated."

NAVY—DOCK ACCOMMODATION AT MALTA.—QUESTION.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the site of the proposed first-class dock at Malta has been decided on; and whether he will lay on the Table the reports of the engineers and other public officers on this subject?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, in reply, said, that the Director of Works at the Admiralty was sent some time ago to Malta, to report upon the site of a new dock which was to be constructed there. He had returned to this country, but had not yet sent in his Report; and he (the Earl of Northbrook) could give no assurance that the Report would be laid before Parliament. As to the other Question, as the Report referred to had not been received, it would be premature to give any information as to the plan which would be carried out.

CONTEMPTS OF COURT BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that before stating to their Lordships the reasons which had induced the Government to think it their duty to lay a measure on the Table of the House to amend the law with respect to Contempts of Court, it would be right for him to make some preliminary observations as to the present state of the law on that subject. Speaking first of the Courts of Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction in England and Ireland—for this Bill was not to extend to Scotland, though, if it passed, it might be proper to pass for Scotland a measure founded on the same principle—he might divide contempts generally into two distinct classes. The first class were contempts of the Court itself, not consisting in disobedience to its orders, and these might be committed either by persons who were entirely strangers to any proceedings pending, or by persons who were parties to those proceedings. The other class of contempts consisted of disobedience to the orders of a Court, and was necessarily confined to the parties to proceedings before the Court. The first class of contempts, not consisting of disobedience to orders of the Court, might be sub-divided into two kinds—first, those taking place in the face of the Court, as by some insult offered by some person present to the presiding Judge, or by some interruption of the proceedings making interference necessary; and, secondly, into contempts not committed in the face of the Court, but outside, by proceedings calculated to obstruct or interfere with, or improperly prejudice, the administration of justice in proceedings pending before the Court. Proceedings taken by Courts to vindicate themselves against both these descriptions of contempt were strictly and necessarily penal, though they had also for their object the deterring others from committing the like offences. There was, however, a distinction between these two kinds of contempt which might be committed either by parties or strangers to proceedings—namely, that all Courts of Record, Inferior as well as Superior, had power, by reasonable fine and reasonable imprisonment—and in the case of Inferior Courts, doubtless, subject to revision—to punish contempts committed in face of the Court; but Inferior Courts had no power to punish contempts committed elsewhere. The Superior Courts, on the other hand, had power to punish contempts of that class committed elsewhere, as well as those committed in face of the Court. The punishment for those contempts of both kinds was by fine or imprisonment, or both. The law did not fix any limit to the power of the Courts in the infliction of these punishments. As he had already stated, the power of punishment by Inferior Courts was subject to supervision; but Superior Courts were not subject to any similar superintendence. Although, doubtless, the Judicature Acts had made all orders of the High Court subject to appeal, yet it had never been the practice to appeal against orders of that description. He had now shortly stated the law as to contempts of Courts of Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction. Before speaking of Ecclesiastical Courts, he would revert to the class of contempts committed by persons against whom orders had been made, and who had disobeyed those orders. The object of punishing contempts of that class was partly penal and partly to compel obedience to the orders of the Court. As cases of this class could not arise in Courts purely Criminal, but only in Courts of Civil Jurisdiction, the power of punishment in those cases was by imprisonment only, and not by fine. With respect to the Ecclesiastical Courts, they had no direct power to punish any contempts whatever; but contempts of both the principal classes he had indicated, both those committed in face of the Court, which disturbed the proceedings of the Court, and those which consisted in disobedience to orders made, were dealt with by statute. The first of the Statutes now in force upon that subject was passed in the 53rd year of George III. It was therein provided that when an Ecclesiastical Court declared a party to be contumacious or in contempt, the fact should be certified to the Queen in Chancery, and then there issued out of Chancery a Writ called *de contumace capiendo*, under which the contumacious or contemptuous party was committed to prison; a form of order being prescribed by the Statute under which he was to remain in prison until he submitted to the Court, or something to that effect. The Statute contained no provisions either as to any fixed term of imprisonment, or as to any means of putting an end to it if the party did not submit himself to the authority of the Court. Their Lordships were well aware that a case had recently arisen which directed attention to that subject. The offender was a clergyman who would not obey the orders of an Ecclesiastical Court, and was committed to prison. There he remained for a considerable time. The duration of that imprisonment, coupled with a general feeling that imprisonment was not the best or most proper way to compel obedience to orders of that sort, had led to the formation of the opinion, shared by persons of very different views, that it was not desirable that the law should be left in the state in which that case proved it to be. In point of fact, as the House was probably aware, there was some difficulty in getting that gentleman out of prison, even when he had suffered the final and more efficacious punishment of deprivation of his benefice by virtue of the Statute Law. Great difficulties were felt as to how he could be got out of prison unless the persons who had promoted the suit were willing to come forward and ask for his release, or unless he himself submitted to the authority of the Court. Neither event occurred, and it was only by the intervention of the Bishop of the diocese that the Judge was able to come to the conclusion that the contempt was purged, and thereupon to direct the prisoner's release. Otherwise, there was no knowing how much longer he might have continued in prison. That was a state of things that had been felt to be highly unsatisfactory. The Government had been unwilling to separate the consideration of the case of ecclesiastical contempts from the consideration of the subject of contempt of Court generally. To deprive Courts of the power of punishing contempts would be impossible. Judges must have the power of summarily vindicating their authority; but it did not follow that the power should be indefinite and under no legal regulations. He should be the last person to pass adverse criticisms upon the manner in which the Judges had exercised the powers which the law had vested in them. When they had exercised the particular power under consideration, they had done so from a sense of duty, and under the pressure of grave public necessity. But it was strictly consistent with the confidence which he felt, generally, in their judgment to point out that serious inconveniences might arise from the want of landmarks laid down by law with regard to the measure of punishment, however clear the offence might be. The jurisdiction in matters of contempt was in its nature a penal jurisdiction, and depended very much on the discretion of Judges. It was exercised summarily, and in a manner which was entirely exceptional. It was impossible not to see that a jurisdiction of that kind was liable from time to time to provoke censure which, though it might be entirely unmerited, could not be met and answered by the distinguished public servants who were the subjects of attack. They could not vindicate their conduct; and it was, therefore, detrimental to the interests of the Public Service that they should be unnecessarily exposed, in the discharge of their duties, to such criticism. The considerations to which he had drawn attention appeared to apply with additional force, when it was remembered that the power of committing for contempt might be exercised by every single Judge of the Superior Courts, and within narrower limits by the Judges of Inferior Courts. There was yet another reason for legislation. A Judge, even if he pronounced a sentence which might be severe, by no means wished to be more severe than was necessary, and would willingly diminish the severity of the sentence upon the submission of the offending party. Orders of imprisonment for contempt were generally indefinite, it being expected that the offender would make some apology or amends. But there were men so obstinate that they would never make submission. They liked playing the part of martyrs before any audience, however limited; and they would prefer to remain in prison for an indefinite time rather than submit themselves to the law. In such cases thoughtless people were apt to censure the Judges. And when the contempt consisted in disobedience to the orders of a Court, the obstinacy of the offending party might entirely prevent that which was the main object of the punishment—namely, to enforce obedience to the order of the Court. The offender had the power by his obstinacy of still rendering the order ineffectual. If, therefore, their Lordships, while limiting the power of imprisonment, could at the same time provide some better means of enforcing the orders of the Court, they would undoubtedly be doing a good thing. The Government wished to pass a measure which should be applicable, as far as its limiting provisions went, to all the Courts. They proposed to limit the operation of every sentence for contempt to a period not exceeding three months. If no period should be named in the sentence, its operation would expire in three months. The power of fining was to be limited to a maximum of £500. He had felt that it might appear to some that three months' imprisonment was too little; but the provision had been fenced and guarded in various ways, and if, after the expiration of the first term of three months, there was any further continuance of the act constituting the contempt, or any repetition of it, then the Court would have power to continue the imprisonment as if the act were a new and original offence, and could again exercise its penal authority. It had been suggested that there might be cases of such aggravated contempt as to make the maximum punishment proposed by the Bill inadequate for the offence; but if any such aggravated case occurred in the Superior Courts, the Judge would be justified in laying on the fine of £500, and three months' imprisonment might, at the same time, be imposed; and he did not think that any of their Lordships would think that was a light punishment. He thought the authority of the Court would be maintained by means of these maximum punishments, which might, if it were really necessary, be repeated from time to time as often as the offence was committed. The provisions of the Bill which would effect the changes which he had, so far, explained were applicable to Civil, Criminal, and Ecclesiastical Courts. But there were other provisions applicable only to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Courts. Their object was to enable those Courts to secure obedience to their own orders by other means than imprisonment. The first case contemplated was that of a wilful breach of an injunction granted by the High Court of Justice to prevent what might cause serious and, perhaps, in some cases irreparable damage to the parties concerned. He proposed that in such a case, in addition to the Penal Clauses, where a private person suffered damage from contempt, the Court should summarily assess the damage, and make the offender liable. It was also provided that where there was a continued wilful breach of the injunction, the Court might, after the first term of imprisonment was at an end, treat the offence as continued until satisfaction or full compensation had been made. As to orders for money payments, the Court would have the power of enforcing those payments by sequestration, and even by bankruptcy. He proposed also to give the Court power to make vesting orders in the same way as was now provided under the Trustee Acts, in any cases to which those Acts did not already apply. Then, with regard to the delivery up of documents or chattels, a receiver or sequestrator might be ordered to do that instead of the parties. As to wilful disobedience of certain officers, civil or ecclesiastical, to the order of any Court, he proposed that the Court should have power to fix, and from time to time enlarge, for any sufficient cause, a time within which obedience was to be rendered, on pain of deprivation of office, and if within the time so limited the order should not be complied with, then the office should be forfeited as if the holder were dead. But no order of that kind should take effect pending an appeal, and it was only to apply to individual holders of offices, and not to the members of an aggregate body. There would be an exception from the whole Act of one particular class of cases which stood on peculiar grounds—the case of wards of Court, seduced, or married without consent of Court. These were cases which could never be dealt with except by powers capable of being exercised according to circumstances in a strictly penal way, and it might be dangerous to limit the period of imprisonment to three months. From the best consideration he could give to the matter, he had thought it wisest to leave that jurisdiction exactly as it was, and to except these cases entirely from the Bill. It was only necessary to add that the offices which were to be liable to deprivation for contempt of Court were to be the following. Any offices relating to or connected with the administration of justice, below the rank of Judges of the High Courts, which were held for life or during good behaviour; also all municipal or other offices, not being offices held by the pleasure of the Crown, which were charged with the performance of public duties; also all ecclesiastical preferments and offices subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Ecclesiastical Courts. Having, as he hoped, sufficiently explained the grounds upon which the Bill was founded, he would now ask their Lordships to give it a first reading.

Bill to amend the law as to Contempts of Court—*Presented* (The LORD CHANCELLOR).

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, that reference had been made by the noble and learned Earl to the case of Mr. Green. The Secretary of State for the Home Department commuted or mitigated sentences on prisoners by an exercise of the Royal Prerogative of mercy. He wished to ask the noble and learned Earl by what law, or by what principle of law, the Secretary of State in that case was deprived of the power to release Mr. Green from prison?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the Crown had been advised that, though it had an undoubted power to pardon criminal and ecclesiastical offences, yet that mere contempt of Court did not come within that power. No authority, that he was aware of, could be found for the exercise of any such prerogative. He was bound to say that so long as the party guilty of the contempt persisted in his offence, and was unwilling to give any promise of obedience, there would be a difficulty in the exercise of such a prerogative, even if it were clearly established.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK inquired whether there was any provision for the remission of the sentence except in cases of submission?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR replied that there was express provision in the Bill in regard to that matter.

Bill read 1^a; and to be *printed.* (No. 15.)

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL—USE OF DYNAMITE BY THE BOERS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, How it was that the British Resident at Pretoria had not reported the facts mentioned in the newspaper "De Volksstem," Pretoria, 2nd December 1882, of the great destruction of Kaffirs in a cave by dynamite during an attack on the Chief Mapoch towards the end of November last? This Chief Mapoch had rendered important service to Lord Wolseley in his campaign against Secocoeni. A letter published in the *Volksstem,* dated Middleburg, November 27, stated that it was supposed that as many as 50 Kaffirs had been killed by the explosion of the dynamite, and the fact that women and children had been blown up in an attack on the Chief Mapoch had been stated in recent telegrams. The *Volksstem* stated that the Boer Commandant who was directing this barbarity had been shot through the head whilst looking into the cave. He could not help thinking that it was unfortunate that the noble Earl had recently said that he saw little difference between the use of gunpowder and dynamite in military operations. No doubt the noble Earl had not intended more than to express his just horror of war, but what had fallen from him would be misinterpreted. There was a legitimate use and an illegitimate use of gunpowder in war; and to have blown up a cave full of men, women, and children with gunpowder, would have been as bad as to have done this with dynamite. The reputation of General Pelissier never recovered from his act of destroying men, women, and children in a cave in Algeria by suffocating them with smoke. The use of dynamite ought not to have received what might be represented as encouragement, because it was not true that all means of destruction were legitimate in warfare; for though the Brussels Conference on the laws of war had not succeeded in its objects, some of which would have been to the advantage of the great and the disadvantage of small States, yet a general consensus had been established against using explosive bullets or poisoning wells. If the use of dynamite were to be tolerated in warfare, especially for the indiscriminate destruction of women and children as well as of combatants, men's minds would be still more perverted, and a greater number would be found ready to join in the plots of Nihilist and Fenian miscreants. As telegrams to the Cape cost as much as 9*s.* a word, the noble Earl's recent speech would probably have been very much cut down, and reduced, perhaps, to a statement that he saw no harm in the Boers using dynamite. He therefore hoped that his noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies would reconsider what he had said a few days ago, and prevent the mischief which might arise from its being supposed, most certainly quite erroneously, that he was indifferent to such horrible cruelty. This question had now assumed much greater importance since the Prime Minister's statement that dynamite had been used in warfare by British officers in South Africa, and care should be taken by Her Majesty's Government that if dynamite be issued to the Army, it be only used for legitimate purposes, and not as recently used by the Boers.

THE EARL OF DERBY said, he had not thought that the very obvious and harmless remark which he had made would have been open to so much misconstruction. He was not sorry that the noble Lord had given him the opportunity, not of explaining his previous utterances, for they required no explanation, but of reminding their Lordships as to what he had really said. He had been questioned as to the use of dynamite by the Boers in their operations against Mapoch. He had answered that he had no official knowledge as to such an occurrence, and had incidentally added that if military operations were to be carried on he did not see that the use of dynamite was necessarily more objectionable than the use of gunpowder. He still was of that opinion. Mining, he presumed, was an ordinary operation of war; and it was impossible to draw any moral distinction between explosions produced by dynamite and by gunpowder. He spoke, however, only of the legitimate operations of war, and in answer to a Question in which not one word was said of the massacre of women and children and non-combatants. The remark had simply been evoked by the fact that the Question put by his noble Friend on the occasion to which he referred seemed to assume that the use of dynamite in war was not permissible. With respect to the allegation now made by his noble Friend on the authority of a Dutch paper, he could only say that he had again searched through the Papers at the Colonial Office in order to see whether he had been strictly accurate in saying that they had no record of any such transactions as those referred to, and he found that they had no such record. But, as the matter had been alluded to in both Houses of Parliament, he had telegraphed to the Cape inquiring whether anything was known on the subject by the authorities there; and until some information was received that could be relied upon, he thought it would be well that their Lordships should suspend their judgment as to the truth of the allegation. He had only to add that it was not in his power to issue instructions to British officers as to the use of dynamite in warfare; but he was confident that British officers would never conduct their operations so as to inflict unnecessary suffering.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he was not going to interpose in this inquiry as to the justifiable use of explosives; but, having gone through the very unpleasant reading of Papers relating to the Transvaal, he desired to give Notice that he should draw attention to them at an early date.

MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill for the consolidation and amendment of the Law relating to Medical Practitioners —Was *presented* by the LORD PRIVY SEAL; read 1ª. (No. 16.)

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 8*th March*, 1883.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1882-3) —Class II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS; Class III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Resolutions [March 5] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*— Bristol and London and South Western Junction Railway; Kingston-upon-Hull Docks.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Land Drainage Provisional Order * [114].

Second Reading—Isle of Man (Harbours) [101]; Borough Franchise (Ireland) [22], *debate further adjourned.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

BRISTOL AND LONDON AND SOUTH WESTERN JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds*).

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, that he had placed upon the Paper a Notice for the rejection of this Bill; but he was always very reluctant to oppose the second reading of a Private Bill. The circumstances of this case, however, were very exceptional; and if the Bill had remained in its original position, it would have been most desirable that the House, as a whole, should have pronounced an opinion upon it. The Bill, as presented to Parliament, proposed to go on a high embankment very near Stonehenge, cutting diagonally across both the Avenue and the Cursus. He need hardly say that these ancient remains were of a peculiar character and quite unique. Stonehenge and Avebury were the two grandest monuments of their kind in the world. He was not sure that the vibration of the trains might not have shaken down the trilithons; but, at any rate, the Avenue and the Cursus would be destroyed, and the whole aspect of this solemn and mysterious scene irreparably destroyed. Moreover, it was quite unnecessary. It was quite as easy to carry the line a little to the north. It would be as direct, and presented no engineering or other difficulties. The fact was that the engineers had not given a thought to the matter. When one of the promoters was remonstrated with on this act of Vandalism, he replied that they did not propose to take down Stonehenge itself; that the Avenue was merely a bank and a ditch; and, as for the Cursus, that "though it might once have served as an ancient British racecourse, all he could say was that it was quite out of repair, and of no use whatever now." However, the promoters had now agreed to abandon that particular piece of their line, and to go a little further to the north. They therefore proposed to ask Parliament to sanction another line, which, while it would be quite as direct, and would present no engineering difficulties, would spare both the Avenue and the Cursus. It would be a mile from Stonehenge, and only visible at one point which the Company had agreed to plant, so that it would interfere as little as might be with the general features of the spot. Under these circumstances, he did not feel justified in opposing the second reading, although he confessed that he could not but regret the construction of a line through that particular district. He was assured that the vibration could not, at the distance now proposed, endanger Stonehenge; but he hoped that the Committee would satisfy themselves on that point. He had no doubt that the promoters would honourably carry out the undertaking which they had given him; but, of course, if there should be any objection to the Bill when it came back from Committee, although he did not for a moment anticipate that there would be, he trusted the House would permit him to call its attention to the matter again, and to oppose the Bill on the third reading.

Mr. KENNARD said, that, as his name also appeared on the Paper in opposition to the Bill, he desired to say that his sole motive in the course he had taken was that which had been stated by the hon. Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock). But after the undertaking which had been given to the hon. Member that the line would be so deviated as to preserve the integrity of these ancient monuments, he did not feel inclined to ask the House to dissent from the second reading of the Bill, and he would therefore withdraw his opposition.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL DOCKS BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

Mr. C. WILSON said, he had given Notice of opposition to this Bill, because it appeared to him not only an unnecessary Bill, but also a highly objectionable Bill. It was brought in by the Hull Docks Company for the purpose of cancelling powers that had been given to the Corporation of Hull to take the Docks upon trust. It was also intended to give power to the Hull Docks Company to enclose the Dock Quays, to build and employ steamers, tugs, and lighters; and it contained further powers of a most important character. The Corporation of Hull had petitioned against the Bill. The merchants, shipowners, lighter-owners, and others, had also petitioned against it. He knew that in dividing the House against the second reading of the Bill an objection would be raised that he was taking a somewhat unusual course; but his objections to the Bill were of the strongest possible character. The Bill proposed, as he said, to enable the Dock Company to fence off and enclose the Dock Quays situate in the very heart of the densely populated town, and it would deprive the public of their rights of way over the same. He objected to the Bill not only from a commercial, but from a sanitary point of view. But he was told by his friends that these and other matters were points which ought to be left for the decision of a Committee upstairs, who would take into consideration all the allegations contained in the Petitions which had been lodged against the Bill. Therefore, under the circumstances, and acting by the advice of his friends, he did not think that, at the present stage of the Bill, he should be warranted in carrying his opposition to it to a division. He would content himself with having stated some of the objections to the Bill without moving that the Bill be rejected.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*

QUESTIONS.

DISTRIBUTION OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Mr. BUXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he has been able to make any arrangements, as promised by him last Session, for the better and more economical distribution to Members of Parliamentary papers; when he will be able to carry out the scheme for such distribution which has been proposed by the Controller of the Stationery Office, and which was considered by the joint Committee of the Lords and Commons in 1881 to be not unworthy of adoption; and, whether the Committee appointed to revise the Promulgation List has yet reported, and when such Report will be laid upon the Table?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the adoption of the scheme of distribution pronounced by the Joint Committee to be not unworthy of adoption lies with the House, and not with the Government. I have made inquiries, as promised last Session; but I think the sense of the House may, perhaps, best be gathered when the Stationery Vote comes under discussion. As regards the Promulgation List, I am glad to be able to say that the Committee, having received nearly all the information it requires, hopes to be able to report in about two months.

SCOTLAND—THE SKYE CROFTERS.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department

ment, If he can state generally the subjects proposed to be submitted to the Commission about to be appointed to inquire into the alleged grievances of the Crofters, the area over which the proposed inquiry will extend, viz., what counties and islands will be included?

LORD COLIN CAMPBELL asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the intention of the Government to direct that the Royal Commission about to be appointed to inquire into the condition of the population of the Highlands and Islands shall take into consideration the questions of giving State aid in extending telegraphic communication in connection with the fisheries, in the improvement or construction of necessary harbours, the erection of piers, and in other matters affecting the welfare of the population dependent on the fisheries in the West and North-West of Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The inquiry will be directed generally to the condition of the Crofters in the North and West of Scotland and the Islands, without specifying particular matters, and will naturally embrace all the elements entering into or affecting their condition.

MR. MACFARLANE: Will the Lord Advocate give to the House the names of the gentlemen composing the Commission before it receives the Royal Assent?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I am not in a position to give them at present.

MR. MACFARLANE: If the right hon. and learned Gentleman is not able to give them, I will repeat my Question to the Home Secretary to-morrow.

DR. CAMERON asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposed to lay on the Table the information which was in the hands of the Government with reference to the destitution that existed.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Yes, Sir; I intend to do so.

ARMY—THE ARMOURED TRAIN AT ALEXANDRIA.

EARL PERCY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received any Report of the mounting and firing of a 12-ton gun on a Railway truck on the 30th of September last at Alexandria; whether the result of the experiment was satisfactory; and, whether he proposes to further test it?

MR. BRAND: I have to state, Sir, on behalf of the Secretary of State for War, that a Report was received at the Admiralty, and copies of it were forwarded by the Admiralty to the War Office. The Report stated that the gun had been fired mounted on a railway truck, and that the results of the firing had been satisfactory. As there would be no difficulty in mounting a gun under similar circumstances, it is not considered that any further tests are necessary.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND—FREE AND APPROPRIATED SITTINGS IN CHURCHES—ALTERATION OF A PARLIAMENTARY PAPER.

MR. A. GREY asked the Right hon. Member for Oxford University, If he is aware of the important alteration in the form of the Return made to an order of the House at his instance on August 22nd 1881, in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 433, of Session 1870; whether he will state to the House the reason why, under his Return, the church accommodation of each church is arranged under the heading of "Pews" and "Free or Appropriated Seats," instead of "Pews" and "Free Seats," as in the former Return; and, whether he will move for an amended Return, in which the word "Free" may be allowed once more to have a meaning?

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY: Sir, I was not aware of the alteration in the form of the Return. The change, which only affects a portion of the Return, was made by the experienced officials who prepared it with a view to make it more exact and in accordance with the facts. Under the Church Building Acts the Commissioners are required, when they fix a scale of pew-rents, to set apart a seat holding six persons for the minister's family, and another holding four for his servants—as regards money such seats are free, but they are appropriated. The total number of sittings under this column is 16,987. Of this total, only 634 are appropriated. As to the other heading of the Return, the Commissioners are not required by statute to appropriate, and do not appropriate any sittings, and no such heading appeared. I scarcely think, after this explanation, any further Return can be required; but if desired by the hon. Gentleman it can be had if moved for by him.

Mr. A. GREY asked the right hon. Gentleman whether the appropriation of seats by the clergyman was not distinctly prohibited by the Church Building Acts?

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY: On the contrary, such seats are expressly provided for in the Acts.

EAST INDIA—CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (NATIVE JURISDICTION OVER BRITISH SUBJECTS).

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If it is true that a number of Native gentlemen are exempted from personal appearance in the Courts of Law in India and all women above a certain rank; if he will lay upon the Table of the House a Return showing the total number of personal and other exemptions; and, if, in the event of the Bill subjecting Europeans to trial by Native magistrates becoming Law, he will urge upon the Government of India the propriety of abolishing all class distinctions and anomalies?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, women who, according to Native ideas, ought not to be seen in public, are exempt from personal appearance in the Civil Courts. Their evidence is either taken by Commission or they are brought into Court and examined in palanquins. They are not exempt from arrest in execution of civil process nor upon a criminal charge. Local Governments may, by notification in *The Gazette*, exempt from personal appearance in the Civil Courts any man whose rank they consider entitles him to the privilege. But those who claim this privilege are liable for the costs of the Commission under which their evidence is taken. In criminal matters men enjoy no privilege except that those exempted from personal appearance in Civil Courts do not serve as jurors or assessors. The India Office is unable to furnish the Return asked for; and, should the Bill referred to become law, Government has no intention of making the changes asked for by the hon. Member.

Mr. MACFARLANE: Will the hon. Gentleman give the return?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: If the hon. Member formulates the Return he wants I shall be in a better position to answer the Question.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—PORTUGAL AND THE CONGO.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government has any information about an expedition, consisting of seven ships of war, which is being prepared by the Portuguese Government, and is intended to sail in the course of this month, with instructions to occupy the entire coast from Ambriz to Landan Chinchoxa, North of the Congo; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will give instructions to the Officer in command of the British Squadron on the West Coast to prevent such an occupation of land, which has hitherto been neutral, to the detriment of British trade; and, whether Her Majesty's Government, before concluding any Treaty which sanctions annexation, by any European Power, of territory on or adjacent to the Congo, will afford an opportunity to the House of expressing its opinion on the advisability of concluding such Treaty?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon was recently informed by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, in answer to an inquiry made by him, that no such force was being prepared, and that while the negotiations with this country were pending no ships would be despatched to the West Coast. As regards the last portion of the hon. Member's Question, I hope to have an opportunity of entering more fully into the subject upon the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright).

Mr. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that the Government of England has for many years past refused to acknowledge the claims of Portugal to the territory north and south of the Congo; whether Papers will be produced showing what the attitude of this Country has been, with regard to this question, for the past seventy years; and, whether Her Majesty's Foreign Minister, Lord Clarendon, wrote as follows to the Portuguese Minister in London in 1853:—

> "It is therefore both manifest and notorious that the African tribes who inhabit the coast line claimed by Portugal, between 5° 12′ and 8° S. latitude, are in reality independent, and that the right acquired by Portugal, from

priority of discovery, at the end of the fifteenth century, has for a long time been suffered to lapse, owing to the Portuguese Government not having occupied the Country so discovered. In the presence of these facts, the undersigned must repeat the declaration of Her Majesty's Government, that the interests of commerce imperatively required it to maintain the right of unrestricted intercourse with that part of the coast of Western Africa extending between 5° 12′ and the 8th degree S. latitude?"

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It is the fact, Sir, that the English Government have not acknowledged the claims of Portugal to the territory in question. The quotation from Lord Clarendon's despatch, which was laid before Parliament with the Slave Trade Correspondence in 1854, is substantially accurate. Full information as to the attitude of this country is to be found in the annual series of Slave Trade Correspondence laid from time to time on the Table of the House, and further Papers will be presented to Parliament in regard to the present negotiation.

MR. BOURKE inquired whether the Papers would contain a recapitulation of Papers that had already been presented, showing the attitude of this country?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the Papers would relate principally to the present negotiations, but would, no doubt, contain other matters also.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO THE CONGO.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a Bill has been introduced into the French Assembly providing M. de Brazza with a considerable amount of war material for an expedition to the Congo; and, whether he will state the condition of affairs upon this subject and lay Papers upon the Table with regard to it?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, a Bill was brought into the Chamber of Deputies on the 21st of February to confirm a Presidential decree granting for the use of the De Brazza expedition a large quantity of arms in store of different models out of use in the Army and Navy. The Papers referring to the subject will be laid before the House with the Correspondence.

EGYPT (RE-ORGANIZATION)—THE CADASTRAL SURVEY.

MR. PASSMORE EDWARDS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will state the number of acres definitely surveyed by the Egyptian Land Revenue Survey Department, with a staff of one hundred and eleven European officers established under Sir A. Colvin in February 1879, and the aggregate expenses incurred by the Department, including the salaries of the officers; and, whether the said Survey Department was considered successful; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government intend to recommend its re-establishment on its former footing and with the same European Officers?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the last Report of the work of the Egyptian Cadastral Survey in the possession of the Foreign Office supplies details to the date of December 31, 1881. At that date the lands appertaining to 392 villages had been under survey, and 302,264 feddans had been completed. On the 1st of January, 1882, it appears that 5,223,000 feddans remained to be surveyed, which it was anticipated would be executed at the rate of 500,000 feddans annually. A sum of £70,000, of which £59,000 represents salaries, was taken for the expenses of the Cadastre in the Budget of 1882. From the Reports which have reached Her Majesty's Government from Egypt, and which will be laid before Parliament, there is reason to believe that this Department of the Egyptian Government will require thorough reorganization.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—WORKHOUSES IN DONEGAL.

MR. SHAW (for Colonel COLTHURST) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state to the House the amount of workhouse accommodation now available in the Unions of Glenties and Dunfanaghy, county Donegal?

MR. TREVELYAN: There is vacant accommodation in Glenties Workhouse for about 280 persons, and in Dunfanaghy for about 340; but the exact number who could be admitted would depend upon the proportion of each class requiring relief.

POOR LAW—DEPORTATION OF PAUPERS.

MR. SHAW (for Colonel COLTHURST) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he proposes to introduce a measure dealing with Poor Removal on the lines recommended by the Committee of 1879; and, what action does he propose to take with reference to the Bill now before the House?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, that as regarded the first part of the Question, the Government could not undertake, having regard to the state of Public Business, to introduce a Bill this Session; and with regard to the Bill on the subject now before the House he thought the Government could more appropriately state their intentions on the subject on the second reading of that Bill?

CHELSEA HOSPITAL—THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

COLONEL MILNE HOME asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office, If the Departmental Committee appointed about a year ago to inquire into matters connected with Chelsea Hospital has concluded its Report; and if the Report will be presented to Parliament?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: In reply to the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Berwick, I have to say that the Committee appointed to inquire into the administration of the Royal Hospitals, Chelsea and Kilmainham, the Royal Military Asylum, and the Royal Hibernian Military School, has concluded its Report; but the replies of the Governing Bodies were only received towards the close of last month. They are, together with the Report, before the Secretary of State for War; and after he has considered them, he will probably be enabled to lay the Report on the Table of the House.

PARLIAMENT — PRIVILEGE — INTERFERENCE OF A PEER IN ELECTIONS —LORD CARRINGTON.

MR. J. R. YORKE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to a report in the "Bucks Free Press" of the 2nd of March, of a meeting held at Wycombe Abbey, since the writ was moved for the borough of High Wycombe, at which Lord Carrington was present; whether it is the fact, as there stated, that

> "A meeting of notables was convened at Wycombe Abbey to discuss the position of affairs, and invitations were sent to the members of the public representative bodies of the town, namely, the Town Council and School Board, to attend;"

and, whether such interference on the part of a Peer of the realm in electioneering matters is in accordance with constitutional usage or not? The hon. Member said that, some additional facts having been brought to his attention since he had put the foregoing Questions on the Notice Paper, he had taken the liberty of giving the Attorney General private Notice of the following Questions:—

> "Whether, on Tuesday, the 27th February, a placard appeared announcing that Colonel Carington had resigned; whether, at 11 o'clock on the morning of that day, a meeting—not a general meeting—was held at Wycombe Abbey, the residence of Lord Carrington, of certain electors; whether Lord Carrington was present and introduced the subject of the resignation of Colonel Carington; whether, after some conversation, Lord Carrington produced a letter from his pocket, which he said stated that Colonel Gerard Smith was willing to become a candidate for the vacancy; whether it was proposed and seconded that that Gentleman should become a candidate; whether his address appeared next morning; whether Lord Carrington was not Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms; and whether it was a fact that Colonel Gerard Smith was lately gazetted to the office of Groom of the Chamber to Her Majesty, an office which he would have to resign if he were not returned for High Wycombe;"

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Sir, it is impossible for me to define with any legal accuracy the extent to which a Peer may constitutionally interfere in the election of Members of this House. I have heard rumours of Peers on both sides subscribing large sums of money to support different candidates, and of their being present at meetings when candidates have been selected; and I presume that those Peers have satisfied themselves that they were acting with propriety and constitutionally in so doing. But, Sir, in relation to the circumstances mentioned in my hon. Friend's Question, as it appears on the Paper—for his further Question only reached me some five minutes ago—I can safely say that if it should appear that Lord Carrington, not after, but before the issuing of the Writ, found that a profound and sincere regret was entertained by almost every elector of High Wycombe at the prospect of losing the Parliamentary services of Colonel Carington, and if, under those circumstances, Lord Carrington thought it was his duty to afford them as much consolation as he could by explaining to them the reasons which had induced Colonel Carington to undertake the duties of the office of the Steward of the Manor of Northstead—and if, having done so, Lord Carrington deprecated any resolution being taken as to any future candidate, I am sure that the House generally, and even my hon. Friend, will feel that the noble Lord acted, not only within his Constitutional rights, but also gave another and valuable proof of the sympathetic feeling existing between him and the vast majority of the electors of High Wycombe.

EXCISE—BREWING LICENCES.

MR. BIDDELL asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will inform the House how many brewing licences were last year taken out by persons to brew who paid no beer Duty; and, whether he will in future give the additional information in the Return annually made respecting brewers?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, the number of brewing licences taken out last year by private brewers not liable to beer duty was 91,857. If the hon. Member for East Surrey (Mr. Watney), who moves annually what is known as "The Brewer's Return," will include in his Motion this information, the figures shall be added to the Return.

INLAND REVENUE—ENGLISH AND SCOTCH INCOME TAX.

MR. BIDDELL asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he was aware that a Suffolk farmer, who paid a rent of £500 a year for a farm, subject to a tithe of £120 and rates of £50 a year, would pay an income tax of £7 6*s*. 11*d*. while a Midlothian farmer, holding a farm of like value, and subject to similar outgoings, would pay but £6 6*s*. 8*d*.; and, whether he will remedy the inequality of the former thus paying fifteen per cent. more than the Scotch farmer by reducing the tax upon the English farmer?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I have to inform him that the calculation contained in his Question is substantially correct. Ever since the re-imposition of the Income Tax in 1842 it has been the theory that in England a farmer's profits may be reckoned at one-half the assessed value of his farm, and in Scotland at one-third. But a farmer who does not realize the profits assessed may, under the provisions of the law, appeal to the district Commissioners of Income Tax, and, on proof to their satisfaction of loss, he can obtain repayment.

PRISONS (IRELAND) — MULLINGAR GAOL—POLLUTION OF THE BROSNA.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will cause arrangements to be made by the proper authorities in Ireland to prevent the continued pollution of the Brosna River by the sewage of Mullingar Gaol?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is not the case, Sir, that the pollution of the Brosna river is caused solely or principally by the sewage of Mullingar Prison. I am informed that the whole of the town sewage is discharged into the river, and that the town sewers enter it at a point above the discharge of the prison sewer. The Prisons Board are most anxious to make a better arrangement, but are unable at present to do so; but whenever the town sewerage is completed, the Board will immediately take steps to connect the prison sewers with it.

NAVY—THE ROYAL MARINES.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether he would have any objection to state why it did not appear necessary or desirable that a general officer of the Royal Marines should have a seat on the Board of Admiralty?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, it is not usual in reply to a Question to enter upon matter of argument. The hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) has given Notice of a Motion on this subject on going into Supply on Navy Estimates, and I shall be prepared then to explain the views of the Admiralty upon it.

SPAIN—INTERNATIONAL LAW—SURRENDER OF CUBAN REFUGEES.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will lay upon the Table the application made by the

Spanish Consul in the Bahamas for the surrender of refugees from Cuba, together with the answer of the Government of that Colony; and any Correspondence on the subject between the Governor of Bahama and the Colonial Office?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the only Correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Governor of Bahama is a short, formal despatch from Lord Granville approving his action in refusing to arrest the Cuban refugees. The only objection to giving these Papers about a matter so long past is the expense the printing would involve. But if the hon. Member presses for them, he shall have them.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—OLD TEMPLE BAR.

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he can inform the House what has become of the stones formerly composing Temple Bar; and, whether anything has been settled as to their ultimate destination?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am informed by the City Architect that the stones of Temple Bar have been carefully preserved, and will be re-erected; but as yet no suitable site has been found.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE LOUGHREA BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the proceedings of the Loughrea Board of Guardians, reported in the "Tuam News" of February 23rd; whether complaints and counter-complaints were made by the doctor and master of the Workhouse against each other; whether his attention has been called to the following passage in the report by the doctor:—

> "There is quite enough to shock every member of the Board. Such a state of things is most dangerous to the public safety, and the case of Michael Forde (the man who was said to have died of starvation) gives a strong example, because the master's neglecting or refusing to supply on my very strong requisition a male attendant in all liklihood helped the man's death by exposure, as I believe all went to bed and that the man died during the night, as none could tell me when he died;"

whether, being examined by the Board, the doctor made the following among other statements:—

> "A man has not got a dose of medicine as ordered by me not even three days after I gave the order.
>
> "The nurses will not do anything ordered by me. The poor people are anxious to obey only they are afraid; they stated the master ordered them not to obey me."

And, again referring to the case of Forde:—

> "The man was mad and he wanted an attendant. What's the reason he did not get one? I believe that man perished (sensation). I believe, too, no one minded him that night;"

whether the following conversation took place between the chairman and the head nurse:—

> "Chairman (to head nurse)—Why didn't you give medicine to the patient?
>
> "Head Nurse—What can I do; the nurses won't do anything for me; won't stop up at night attending dying patients;"

whether the master, on the other hand, charged the doctor with incompetence and neglect of duty; and, whether severe distress exists in the locality in which this Union is situate, and how many applications for admission to the Workhouse there have been since the publication of these statements?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, my attention has been called to this matter. Charges and counter-charges have been made by the medical officer and master of the Loughrea Workhouse against each other, and the Local Government Board have felt it necessary to instruct one of their Inspectors to hold an inquiry on oath. I cannot say whether the passage quoted from the doctor's report is accurately quoted, as the original Report furnished to the Local Government Board is now with the Inspector at Loughrea, who is to hold his inquiry on this day. But as the whole matter is now the subject of a sworn investigation, this is of comparatively little importance. It has been represented that exceptional distress exists in the Union, and the Local Government Board are now in communication with the Guardians respecting the appointment of additional relieving officers. There have been 54 applications for admission to Loughrea Workhouse since the 23rd of February.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—TERENCE GREALISH.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the dismissal by the magistrates of Galway, and the withdrawal by the police, of the case of Patrick Delaney against Terence Grealish; whether Grealish attacked Delaney, while engaged in a struggle with Grealish's father, with the sharp edge of a hatchet; whether Delaney's life was pronounced by Dr. Rice to be for some time in danger, and whether Grealish was in consequence detained for some time in custody; and, if the Crown will order an investigation and renewed action by the police in a case of this gravity?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, my attention has been called to this matter. The circumstances mentioned appear to have been part of the case laid before the magistrates, who, I presume, disposed of it according to their view of the evidence. My right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland informs me that there is no objection to the information being examined by the Law Officers, which, I believe will be done.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE MID CHESHIRE ELECTION.

MR. BROADHURST asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the issue of the following circular to the electors of Mid Cheshire:—

"Mid-Cheshire Election 1883.
Central Committee Rooms,
Knutsford, Feb. 27th, 1883.

Sir,—I beg to enclose a copy of the Address of the Hon. Alan De Tatton Egerton, the Conservative Candidate, at the approaching Election for this Division, and to solicit on his behalf your Vote and support.

May I ask the favour of your returning the annexed paper by post, stating whether or not the Hon. Alan De Tatton Egerton may calculate on your support.

I am, Sir,
Your faithful servant,
Lance Bentley,
The Hon. Alan De Tatton Egerton's
Central Agent.
You vote at Holmes Chapel."

whether he is aware that on the day following the issue of this circular, or within a very short time after receipt, it is the custom for the landlord's agents or bailiffs to go to the farmers and ask if they have filled up and returned the forms; on obtaining a reply in the negative they invariably ask for the form and fill it up at the time, and ask for the farmer's signature to it, which of course for obvious reasons they are not in a position to refuse; and, whether this mode of putting pressure on electors is legal; and, if so, whether he will make it illegal under the Corrupt Practices Bill?

MR. GUY DAWNAY said, that as a similar Question to that of the learned Member for Stoke stood upon the Paper in his name, he should like to ask the Attorney General, Whether he was aware that before the circular in question issued, by the Conservative candidate was in the hands of the electors, a somewhat similar, but rather less courteous, circular was received from the Liberal candidate; and whether he was aware that, so far as the Conservative candidate or his agents knew, there was not the slightest shadow of foundation for the assertion contained in the second part of the Question of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst)?

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON said, he also begged to ask the opinion of the Attorney General with respect to an electioneering circular which he (Lord Claud Hamilton) received about two months ago, and which was largely distributed in the constituency of which he was an elector. The circular was as follows:—

"76, Sloane Street,
New Year's Day, 1883.

Dear Sir,—May I have the honour of adding your name to the list of my Committee at the present election.—Believe me, yours truly,
CHAS. W. DILKE."

Accompanying this was a paid post-card addressed to the right hon. Baronet, and on the back was the number of the elector, 18,063, and the name C. J. Hamilton (Lord), M.P.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Sir, I need not inform the House I knew nothing of the circumstances of this matter until the Question appeared on the Paper. I found upon inquiry that upon the 27th of February the circular mentioned in the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) was issued to all the electors of the division of Mid Cheshire. It is also accurate that on the 28th a circular was issued on the part of the Liberal candidate, but I am informed it was only sent to out-voters. In answer to the second part of the Question, I think it right to state that I have received assurances on which I think I can rely from Mr. Egerton in relation to the estates over which he has most influence that no agent of his has endeavoured to obtain from any voter information as to how he would vote. Dealing with the question as not affecting any particular Party, I believe there will be a general feeling that if the circulars were issued with the object of obtaining knowledge how a voter intended to vote, and if influence is used to make him sign that circular and so make him state how he will vote, I think that, while it may be doubtful whether it is undue influence, it is at all events against the spirit of the Ballot Act, because it compels a man to state openly how he is going to vote instead of making him record his vote secretly. When the Corrupt Practices Bill was before Parliament last year my hon. Friend the Member for Frome (Mr. H. B. Samuelson) placed an Amendment on the Paper which raises the question, and although there is great difficulty in practical legislation in defining the difference between a general circular and a particular request to an individual, I am sure the House will give the Amendment full consideration. With regard to the Question of the noble Lord, if he will kindly inform me how he answered the circular I shall probably be able to give a better opinion as to the nature of the transaction.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON: I beg to state, in answer to the hon. and learned Gentleman, that I deposited it in the family museum as a curiosity.

Mr. BROADHURST said, he would accommodate the Attorney General with both the circulars, and he would then see a distinct difference between the two, more especially as one was sent to out-voters only.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Attorney General to explain the difference between having a personal interview with an elector and asking him to vote in a certain way, and sending a circular through the post, which contained the same request in writing. What was the difference which made the one illegal and the other legal?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): Sir, I think the House will agree with me that it is a very inconvenient course to discuss by question and answer that which would have been far more effectually considered when we deal with the matter as one of legislation. In this instance the case put to me is that of an agent or a landlord asking a tenant whether he will or will not give a written promise to vote in a particular way, the tenant knowing that if he refuses he will probably be visited with the consequences of such refusal. That is different from asking an elector for his vote.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked what was the Attorney General's authority for saying that Mr. Lance Bentley was an agent of a landlord, or that Mr. De Tatton Egerton was a landlord?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I said nothing of the kind. I said the Question put to me involved that proposition, and if the noble Lord will read it he will see it does.

SPAIN—THE STEAMSHIP "TANGIER."

Dr. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that in the end of November or beginning of December last the British steamer "Tangier" had several volleys of shot discharged at her, to the imminent danger of her crew, by armed boats commanded by Spanish officials at Carthagena, for an alleged trifling breach of port regulations at that port; and, whether he has any objection to lay before Parliament any Correspondence relating to the subject between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Spain?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I regret to say that the statement to which my hon. Friend refers is correct. The occurrence took place at the end of November last, and has been the subject of a lengthy Correspondence. Her Majesty's Government have strongly protested against the course pursued by the Spanish officials of Carthagena as being contrary to international usage. There will be no objection to lay the Correspondence before Parliament, and Earl Granville has given the necessary instructions.

SPAIN—INTERNATIONAL LAW—THE "LEON XIII."

Dr. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can yet lay before Parliament Papers relative to the abduction on board the "Leon XIII." of three English engineers from British jurisdiction in Singapore, with the concurrence of the Spanish Naval and Consular authorities in March last?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have no objection to lay on the Table the Papers relating to the case of the three English engineers of the *Leon XIII.*, and Lord Granville has already given the necessary instructions.

EGYPT—ARABI PASHA—CONDITIONS OF DETENTION AT CEYLON.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can state whether the undertaking signed by Arabi Pasha and his companions not to leave their place of exile has hitherto been in the custody of Lord Dufferin or of the Khedive's Government; and, whether the text of that document can be laid upon the Table?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the document referred to is in the archives of the Foreign Office, and attested copies have been distributed by Lord Dufferin as follows:—One in the archives of the British Agency at Cairo, one in those of Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople, and another handed over to the Egyptian Government. The text of the document will appear in the Papers now in course of preparation for Parliament.

MR, LABOUCHERE asked the noble Lord if he would also obtain from Lord Dufferin a statement of what the arrangements were, which were not contained in the signed documents, and lay them on the Table?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that he would do so.

THE BANKRUPTCY BILL—MEMORANDUM OF AMENDMENTS.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the President of the Board of Trade, If, seeing that the Bankruptcy Bill is a Bill to amend and consolidate the Law of Bankruptcy, he will lay upon the Table, as on former occasions when Consolidation Bills have been introduced by the Government, a Memorandum setting out the amendments of the Law as distinguished from re-enactments?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, the practice with regard to previous Consolidation Bills had been somewhat various; but he had been anxious to meet the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman, and he had therefore laid on the Table a Memorandum containing generally the changes in the existing Law of Bankruptcy effected by the new Bankruptcy Bill; and he had also given instructions to the printers, and hoped that this Memorandum would be circulated among Members to-morrow morning. He had also made arrangements that when the Patents Bill was circulated it should be accompanied by a similar Memorandum.

ARMY (THE AUXILIARY FORCES)—IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it it is true that orders have been given to the Officer Commanding the Flint and Carnarvon Volunteers not to enrol in his regiment Irish gentlemen who desire to serve Her Majesty as Volunteers; whether there is anything in the Volunteer Act, or in any other Act of Parliament, or in any regulations issued from the War Office, which prohibits loyal Irishmen, who are willing to take the Oath of Allegiance, and who are anxious to serve Her Majesty, from enrolling themselves in a Volunteer Regiment in England, Scotland, or Wales; whether it is the intention of the War Office to order the discharge from the Volunteer Service those Irishmen who have, from time to time, been enrolled in its ranks; and, if such a step is not contemplated, on which principle of selection the services of some loyal Irishmen are refused while others are accepted?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, there is no Act or Regulation prohibiting the enrolment of Irishmen in any British Volunteer Corps; but, on the other hand, it is optional with the Crown to accept or retain the services of any person tendering himself as a Volunteer. There is no present intention of discharging Irishmen who have joined the Volunteers. Indeed, there is no distinction as to nationality among members of Volunteer Corps. The officer referred to has been instructed not to enrol Irish Volunteers unless they be domiciled in Great Britain. The case was a peculiar one. A number of members of an Irish rifle club, wishing to be drilled, and unable to be drilled in Ireland, proposed to join a Welsh Volunteer Corps for the purpose of obtaining instruction, but with the obvious intention of returning to their Irish domiciles when they had obtained that instruction. The intention of the Regulations is that Volunteers should be enrolled in corps near the head-quarters of which they reside, so that they can be drilled with and in an emergency be called out with the corps. These conditions are obviously not compatible with the enrolment of Volunteers resident a considerable distance from the head-quarters of the corps. It has deliberately been decided not to sanction the formation of Volunteer Corps in Ireland; and the proceeding in question, however well-intended, appeared to be an evasion of the law which, if permitted in one case could not have been prevented in others under very different circumstances.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR inquired if the Capitation Grant would be allowed to any of the men who had already enlisted under the circumstances mentioned?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he believed the application was made in perfectly good faith, and the officer had been instructed not to dismiss any men who had already enlisted. If any of those earned the Capitation Grant, it would be paid.

SCOTLAND—DISTURBANCES AT FRASERBURGH.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he has any information regarding a reported disturbance at Fraserburgh in connection with the peculiar tenure there under which the villagers are said to be tenants at will who erect their own houses, and are liable to be dispossessed of them at the pleasure of the landlord; and, if he can say whether the proposed inquiry into the position of the Crofters of the North and West of Scotland will include Aberdeenshire and the Crofters there as well as small farmers owning the improvements under the old inventory system, and such peculiar tenures as that which prevails at Fraserburgh?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): It is the fact that three or four men recently pleaded guilty to a charge of breach of the peace which occurred on the occasion of the execution of a warrant of ejectment at Inverallochy, near Fraserburgh. But I have no information as to there being any peculiarity in the tenure existing there. The inquiry will extend to the crofters in the North and West of Scotland generally; but, as I understand, the part of the Question which relates to small farmers, is directed to a class of tenants who have made distinct contracts with respect to improvements, being a different class from those generally known as crofters, and it is not intended that the inquiry should extend to such farmers.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TERRITORIAL AUTHORITY OF THE CAPE GOVERNMENT.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he can explain what is the exact limit of the territorial authority of the Cape Government in the direction of Pondoland?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the territorial authority of the Cape Government extends all along the Western Frontier of Pondoland, and they claim a protectorate over a tribe located in the North-Western corner of Pondoland—namely, the Amaxesibes, although the land which this tribe occupies has never been formally annexed to the Cape territory. If the hon. Gentleman wants information on the subject, I would refer him to page 89 of the Blue Book of March, 1882. The country on the South Frontier of Pondoland is under the Imperial High Commissioner; but it has not yet been formally annexed to the Cape.

IRELAND—REPORT OF THE PUBLIC WORKS COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he will cause the Report of the Public Works Commissioners of Ireland to be presented this year by the 25th March, the date prescribed by Act of Parliament?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the Act of 1825, to which the hon. Member appears to refer, has been repealed. When the date of presentation was put at Lady Day, the year reported on ended at Christmas. Now the financial year is adopted, and the Report should be presented within three months after its conclusion. Last year it was presented on June 22.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—EXPENSES OF INDIAN CONTINGENT—THE CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, How it is that no correspondence or telegrams sent from this Country to the Government of India, prior to the telegram of July 24th, has been circulated with the Papers, Indian Contingent (Egypt) Expenses; whether any correspondence or telegrams passed between the Home Government and the Indian Government from the date of the Despatch from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor General in Council (October 5th 1882); and, whether he could not furnish the telegram of the 16th of February and the reply of the Government of India of the 19th of February, alluded to in the Despatch of Lord Kimberley of the 22nd of February?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Sir, no Correspondence or telegrams regarding the incidence of the charge for the Indian Contingent passed between the Secretary of State and the Government of India before the 24th of July, 1882. All the despatches which passed on the subject are contained in the Papers. No telegrams passed other than those mentioned in the Papers, except one on the 20th of February, confirming that of the 16th of January. It is not the practice to give cipher telegrams exactly as sent. They must either be re-arranged, as is done with those of the 24th and 26th of July, or given in substance only, as with those of the 16th and 19th of January. I have the telegrams in my hand, and they are quite at the service of my hon. Friend.

ARMY—PROMOTION OF SUBALTERNS.

Mr. GREER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that on the 1st January, 1883, the approximate average service of the senior subalterns of the Cavalry regiments was six years eleven and a-half months; Infantry of the Line was eight years nine and a-half months; Royal Artillery was nine years five months; Royal Engineers was twelve years; and, if so, considering that the rate of promotion of subalterns to the rank of Captain in the Royal Engineers is about three years slower than in the other combatant branches of the Army, and considering also that the senior subalterns of the Royal Engineers have already been superseded by about 600 officers of other branches of the service, whether it is the intention of the Government to take steps to place the subalterns of the corps in a better position as regards promotion?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Sir, I have no reason to question the accuracy of the facts stated by the hon. Member. The question whether it is necessary to accelerate promotion in the junior ranks of the Royal Engineers is under consideration. But I desire to point out that slow promotion in the subaltern's rank does not injure Engineer officers to the same extent as it would injure officers in any other branch of the Service, because, whatever may be the current rate of promotion in the corps, every Engineer officer is entitled under the Royal Warrant to be promoted to the rank of major after 20 years' service. He consequently is saved from all chances of permanent or temporary retirement, to which all other officers are subject at 40 years of age; and would then probably recover any supersession which he may have suffered in consequence of the slow rate of promotion in the subaltern's rank.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — IMPRISONMENT OF MR. M'PHILPIN.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why it was that Mr. John M'Philphin was kept two days in Mullingar Gaol longer than the term of his imprisonment; whether the date on the registry card in Mr. M'Philpin's cell stated that he was to be discharged on the 26th; if, on the morning of the 24th, the registry card was changed, and the 1st of March substituted; and, if, on an appeal from Mr. M'Philpin to the Prisons Board, his discharge was ordered on February 28th, without reason assigned?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. M'Philpin was not kept in custody two days longer than the term of his imprisonment. The date on the register card was originally incorrect, but was subsequently altered, the proper date being inserted. As a matter of fact, Mr. M'Philpin was discharged a day before his time expired.

DRAINAGE OF RIVERS (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BARROW.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he will state what is the legal difficulty in connection with the drainage of the Barrow which the Government propose to deal with by legislation; and, how soon he proposes to introduce a Bill for the purpose?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the legal difficulty referred to was the inability of towns to contribute to works of arterial drainage by which they may be largely benefited. I understand that this is one of the difficulties in the case of the Barrow valley. I am not at present able to give any date for the introduction of a Bill dealing with this difficulty. That must depend, to some extent, on whether we can bring in a general consolidating Drainage Bill or one confined to this purpose.

Mr. DAWSON asked if a Royal Commission was to be appointed?

Mr. COURTNEY said, he did not undertake that a Royal Commission would be appointed, but a preliminary inquiry was being made.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON suggested that the river basin should be included in the inquiry.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ILL-TREATMENT BY THE POLICE—MICHAEL BANICAN.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, In what particulars the statement of Michael Banican, of Crossmaglen, county Armagh, respecting his treatment by the police, is unfounded; whether it is a fact that he was taken out of his bed by the police between the hours of eleven and twelve at night; whether he was removed to the Constabulary station at Crossmaglen without warrant shown or offence stated; whether he was informed that informations had been sworn against him by prisoners now in Armagh Goal awaiting trial on a charge of treason-felony; and, if so, whether any such informations were sworn; whether inducements were held out to him, or to members of his family, to incriminate these prisoners; whether he was discharged between two and three o'clock in the morning without being brought before a magistrate, or any charge preferred against him; why he was arrested, and why he was discharged; whether Michael Banican has called for an inquiry, and offered to substantiate his statement by the testimony of his wife, his mother-in-law, and himself; and, whether, under the circumstances, he will order an inquiry into the facts?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have already answered the greater part of this Question, stating that I believe the several allegations made to be unfounded. Banican was not arrested, and, therefore, I have no reason to give for his discharge. He has asked for an inquiry into certain statements made by him, but I do not think there is any reason to make further inquiry than I have already made. On public grounds I must decline to say anything more on this matter at present. I can appeal to the House to say that I never decline to give an answer in detail, unless for very serious reason.

POST OFFICE (SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT).

Mr. KENNARD asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact that the Post Office Savings Banks cost twice as much for management and expenses as has been found sufficient in the case of various provincial Government Security Savings Banks, notably the National Security Savings Banks of Edinburgh, established by Act of Parliament in 1836, which allows £2 12*s*. 6*d*. interest to depositors, and has now on deposit upwards of £1,300,000?

Mr. FAWCETT: Sir, as the Post Office Savings Bank allows to depositors the important facility either of making fresh deposits or withdrawing money, after short notice, at any of the 7,000 offices throughout the Kingdom, no fair comparison can be made between the cost of conducting its business and that of other institutions which are managed like ordinary banks. I may, however, state that there is no such difference as that indicated by the hon. Member between the cost of conducting the business of the Post Office Savings Banks and that of the bank to which he refers, the difference being very trifling.

SCOTLAND—THE PROCURATOR FISCAL OF FRASERBURGH.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, If it is the case that, for some months past, there has been a dispute among the Fraserburgh magistrates as to whether Mr. Finlayson or Mr. Tarrass was the procurator fiscal; whether Mr. Tarrass, having raised an action in the Court of Session, was, on February 24th, declared by that Court to be the procurator fiscal of the burgh; whether, notwithstanding this decision of the Court of Session, on February 28th, Mr. Finlayson appeared in the Burgh Court as procurator fiscal, and, at his instance, a man named Thomas Hill was sentenced by the senior magistrate to ten days' imprisonment for breach of the peace alleged to have been committed on February 27th; and, what steps the Crown authorities intend taking to enforce the judgment of the Court of Session, and to protect the public against prosecutions by a gentleman whom the Court of Session has declared not to be the public prosecutor, before a magistrate who, notwithstanding the decree, persists in accepting him as such?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): Sir, it is the case that for some months past there has been a dispute as to whether Mr. Finlayson or Mr. Tarrass was Procurator Fiscal, as also that Mr. Tarrass raised an action in the Court of Session to have it found that he was Fiscal, and in that action he obtained decree in absence on or about the date here mentioned. It is also the fact that after the date of this decree in absence, Mr. Finlayson appeared in the Burgh Court as Procurator Fiscal on 28th February, and that at his instance Thomas Hill was sentenced by the Senior Magistrate to ten days' imprisonment for breach of the peace. It is to be kept in view that such a decree in absence may be opened up within a limited time, and it is stated by the Senior Magistrate that a doubt had existed as to its effect. It appears, however, that Mr. Tarrass has taken proceedings for obtaining an interdict against Mr. Finlayson acting as Fiscal, and if Mr. Finlayson does not carry the case further, it may be assumed that he will be interdicted from continuing so to act. In answer to the last part of the Question, I have to say that the appointment of the Burgh Fiscal does not rest with the Crown authorities, and that they have not hitherto seen cause to interfere in a dispute which appears to be in course of settlement by the proper tribunal.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the imprisonment of Thomas Hill, under the circumstances set forth in the preceding Question, Whether, considering the irregularity of the proceeding, he will order Hill's immediate release?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): Sir, the Secretary of State does not intend to order Hill's release. No objection was stated on the part of Hill to Mr. Finlayson's title to prosecute, and it does not appear that there was any doubt as to Hill's guilt, or as to the propriety of the sentence. If he should be advised that he would be likely to get the sentence quashed upon the ground that Mr. Finlayson was not entitled to prosecute, it is open to him to take the ordinary steps for that purpose.

POLICE PROTECTION (IRELAND)—THE EARL OF KENMARE'S KERRY ESTATE.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many police protection huts there are upon the Kerry estate of the Earl of Kenmare, and how many vacant evicted farms are under their protection; what outrages have been committed within the past three months in the parish of Molahiffe, in which the extra police tax is at the rate of two shillings in the pound; and, whether a sub-agent of the Earl of Kenmare and a constable on protection duty have not been returned for trial to the Kerry Spring Assizes, charged with one of the offences imputed to the district?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, there is one protection hut on Lord Kenmare's Kerry estate, and there are four evicted farms under the protection of four protection posts. There have been six outrages in the parish of Molahiffe during the past three months—all intimidation. No sub-agent or policeman has been returned for trial for one of the offences imputed to the district, but for a simple case of alleged forcible possession of a quarry in which a question of title arose.

JUDICATURE AMENDMENT ACT, 1875—THE JUDGES' RULES—JURISDICTION OF ENGLISH HIGH COURTS OVER DOMICILED SCOTCHMEN.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he can give any further information as to the alteration of the Rule under the Judicature Act to prevent domiciled Scotchmen being summoned to the English Courts, which he stated to be in draft on February 22nd; whether that draft alteration has been submitted to him; and, whether the proposed alteration is sufficient in his judgment to remove the hardship complained of; and, if not, whether he will take steps to induce Her Majesty's Government to insert in the Bill they propose to introduce in the other House for the amendment of the Judicature Act a provision to render the recurrence of such encroachments on the jurisdiction of the Scottish Courts impossible for the future?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I am not yet in a position to give any further information upon this matter. I have not yet seen the draft proposed alterations, which are still under consideration of Her Majesty's Judges.

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY—VENTILATING SHAFTS.

Mr. BUXTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, on consideration, he has found himself in a position to take steps to prevent the erection on the Thames Embankment of the proposed shafts by the Metropolitan District Railway; and, whether, to this end, he will see fit to oppose, or at least to support the opposition which will be given to the powers asked for by the Metropolitan District Railway, in their Metropolitan and District Railway (City Lines and Extensions) Bill, now awaiting a Second Reading by this House, until the scheme of the proposed shafts is abandoned?

Mr. PULESTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether there is any precedent for the Act of last Session, authorising the Metropolitan District Railway to interfere with some of the principal thoroughfares of the Metropolis without compensation; and, whether, from a sanitary point of view, some action should be taken so as to prevent the emission of poisonous gases into the thoroughfares and gardens frequented by the public?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, in answer to the Question of the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston), I may say that the only precedent I know for these proceedings on the part of the Metropolitan District Railway were similar proceedings by the Metropolitan Railway to establish ventilators in the middle of Marylebone Road. I am not, however, competent to state what would be the exact sanitary effect of the fumes emitted from those so-called ventilators. In answer to my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Buxton), I have no authority whatever to interfere in this matter, and as regards the Bill which is being promoted by the Metropolitan District Railway I have received a communication from the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) to the effect stated by my hon. Friend. The hon. Baronet says that as far as the Metropolitan Railway Company is concerned that Bill will not be proceeded with. I do not know how far that is final as disposing of the further progress of the Bill; but in any case, although I think as a private Member that almost any kind of opposition would be justifiable in cases of such an outrage as that complained of—yet I do not think I should be justified as a Member of the Government in opposing one Bill that is presumably unobjectionable, because the promoters of it have in a previous Session obtained powers which are now universally regretted.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS IN COUNTY KERRY.

Mr. TOTTENHAM asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that the Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act for the county Kerry have fixed the sittings of their Court at Cahirciveen for the 12th instant, the same day the assizes for the county begin; whether it is the case that they have been appealed to, to adjourn to a later day, but refused; whether the Chief Commissioners have been applied to with the same object, but declined to interfere; whether there are eighty-three Civil Bill appeals to be heard at the assizes, which will necessitate the attendance there of many of the local solicitors, whose clients also have land cases at Cahirciveen; whether in addition many of the parties interested in land cases are obliged to attend the assizes as jurors and otherwise; and, whether, in view of the inconvenience to all parties which must necessarily ensue, he will represent to the Chief Commissioners the propriety of their interference to prevent a miscarriage of justice?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the sittings of the Sub-Commissioners at Cahirciveen had been arranged in the beginning of January. Several requests had been made to them to postpone the sittings in consequence of the Kerry Assizes; but they had been compelled to refuse every application of that kind, as they thought that greater inconvenience would result from a postponement than if they went on simultaneously with the Assizes. There was an immense mass of business to be transacted, no less than 299 cases being entered for hearing. The Commissioners would, however, be ready on cause being shown to adjourn any case in which an application for adjournment was made. The number of Civil Bill appeals for hearing at the assizes was very small.

INDIA — HYDERABAD — THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY.

MR. M'LAGAN asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he will state the names of the new Council of Regency at Hyderabad; and, whether he will give an assurance that they will now be permitted to urge the claims of the Hyderabad State to the restoration of its Berar Provinces by constitutional means instead of being prevented from doing so, as was done in the case of the late Sir Salar Jung?

MR. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, the Council would be under the Presidency of the Nizam, and was framed as follows:—Nawab Bushir-ud-Dowlah, Nawab Kurshid, Jah, Rajah Narendur Rao, Peshkar, with Sir Salar Jung's eldest son, Mir Laik Ali, as secretary. The question of the claim of the Hyderabad State to the restoration of the Berar Provinces could not be considered till after the Nizam came of age, and they were in a position to judge what the character of the future administration of his territories would be.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—TRAINING COLLEGES.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is true that students have been refused admittance to some Training Colleges on the ground that they were not tall enough to join the Rifle Corps?

MR. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, he had heard of one case of the kind referred to in the Question; but the Committee of that particular College were not responsible, having made no rules on the subject. The Education Department had intimated that the practice was to be discontinued, on pain of losing the grant.

MR. BROADHURST asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would give the name of the institution in question?

[No reply was given.]

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—ST. JAMES'S PARK.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he will consider the desirability of allowing cabs and carriages to use the road which is now to be kept open all night, from Marlborough House Gate, across the St. James's Park to Queen Anne's Gate; if, in the event of the Suspension Bridge being considered unequal to such traffic, he will take such steps in regard to it and the road generally as will make it an available carriage way for the public?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, the bridge across the ornamental lake in St. James's Park was wholly unsuited for carriage traffic, and it would be impossible to open it for that purpose. He could not, also, hold out any hopes that he should be in a position to erect any stronger bridge in place of the existing one.

STATE OF IRELAND — APPREHENDED DISTRESS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the letter of the Most Rev. Dr. Logue, Bishop of Raphoe, in Donegal, which states that there is not workhouse accommodation for more than a small fraction of the distressed population, and that outdoor relief is necessary to prevent extensive starvation and destitution; and, what notice he intends to take of His Lordship's letter?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, his attention had been directed to the letter referred to. In case there should not be workhouse accommodation for more than a portion of the distressed population, the provisions of the 2nd section of the Irish Poor Relief Extension Act would come into operation, and outdoor relief to able-bodied persons would then, where necessary, be afforded. Such outdoor relief could not legally be granted while there was room in the workhouse. With reference to the letter of the Most Rev. Dr. Logue, he might say that the principle of the Poor Law was that the workhouse existed, not only for the relief of distress, but as a test of distress; and it could not be too clearly understood that the Government intended to abide by that principle. Great suffering might follow if those to whom the people looked up for guidance suffered them to be in any doubt as to the intention of the Government.

ARMY—THE COMMITTEE ON ARMY DRESS.

Colonel BARNE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has any objection to lay the Report of the Committee on Army Dress, which was appointed last year, upon the Table of the House?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, there could be no objection to laying this Report on the Table.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS—THE EMPLOYMENT OF PENSIONERS.

Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for War, When the Committee, of which Lord Morley is President, inquiring into the employment of Army and Navy Pensioners as clerks, &c. in the Public Departments, are expected to Report?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works, and not Lord Morley, is the President of the Committee. My right hon. Friend informs me that the Committee have completed their labours, and hoped to report the result of their investigations to the Treasury in a few days.

Mr. O'Donnell

WEST INDIES (JAMAICA)—THE SEIZURE OF THE "FLORENCE."

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Why the Secretary of State's message to Sir A. Musgrave, alluded to in Despatch No. 25, "Florence Papers," has not been printed and published; why the message of the Governor, alluded to at the end of the same Despatch, has not been printed and published; why the Despatch from Lord Kimberley, alluded to in Despatch No. 27 of the same Papers, has not been printed and published; and, if he will cause these documents to be at once printed and circulated?

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, he should like to know why there had not been printed with Despatch No. 35 in the Blue Book the instructions which had been forwarded by the Colonial Office to the Governor of Jamaica, relating to the appointment of two official members of the Legislative Council?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that the only reason for the omission of these documents was the desire to lighten a Blue Book as much as possible of mere repetitions, and of what did not add anything to the information required. Two of them were only short telegrams, and their contents were obvious from the context. To satisfy the noble Lord, however, he had brought these Papers down to the House; and if, after seeing them, the noble Lord really thought they ought to be printed, he would have them issued. The despatch was omitted because it contained some paragraphs connected with a totally different concern. As to the Question of the hon. Member (Baron Henry de Worms), he could not answer it without Notice.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked whether the Under Secretary would issue the extract of the Despatch to which he had alluded?

Baron HENRY DE WORMS said, as regarded the "Florence Papers," it was very necessary that hon. Members should know what was the nature of the omitted despatches, seeing that the question would probably be discussed during the evening in Committee of Supply.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he now had had a moment to read the despatch, and could assure the hon. Member that the instructions were only a telegraphic direction to appoint two gentlemen named as members of the Legislature. That was all.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—PURCHASE OF THE BUILDING AT PORT SAID.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, From whom the purchase of the building at Port Said, acquired for the British Expedition to Egypt, was made; when the purchase was negotiated; whether any Correspondence as to the advisability and propriety of the purchase passed between the Treasury and the Admiralty; and, if so, if he will publish such Correspondence; what is the use now being made of the house; and, whether it is intended to dispose of the premies by sale when no longer used by the British Forces?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, the noble Lord has asked a series of Questions which formed the subject of debate in Committee of Supply on Monday evening, on which occasion the Committee rejected, by 156 votes to 19, an Amendment moved by the noble Lord. I will, however, briefly answer the Question on the Paper, with an apology to the House for occupying its time by a repetition of statements already made. The purchase was made by an agent of the Admiralty from the legal representatives of the late Prince Henry of the Netherlands. The negotiations, which took place in London, were concluded in time to enable Admiral Hoskins to occupy the house when the expeditionary force arrived in the Suez Canal. On grounds of urgency the purchase was made without any correspondence with the Treasury as to the advisability and propriety of the purchase. The house has recently been used for the Royal Marines, and no decision, as already explained, has been come to regarding its future disposal.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked whether any correspondence had taken place since the purchase between the Admiralty and the Treasury as to the advisability or propriety of the purchase, and the propriety of making the purchase without consulting them?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; the sanction of the Treasury has been received for the purchase.

EGYPT—THE NEW INDEMNITY LOAN.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is by the advice of Lord Dufferin, and of the British financial adviser, that the Egyptian Government is providing for the new indemnity loan by cutting down the expenses for the general administration of the country?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the manner of providing funds for the indemnities awarded by the Commission has not yet been decided. I stated on Tuesday that the Egyptian Government was introducing economy into every Department of the Public Service, so as to avoid imposing fresh taxation on the already heavily-burdened peasantry.

THE SEEDS ACT—SUPPLY OF SEEDS, IRELAND.

MR. LEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the statement that there is no seed for planting, or means to purchase it, in some of the distressed districts; and, if the Government will give assistance for the supply of seed this year?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the small occupiers of land to whom seed was given by loan in 1880 still owe the Exchequer some £300,000 in respect of the debt then incurred. Applications are frequently being made to me to have the balance of the loan remitted; I received one such application from a Board of Guardians only yesterday. Under these circumstances the Government are not prepared to recommend to Parliament that any exceptional measuress hould be again taken this year for the supply of seed.

KILMAINHAM PRISON (RELEASE OF MR. PARNELL, &c.)

NOTICE OF MOTION (SIR S. NORTHCOTE).

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will afford him an opportunity of bringing on the Motion, of which Notice has been given, for a Select Committee to inquire into all the negotiations and circumstances connected with the release of Mr. Parnell, M.P., Mr. Dillon, M.P., and Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., from Kilmainham Prison in the spring of 1882?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I think that the House generally will probably anticipate the answer that I am about to make to this inquiry. It is that the Government adhere to the decision which on their own part they have already announced by the mouth of my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War. It would be idle, Sir, and I think an abuse of my privilege, were I to attempt to recount all the considerations that have weighed upon their minds in leading them to that conclusion; but I will just mention two of the most important. One of those considerations is that we conceive that the question whether censure was due to the Government in respect of these transactions has, upon a recent occasion, been very fully debated and decided by a vote of this House. And the second consideration is that, in our opinion, the repetition or continuance of those debates would not be favourable to the impartial administration of justice, under very trying circumstances, in Ireland, nor to the general cause of good government and contentment in that country.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, the Government have now, for the third time, declined to give any assistance to those who desire to bring forward a Motion which had its origin in a suggestion and challenge made by the Prime Minister. Under these circumstances, I have only to say that I feel it both useless and unnecessary for me to persevere in the Motion—useless because, without the assistance of the Government, I have no real chance of being able to bring the matter forward, and unnecessary because I think the inferences that will be drawn from the answer of the Government are quite obvious, and need no emphasizing on my part.

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION—LEGISLATION.

Mr. HENEAGE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering the severe and continued depression in agriculture, and the generally admitted necessity of securing the tenants compensation for unexhausted improvements, the Government will introduce their Bill relating to this subject before Easter; and, whether they will give it precedence over the London Government Bill and other measures for which there is neither the same commanding necessity nor immediate urgency?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, in the present state of Public Business, Her Majesty's Government have no anticipation of being able to introduce before Easter any of the several important measures announced in the Queen's Speech, on account of the want of time available for the purpose; and I may also say that, in my opinion, it is not a wise course, with reference to the real acceleration of Business, that the Government should introduce a very large number of measures at one time, and that it is much better, both for the measures advanced and the measures postponed, that they should only be introduced at a period when there is a reasonable chance of some real progress being made. In regard to precedence being given to this Bill, it would be premature if I were to attempt at this time to lay down the order in which the Government will endeavour to proceed with the various important measures before them. I have only to say that not only do the Government admit and feel very strongly the general strength of the claims for a Bill of this kind, but they also recognize the accession of strength which those claims derive from the peculiar circumstances of the case and the present times.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement made by Mr. Justice O'Hagan on the subject of the Land Law Act and its interpretation by the Court of Appeal:—

> "I declare it would baffle any human intellect to know what is now to be deemed an unreasonable or unfair covenant, having regard to the Act of 1870. It has been held by the Court of Appeal [illegible] covenant absolutely debarring a tenan[illegible]ny pretence, from making improvements [illegible] unfair;"

and, whether he is prepared to introduce a measure for the purpose of amending the Act?

Mr. GIBSON wished, before the right hon. Gentleman answered the Question of the hon. Member, to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman had read the whole of the judgments of the Court of Appeal relating to the matter referred to by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I have had no opportunity of reading the judgments to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman refers. Strictly, my answer to the Question of the hon. Member amounts to a request that he will have the kindness to postpone his Question for a few days, probably until Monday, inasmuch as we have felt it our duty to refer to Ireland for the purpose of obtaining information, and of consulting with the Lord Chancellor of Ireland on the subject.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked the Prime Minister whether Her Majesty's Government would consent to stop Supply at an earlier hour to-night for the purpose of enabling the Seed Advances (Scotland) Bill, the debate on which had been adjourned the other evening, to be further discussed?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the necessities of the Government, and I may say of the country, with regard to Supply are such that we shall not be able to ask the House to stop Supply at an early hour even for the purpose of forwarding a measure of our own, still less can we do this for the sake of discussing a Bill promoted by a private Member.

VACCINATION ACTS—CASE OF MR. ARMFIELD.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a case decided in the Westminster Police Court by the sitting Magistrate, Mr. Newton, on the 10th February, when the Magistrate fined Mr. Armfield for the non-vaccination of his child, though he proved that he had transmitted, according to the statute, to the vaccination officer a certificate from a registered medical practitioner "that the child was not in a fit state to be successfully vaccinated," as it was suffering from an eruptive attack; whether such a certificate is not by Law "a reasonable excuse;" whether the same magistrate ordered the defendant into custody until the amount was paid, the penalties being, in the first instance, recoverable by distress and not imprisonment; whether such imprisonment in a police cell, with ordinary criminals, was lawful; and, whether he will inquire into the case?

MR. HIBBERT: Sir, a Report has been received in this case from the sitting magistrate, who states that he did not consider the certificate furnished by the defendant to be a "reasonable excuse" for his failure to comply with the law. Against this decision the defendant might have appealed, but he did not avail himself of that privilege. The magistrate adds that he did not order the defendant into custody. The latter refused to pay the fine, and the gaoler, thinking that he was responsible for the defendant's safe-keeping, placed him for a few minutes in the cells while he went for instructions to the chief clerk, who directed his immediate discharge. For such temporary detention there would appear to be statutory sanction under Jervis's Act (11 and 12 Vic., c. 43, sec. 20).

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SITTINGS IN SUPPLY.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Prime Minister, Whether he was aware that on Monday last the sittings in Committee of Supply had been kept up until half-past 1 o'clock in the morning; and also whether it was the intention of the Government to continue the Sittings in Supply until a late hour this evening, and this, in the face of the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman himself, that half-past 12 o'clock was a reasonable hour at which to close Supply? He asked this Question, in the first place, for the purpose of obtaining information; and, secondly, with the object of drawing the attention of the country to the lateness of the hour at which the public money was voted by the House of Commons.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the noble Lord is perfectly correct with regard to the substance of my declaration with regard to the reasonable hour for closing Supply on ordinary occasions. I, however, also stated that the Supplementary Estimates must be regarded as exceptions to the ordinary rule. We are under necessities so stringent with regard to the Supplementary Estimates on the present occasion, that I am afraid that we shall have to tax the patience of the House to-night. There are, of course, other methods of proceeding which we might have adopted as a means of getting out of our difficulty, such, for instance, as by Morning Sittings; but our object is not to have Morning Sittings unless we cannot avoid resorting to them.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—THE EASTER HOLIDAYS.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the Prime Minister, When it was anticipated that the Easter Holidays would commence, and what would be their probable duration?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, as soon as the Supplementary Estimates—I do not refer to the Estimates for the present year—have been voted, I hope to be able to answer the Question of the hon. Member.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY — CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1882-3).

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £500, Friendly Societies Registry.

MR. WARTON said, that a gross miscalculation seemed to have been made with regard to this Estimate, inasmuch as the sum now asked for was 70 per cent in addition to the original Estimate of £500. He thought some explanation ought to be given of this large discrepancy.

MR. COURTNEY said, the additional sum was required in order to meet the expenses necessary to pay for the preparation of independant and fuller actuarial Returns than had been previously given, in order to guide Friendly Societies in their future operations. The preparation of these Returns involved a great amount of extra work, and hence the additional charge for an increase in the actuarial staff.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £20,280, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Stationery, Printing, and Paper, Binding, and Printed Books for the several Departments of Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and some Dependencies, and for the two Houses of Parliament, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishment of the Stationery Office, and the cost of Stationery Office Publications, and of the Gazette Offices; and for sundry Miscellaneous Services, including a Grant in Aid of the publication of Parliamentary Debates."

MR. BUXTON moved to reduce the Vote by £500, on account of the cost of distributing Parliamentary Papers to Members of the House. The hon. Member said, he thought he need not apologize for taking up the time of the Committee with regard to this question, seeing that the Secretary to the Treasury, in answer to a question which he (Mr. Buxton) had put to him on the subject, had stated his opinion that the matter in question was one which had better be settled by debate in the House rather than by means of a simple answer to an interrogation. He had therefore raised the question, because, while they were all anxious to see economy promoted in every branch of the Public Service by the introduction of all possible savings and reforms that might be found feasible, both sides of the House found it somewhat difficult to to select a place at which such reforms should begin. On this occasion he thought he had found a point on which the Committee could put its finger in order to effect some economy. He thought he had good authority for believing that economy might be effected in reference to the distribution of Parliamentary Papers to private Members and also to the Public Offices. Two years ago—in 1881—a Joint Committee of both Houses was appointed to consider the whole subject. The Committee sat and took evidence, more especially that of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Department. They presented a Report, in which they submitted various recommendations, particularly as to three of the points referred to them—namely, the storage of Papers, the printing for the two Houses of Parliament, and the distribution of Papers to Members. As to the recommendations in reference to storage and printing, he thought the Committee might fairly congratulate the present Secretary to the Treasury and his Predecessor upon the satisfactory results which were found to result from putting in force the recommendations of the Committee. He believed that a very large saving had already been made in regard to the waste Parliamentary Papers — of which an enormous store was found—large numbers of which had never been, and were never likely to be, required. But he would venture to call the attention of the Committee to the third point—namely, that as to the distribution of Parliamentary Papers to Members. He could not go very fully into the matter, because he had not had much notice of this Vote coming on; but he thought that all Members would agree with him that the present mode of delivering these Papers was not only wasteful and uneconomical in the extreme, but that at times it entailed a very great amount of trouble upon Members who were in search of some particular information embodied in Parliamentary Papers, a vast mass of which filled up their houses. In searching for information on particular subjects a doubt and difficulty, which most hon. Members must have experienced, was as to whether a particular Paper had been issued generally, or whether it was included only in what was called the "short list" of Papers, which the authorities of the House, having made a selection, did not think it necessary to send to Members generally. He thought he was right in saying that a very large and constantly-increasing number of Papers were included in this "short list." It was hoped that the House would see its way to adopting the suggestions made by the Controller of the Stationery Office in the course of his evidence before the Joint Committee, to which he had referred. Those suggestions were as follows:—

"1. The present system of general delivery of all Papers, as a matter of course, to cease.

"2. A Schedule to be circulated daily, weekly, or otherwise, as might be thought most convenient, giving reference, number, short title, and short note of contents of all Papers presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty, or printed by order of either House since the date of the Schedule last issued.

"3. A full subject index to be issued at the close of each Session, to be, if required, bound up with the Schedule, which would thus become simple and convenient books of reference to all Parliamentary Papers issued.

"4. Members of both Houses to be supplied with small books on demand; each demand being addressed at the back to the authority to whom application for Papers should be made. Any Member, on filling in and signing a demand, or making otherwise written application, to be supplied with any Paper in the Schedule, whether or not presented to or printed by the House to which he may belong.

"5. Any Member wishing it to receive, as at present, all Papers issued to the House to which he may belong, on making a general application in writing to that effect.

"6. In cases of Papers of special interest a full delivery to be made to Members of either House on an order to this effect being given in writing; if a Command Paper by a Cabinet Minister; if a Paper printed by the House of Lords by the Clerk of the Parliaments; if printed by order of the House of Commons by the Speaker."

This was the scheme of suggestions made by the Controller of the Stationery Department, and the Joint Committee to which he had referred, having considered the scheme on its merits, as to its feasibility and its convenience to hon. Members of the House, decided that such a scheme was not "unworthy the adoption of the House." The Committee used the word "adoption," though in the draft Report hon. Members would find the word "consideration" in place of "adoption." This discrepancy was explained by the fact that after the draft Report was prepared the Committee reconsidered the matter at some length, and in the end, by a very large majority — in fact, he believed there was no division — decided upon using the word "adoption" instead of "consideration." The Secretary to the Treasury was himself a Member of the Joint Committee, and it was satisfactory that he had now become responsible for the statement contained in the Report, that the scheme suggested by the Controller of the Stationery Department was "not unworthy the adoption of the House." They had very good authority for believing that the introduction and adoption of such a scheme would be attended with great convenience to Members, and would involve in a short time—he did not say in the first or the second year, but certainly at no distant date—a very large saving in public expense. The present expenditure of the Department was a very large sum—not less than £560,000 or £570,000 a-year—and it was not only a very large, but it was a constantly increasing sum; and if this expenditure could be decreased without interfering with the facilities which hon. Members have for obtaining information, he thought the House would agree with him that such a reform would be very advantageous. The present system was not altogether a satisfactory one, inasmuch as it was not easy to trace what Papers were and were not distributed; but, by the scheme of the Controller, information would be given to Members each morning as to the Papers issued, and they could at once notify to the proper authority those which they wished to have supplied to them. Another difficulty, under the present system, was that there were two modes of distribution—one distribution at the private residences of Members, and another distribution at the Public Offices to Ministers. He thought it would be well for Ministers to get their Papers at their private houses, by which means they would receive them several hours earlier than at their Offices. Another advantage would be that Members who were temporarily absent from town would be able to have such Papers as they required delivered to them in the country. There were many other respects in which the Controller's scheme would be advantageous, and he therefore commended it to the favourable consideration of the House. In conclusion, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £19,780, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Stationery, Printing, and Paper, Binding, and Printed Books for the several Departments of Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and some Dependencies, and for the two Houses of Parliament, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishment of the Stationery Office, and the cost of Stationery Office Publications, and of the Gazette Offices; and for sundry Miscellaneous Services, including a Grant in Aid of the Publication of Parliamentary Debates." — (*Mr. Buxton.*)

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought the present was scarcely the most appropriate occasion to discuss the whole of the scheme which had been unfolded by the hon. Member for Andover. It would, he thought, come much more properly in the debate on the main Estimate than in the consideration of a Supplementary Estimate to a sum already voted and spent. If the hon. Member would favour the House by bringing forward his proposal again on the Estimate for the coming year, he felt sure that the Committee would give to the subject all the consideration and attention which it deserved. What he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) wanted from his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury was an explanation of the very great increase in the Vote. He should like to know whether it was caused by the Autumn Session; and, if so, whether that was thought to be a prudent way of spending the nation's money? He should also like to know how it came about that so large a sum as £6,000 was put down for paper. This seemed to him to be an enormous sum as compared with £5,500 for printing. There were several other points which would, no doubt, suggest themselves to his hon. Friend, and for which he should have asked for fuller explanation than appeared on the face of the Estimate had there been more time to consider them.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he also wished to ask for some explanation as to the increase in the cost of Parliamentary records. The original Estimate was for £5,100, and now an additional £1,250 was asked. Perhaps the addition was due—as in the case of the additional grant of £1,000 to Messrs. Hansard, without doubt, it was—to the holding of an Autumn Session; but, in any case, the matter was one calling for fuller explanation.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND also desired to put a question to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. In the first place, however, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the enormous amount of the Supplementary Estimates for this Department. No less than £20,000 for this year, 1882-83; and £19,600 for last year, 1881-82. Now, it was a bad thing to over-estimate the probable expenditure of a Department, because, if a larger grant was made than was really necessary, it led to extravagance; but he was not at all sure that a large under-estimate was not worse, for it led to large Supplementary Estimates, and lessened the control of Parliament over expenditure. In February, 1882, the then Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Frederick Cavendish) deplored the steady and most unsatisfactory increase of expense in this Department; and the House, upon his Motion, passed last year certain Resolutions affecting this Department. The question which he desired to put to the Financial Secretary was, whether he could inform the Committee what had been the practical effect, if any, of the working of these Resolutions. He desired also to know if the expense of Foreign Office printing, which was commented upon last year, had received consideration? He could not conclude without saying that he did not hold the Controller of the Department responsible for this great increase of expense. On the contrary, he believed that that officer had acted with great vigour and efficiency, and had saved the country considerable expense. But, in fact, that officer was the servant of other Departments, and had no power to check the Papers or demands of those Departments. He was inclined to think that a Committee should be again appointed to investigate and report upon the working of this Department.

MR. DILLWYN said, he thought there should be some explanation of the discrepancy between the main Vote and the Supplementary Estimate. The main Vote was one of £388,944, but the foot note put it down at £530,000, and he wished to know the reason of this very large increase. The Department ought to have estimated more closely, and not to have found it necessary to come to the Committee for so large a Supplementary Estimate as was now asked to be voted. He could see no very great reason for the large additional sum demanded. Some increase was due to the holding of an Autumn Session. It could not, however, be all due to that cause; and he hoped the Committee would have afforded to them a full explanation of the reasons which had led to this great excess over the original Estimate.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, the officials nominally responsible for this Vote were those at the Treasury; but, practically, they had no control over it. The Heads of the Departments were men of great power, and they demanded just whatever supplies they pleased, the Stationery Office being bound to comply with their demands. If the Committee wished to effect any economical reform in this Department they must go back upon the Treasury, which could alone do what was necessary. In the present instance, the Committee had no help but to pass the Vote, inasmuch as it was a Supplementary Estimate for money which had already been spent. Hence it was that he deprecated, in the strongest possible manner, the sending up of Supplementary Estimates over which the Committee could exercise no check or control. He had on many occasions tried to get the accounts sent up in some intelligible form, so that any Member of the House could understand them, but hitherto without success. The Offices adhered to the old-fashioned form of putting down lump sums, which it was next to impossible to analyze; and, therefore, they could not get at the root of the evil. He hoped the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would pay particular attention to this point, and see to it that reforms were effected.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS agreed with hon. Members in thinking that the matter was one requiring very careful consideration at the hands of the Committee, for the reason mainly that the increases had not been in particular items, but had pervaded the whole Estimate. It was quite easy to understand that some sudden pressure might come upon a particular Department, and that a Supplementary Estimate might be necessary to meet such pressure; but he could not understand how it came about that mistaken Estimates had been made in the first instance with regard to nine-tenths of the items. The amount of the excess they were asked to vote was £20,000 over the original Estimate; and he should like to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury whether this was a proportion of excess which might be expected in another year, or whether it was a special circumstance attaching only to this particular financial period? He asked this because, as the Committee would see, the original Estimate upon which this excess Vote was asked amounted to £530,000, while the Estimates for the current year, 1882-3, recently presented, amounted to £540,000. How could this be explained? Had there been any especial expenses incurred, or was the sum of £540,000 mere matter of guess work, with the possibility of a still larger Supplementary Estimate next year? The Committee had, in his view, a right to some fuller explanation on this point than had yet been afforded them by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. J. HOLLOND said, there was another point to which he should like to draw the attention of the Committee. It was certain that in many directions there was room for economy; but, on the other hand, he thought that at a comparatively small increase of expense many of the Returns issued from Public Offices might be very much further utilized. It had often struck him as being surprising that many of the Returns—for instance, relating to the doings of local authorities in various parts of the country—were not sent down to the local authorities themselves, for the purpose of conveying what was, in very many instances, most valuable information. Then, again, there were Returns being constantly moved for by the President of the Local Government Board and by private Members on matters relating to pauperism, which Returns would, in many cases, be very useful to Boards of Guardians, to whom, in his view, they ought to be sent officially, in order to assist in reforming the administration of the Poor Law.

Mr. SALT said, he thought there was not much use in moving the reduction of a Supplementary Estimate except by way of protest. The money had already been spent, and unless the Committee could protest in a practical way by reducing expenditure, he did not see that much good was gained. In regard to the observations in which the hon. Member for Andover (Mr. Buxton) commended his Amendment to the Committee, he would only make one or two remarks which occurred to him at the moment. He understood the hon. Member to suggest that a list of the printed Parliamentary Papers should be sent to Members of the House each morning, and that they should choose from that list the Papers which they wished to have sent to them. There appeared to his mind to be several difficulties in the way of carrying out this suggestion. It very often, or at any rate not unfrequently, happened that at critical periods Papers were laid on the Table late at night, which it was of the utmost importance should be in the hands of Members at the earliest moment on the following morning. This would not be possible if hon. Members were only to be supplied on each morning with lists of the Papers, and not with copies of the Papers themselves. Another difficulty that suggested itself to his mind was as to the number of copies of each Paper that would have to be printed. The issuing Departments would be left in great doubt as to the number of copies that might be wanted; and while in some cases they might cause to be printed a large number of copies where few were needed, in others the supply might fall very far short of what was requisite. He would wish to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury to give the Committee an assurance that before the debate on the regular Estimate for 1882-3 came on in the Spring in ordinary course, he would consider the matter, and tell the House whether he would or would not be prepared with some scheme of reform in this Department. The hon. Member might, on mature consideration and further examination, find the present system the best on the whole; but if, on the other hand, he found it within his power to propose some efficient plan of economy, he would find that he had the very hearty co-operation of both sides of the House. He should also like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury why details of an excess of expenditure largely exceeding the original Estimate and pervading the whole of its items were not given to the House at the commencement of the Autumn Session? He trusted the Secretary to the Treasury would consider this matter, and afford some satisfactory explanation with regard to this increase of £20,000.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he was unable to support the proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for Andover (Mr. Buxton), which seemed to him, in the first place, altogether to depart from the gravamen of the charge against the Estimate; and, so far as the small change his hon. Friend had suggested went, he was disposed to agree very much with the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Salt) that it would be a matter of inconvenience to carry out the proposal to the extent contemplated. There were a number of Papers kept back from Members, because they were not applied for, which would be much better circulated amongst them. There was, for instance, the Report of the Royal Mint, in connection with which there were matters of very great public interest, and he believed that attention to the Report would lead to a considerable saving in that Department. The hon. Member asked what was the use of issuing a large mass of Papers which were only read, perhaps, by 10 or 20. But that was not the point—the knowledge of their being in the hands of Members was considered to be a useful and necessary check. Again, there were the Reports sent from the Consulates abroad to the British Government. These were not distributed until they were asked for; and how many Members applied for them? [Mr. Courtney: The Consular Reports are distributed.] He could assure hon. Gentlemen that the Consular Reports of Siam and Japan were in the list of "Command" Papers, which were only given to hon. Members on being applied for; and his hon. Friend had entirely overlooked the fact that this list was handed to Members every day. That, however, was a small matter. They had before them the fact that this Vote was increasing by leaps and bounds; and although he was quite willing to admit that the present Controller of the Stationery Department was a very able and efficient officer, that he had introduced some reforms and carried out certain suggestions, he was bound to say that he entertained a strong opinion that, whenever there was a large increase in any of the spending Departments, the way to meet it was by the appointment of a Select Committee, for the purpose of investigating the matter. He agreed with the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) that this was just one of those cases in which the appointment of a Committee would probably lead to a very considerable saving. He considered that the very fact that there was a large increased expenditure in connection with the Department was a reason why that expenditure should be looked upon with suspicion. He could not agree with all that had been said with regard to the Supplementary Estimates; but the demand for £20,000 in the present Vote was so extraordinary that the Committee were bound to ask from the Government a full explanation as to the increased expenditure, and the exact nature of the work in connection with which it had been incurred. The Committee wished to know why this increased expenditure had been incurred; and whether it had been incurred because the Departments were so ignorant of what they were likely to require that they did not bring in their Estimates at the proper time, but came forward at the end of the Session with a Supplementary Estimate for £20,000. He was now able, having referred to the list, to satisfy his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury that some of the Consular Reports were only distributed to hon. Members when applied for. It happened that there were only five Papers on the list this year, and under the terms of distribution which he had described, there was the Report of the Consul in the Corea, a Memorandum on the trade between Japan and the Corea, Reports from the Consuls in China, and the Consular Report from Siam. So that out of the five Papers presented up to that time for the year 1883, four of them were Consular Reports, which were only given to Members on being applied for. If his hon. Friend would withdraw the Motion to reduce the Vote by £500, which he (Mr. Rylands) and his hon. Friends could not support, and if the Secretary to the Treasury did not give satisfactory replies to the questions he had urged, hon. Gentlemen on those Benches would feel it their duty to support a Motion for the specific reduction of the Vote, and to ascertain the opinion of the Committee as to whether that reduction should or should not take place.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, the Committee had a right to know why, in the face of the Vote of £530,000 taken last year, the Department which had spent so much money should now come to the Committee with a Supplementary Estimate for £20,280. There had been, as hon. Members would see by the detailed account of the Vote, an increase upon almost every item of expenditure; and he said they had a right to ask for information as to the excess of £3,000 over the original Estimate of £18,000 for Printing, &c., for Stationery Office Publications, and the excess of £1,250 under letter O for Parliamentary Records on the original Estimate of £5,100, which was equal to more than 20 per cent. These were matters upon which they were entitled to detailed information, in order that they might be assured that the money had been rightly spent, and that the causes of the present Vote could not have been foreseen. The fact must not be lost sight of that the practice of putting forward Supplementary Estimates tended very much to withdraw from public notice the actual expenditure in the various Departments, which would doubtless receive more complete examination at the hands of Members were the whole amount placed before them when the Estimates for the year were brought forward. The Committee having been brought face to face with such an exceptional increase of cost in respect of the Stationery Office, he trusted that the fullest explanation would be afforded by the Government upon the items to which he had called attention.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he had not quite so voracious an appetite for Blue Books as his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands); those he received were almost sufficient for him. At the same time, he did not think the Committee agreed with the hon. Member for Andover (Mr. Buxton) in thinking that his proposal was a desirable one; or, at all events, he believed there was a concurrence of opinion that the point raised by the Motion before the Committee might be discussed with more advantage on the general Estimates than on the present occasion. He believed some hon. Members near him wished to take the sense of the Committee on a reduction of the Vote to the extent of £5,000. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Andover, however, stood in the way of this; and, therefore, with all respect to him, they would be exceedingly glad if he would withdraw it. Now, he had this complaint to make—that the printing was very badly done. He had, on two or three occasions, asked Questions of Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench with reference to Bills which had not been presented to the House within a reasonable time; but he had not been able to get any answers to them. The reason of this was that no person was specifically responsible in the matter. For example, a few days ago the Bankruptcy Bill was laid on the Table of the House, and one or two printed copies were placed in the Library. This Bill was wanted not only for the information of Members themselves, but the Members connected with commercial towns were exceedingly anxious to get copies of it for their constituents. Nevertheless, they were only able to send the Bill down that day. Now, having some technical knowledge of printing, he was in a position to state that if they once set up a Bill it was absurd to say they could not strike off any number of copies. That was one incident. Another was that an hon. Friend sitting near him, who wished to make certain remarks on one of the Votes in Class VII., which related to special packets for the conveyance of distinguished persons across the Channel, had asked for a Return of the names of those gentlemen. The Return was agreed to, and he believed it had been laid on the Table of the House. But it had not been distributed, although it was Thursday, and the Return had been ordered to be printed on Monday last. They were exceedingly anxious to know who the distinguished persons were, before voting the money required for carrying them from this country. He hoped that an explanation of these matters would now be given by someone on the Treasury Bench. He did not know whether the Secretary to the Treasury represented the Stationery Department; and, as he had said before, he had never yet discovered by whom it was represented. But it must be understood that they could not go on voting vast sums of money for the Department when they were always being put off with old excuses on the part of Ministers, who did not want Returns to be in the hands of Members. The usual answer was that—"They were very sorry, but the printer was not ready with the Papers." All that was plainly nonsense and sham; but even if it were true, then by all means let them have some other printer who could do the work. Their specific complaint was that they did not get the Returns promised to the House within a reasonable time of the first copies being presented. Speaking technically, there was not the slightest necessity for this delay, and a better arrangement ought to exist, seeing that they paid something like the sum of £500,000 annually for the Office.

Mr. SCHREIBER said, the last three years, as he understood it, had been years of Liberal economy; but during that time the public had been startled, and were now not a little perplexed, by a continued increase in the Civil Service Estimates. He thought hon. Members would perform a good service if, under the circumstances, they could help the public to understand why that increase had taken place, and under what heads. He supposed the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would tell him that among the principal heads of increase was to be included that on account of the Post Office Vote, for which no Member of that House was more responsible than himself (Mr. Schreiber). But he anticipated that reply of the hon. Gentleman by saying that he accepted the responsibility, and that all the money spent in connection with the Post Office had been well spent. If this year was to be regarded as a year of Liberal economy, and 1880 as a year of Conservative extravagance, he thought it would be only fair to compare the expenditure which had taken place in respect of the Stationery Office in those two years. In 1880 there was spent £460,000, and for the year ending on the 31st of March, 1883, there would have been spent no less a sum than £550,280, the difference being £90,000, and equivalent to an annual increase of £30,000 for this Vote alone. He thought it would be a profitable exercise for the Financial Secretary to explain to the Committee and the country the causes of that increase of expenditure. So far as that increase resulted from the Autumn Session, which was held for the purpose of passing the New Rules of Procedure, he would like to have it precisely stated what the Autumn Session had cost. He could make a pretty shrewd guess as to the value of the New Rules; but what the country and the House wanted to know was the amount of money they had cost. He apprehended that the greater part of the £20,000 now asked for was to be placed to that account; and, if he was not mistaken, the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy) pointed in the same direction. Therefore, he trusted the Committee would receive from the Financial Secretary an explanatory statement, setting forth the causes which had led to this large increase in the expenditure of the Stationery Office.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR begged leave to remind the Committee that the Stationery Department was three or four years ago re-organized. Now, re-organization was a process which went on every now and then in the Civil Service, and with the invariable result of increasing the charge on the public. The Controller of the Stationery Department, about two years and a-half ago, was ordered to render an account, which was, indeed, the first Report rendered by the Controller. The interesting document went to show that re-organization would secure a considerable reduction in the Stationery Vote. Among other things, the Controller reported that in the item of salaries alone a saving of £4,000 a-year could be effected. But, notwithstanding this, the charge for salaries, instead of decreasing, had shown a regular increase. Again, the item for printing had gone up since the re-organization took place from £136,000 to £160,000. The charge for paper had also risen from £95,000 to £120,000, and so on through the great majority of the items in the Vote. He thought, however, that some of the criticism which they had heard that evening with reference to the Department was very unfair. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), for instance, did not hesitate to attribute to the Stationery Office the delay which often took place in furnishing Government Reports and Papers; but everyone acquainted with the facts would know that no blame attached to the Stationery Office at all. It was the Departments concerned in those Papers that were alone responsible; and if there was one Department more to blame than another for the delay of which the hon. Member complained, it was that of the Board of Trade, whose Reports were invariably in arrear. Therefore, he said that to fix the blame on the Stationery Office was extremely unjust. But, during the last three years, the Vote had increased from £469,000 to £530,000; and, according to the Estimate for 1883-4, they were to be asked to grant a still larger sum. Now, he had no doubt that the money was really required. He believed the Stationery Office was administered as well as any Department in the Civil Service; but he wished to urge on the Secretary to the Treasury the desirability of securing an annual Report from the Controller, in order that ample and detailed information might be afforded to the House with regard to the regular increase which took place in the expenditure of the Department. If that Report were supplied, he was satisfied the House would see that there was reason for the expenditure; but, in the absence of it, he was equally sure that the continued increase under this head would be challenged.

MR. W. H. SMITH expressed the hope that the Motion of the hon. Member for Andover (Mr. Buxton) would not be further proceeded with. He did not think that the proposal of the hon. Member would conduce to the saving of a single sixpence; whereas, on the other hand, it would, undoubtedly, cause great inconvenience to hon. Members, by depriving them of a large amount of information which ought to be placed in their hands. Any Gentleman having a knowledge of printing would be aware that the expense did not consist in the distribution of copies which were in existence, or in the multiplication of copies within a reasonable limit. There would, therefore, be no saving to the public if the suggestion of the hon. Member were adopted. There was, however, a method by which a considerable saving both of public time and money could be effected —namely, by the condensation of some of the voluminous documents presented to Parliament. He was sure hon. Members would agree that the exceeding detail in which public Papers were given constituted a public misfortune, and that much of the documentary matter put into their hands might, by the exercise of a little labour on the part of gentlemen engaged in Public Departments, be decreased in bulk, and, at the same time, increased in value. It must be borne in mind that for many years past this Vote had continued to increase; and, although efforts had been made to check that increase, they had failed in their object, because the Stationery Department was the servant, so to speak, of a great number of Public Offices, and it was out of the power of the Controller of the Department, unless backed up by some superior authority, to resist the demands made upon him by the other Offices. However convenient it might be to have an Office charged with supplying the various Public Departments with the stationery and printing required, there was this to be said—that it was very difficult to bring home to the Heads of Departments a sense of responsibility for expenditure, when the amount did not appear upon their Estimates in any way as a charge against themselves. Under the system which existed at present, whatever work was required to be done would be at once ordered, without consideration of cost, because the Departments did not pay for it; but if, by any means, the cost of stationery and printing could be brought home as a charge against them, he thought there would be a little more economy under that head. So long as the world lasted, if a man had not to pay for the expenditure he incurred, he would not be so economical as the man who had to account for it.

MR. COURTNEY said, he was afraid the proposal of the hon. Member for Andover (Mr. Buxton) had not given very great satisfaction, although he could not see that any Gentleman who had followed him had greatly improved upon his suggestion. He trusted, however, that the hon. Member would be satisfied with the discussion which had taken place, and withdraw his Amendment. Two suggestions had been made with regard to the delivery of Papers, both of which would tend greatly to increase the amount of this Vote. One of these, made by the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. J. Hollond), was that all Papers of general interest should be distributed, not only amongst Members of the House, but that they should be sent broad-cast about the country. That was a proposal which the Treasury, having the fear of the Committee before them, could not look upon with approval. Then the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had complained that the Papers were not delivered as rapidly as they ought to be. No doubt there might be a more rapid delivery if unlimited funds were allowed to the Department. It must be remembered that the Department was subjected to great pressure by the demands made upon it for the production of many Reports, long and complicated accounts, Appropriation Accounts, Estimates, and Bills—all these were required and ordered to be printed at the beginning of the Session, and there was in consequence a great crush and hurry amongst the printers in order to get them out. One question raised by the hon. Member for Poole (Mr. Schreiber) was, in his opinion, inappropriate to these Estimates, and the discussion of it would be more fitting when the year's Estimates were brought forward. The hon. Member had inquired, half-jestingly, whether the Autumn Session had anything to do with the increase of expenditure? Undoubtedly that was the case to a certain extent; but he submitted to the Committee that it was largely attributable to the increased activity in many Departments, consequent upon the state of public affairs. The Autumn Session was responsible for the increase in the cost of public records under Sub-head O; but, as an instance of the demands upon the Stationery Office, the War Office alone had increased the cost of the Department by no less a sum than £4,000. The printing for the Irish Government, as the Committee would understand, had been exceedingly heavy; and, as a matter of fact, whatever Department was in a state of excitement, that Department must make extraordinary demands upon the Stationery Office, and cause a corresponding increase in this Vote. A question had been asked by the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) with regard to the increased charge of £6,000 for paper, as compared with the cost of printing. The answer to this was that, under the new contract made for printing, the supply of paper was made by the Department itself; and, that being so, the cost was included in these Estimates, which, had it been met by the contractor, would not have been due until after quarter day. The business of the Stationery Office had also been increased by the taking over of the Customs Bills of Entry, which had necessitated the appointment of a special staff in order to conduct those publications. Before concluding, he wished to offer his tribute of respect to the present Controller of the Stationery Office. A better public servant did not exist, and the exertions made by him, in order to effect reductions of expenditure, were beyond all praise.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, one of the remarks made by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury had raised in his mind a great doubt as to the sufficiency of his replies on other questions which had been raised in connection with the Vote. The charge made by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) was that the Bankruptcy Bill, which most hon. Members were interested in, no matter what might have been the pressure from the various Departments for printing, was on the Table of the House a fortnight ago, notwithstanding which the supply of Bills, on which hon. Members depended for sending copies to their constituents, was not ready until last night. The right hon· Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) had stated that when once a Bill was set up in type any number of copies could be furnished without additional cost to the public. The hon. Gentleman, however, had not touched that point in his reply. A Return of one page ordered to be printed on Monday last was not in the hands of Members until long afterwards, and the Committee were told that the delay was owing to the enormous pressure put by the various Departments of the Civil Service upon the Stationery Office. That reply appeared to him quite insufficient; and he was bound to point out to the hon. Gentleman that it would promote a very considerable amount of discussion, when the Estimate for the Department for 1883-4 was brought forward, if the Committee were not placed in possession of the details now asked for. The country had spent £500,000 already upon printing and stationery, and at the end of the financial year the Government came forward with a further Estimate of £20,000. The Committee was powerless to go through all the details of the Department and say where a reduction ought to be made. When complaints were made, replies were given by the Heads of Departments exactly similar to that just given by the Secretary to the Treasury; and the only way to deal with the matter was for the House to say—"We will not go beyond a certain amount on account of this Office." If that step were taken, he had no doubt the Controller would see his way to keeping the amount of expenditure within the prescribed limit. He appealed to the hon. Member for Andover (Mr. Buxton), whose proposal it had been shown would not effect any saving of cost, to withdraw his Amendment, and he would then move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £5,000.

MR. BUXTON said, he trusted hon. Members would bear him out when he said that his wish, in bringing forward this subject, was to effect economy in the Public Printing Department. He hoped, also, before the Estimates for next year came forward, that hon. Members would consider whether such a scheme as he had suggested would not be very useful, and effect the saving which, on high authority, he believed would result from its adoption? At that time he should move, and carry to a division, an Amendment to the Stationery Vote of the same kind as that now before the Committee, which, having come to the conclusion that the present was not the best occasion for pressing it, he now asked leave to withdraw.

Motion by leave *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he would now move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £5,000. As a Member of the Liberal Party, who went into Office on the ground that the Conservative Party had been extravagant, he thought it was high time that some consistency should be shown to exist in the matter of expenditure.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £15,280, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for Stationery, Printing, and Paper, Binding, and Printed Books for the several Departments of Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and some Dependencies, and for the two Houses of Parliament, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishment of the Stationery Office, and the cost of Stationery Office Publications, and of the Gazette Offices; and for sundry Miscellaneous Services, including a Grant in Aid of the publication of Parliamentary Debates."—(*Mr. Henry H. Fowler.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he rose to remind the Secretary to the Treasury of the very simple inquiry he had ventured to address to him with regard to the proposal that the House should be furnished by the Controller of the Stationery Office, or by the Treasury, with an annual Statement in continuation of the Statement made on a former occasion. His reason for asking this was that, although a re-organization had taken place which the House was assured would effect a considerable saving in the expenditure of the Department, there had been a considerable increase of charge, respecting which there was absolutely no information. With all respect to the Secretary to the Treasury, he was sure the hon. Gentleman must feel that the explanation given to the Committee had been wholly inadequate. Moreover, it would be impossible for any official of the Government, having multifarious duties to perform, to furnish such an explanation in detail as the Committee had a right to expect. It could only be supplied by the Controller of the Department; and it was on that ground that he asked that the arrangement he had indicated might be made.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he must apologize for having, through inadvertence, omitted to reply to the question of the hon. Member for Queen's County. He admitted the desirability of the scheme; but he was bound to point out that it involved a further increase in the cost of printing.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he rose simply for the purpose of pointing out to the hon. Memher opposite (Mr. H. H. Fowler), with whose Motion he concurred, the utter powerlessness of any Member of the Committee to check expenditure. If the Committee were then to divide it would be seen, from the attitude taken up by Members, that the Government must be put in a minority, and that the Vote would be reduced. The Committee was perfectly persuaded of the justice of the Motion to reduce the Vote; but what would happen? When the bell was rung a large number of Gentlemen, who had not heard a single word of the discussion, would come crowding in from the Library, and when the door was shut they would be ordered to go into the Government Lobby. In that way Motions of the kind now before the Committee were rendered perfectly useless; and he thought the country ought to know that they were frequently withdrawn, because Members had not patience to attend to the discussion.

Mr. CROPPER said, it was to be regretted that everyone who had in his mind a crotchet had the power of forcing the Government to furnish special Returns. So long as Members would ask for Returns on every conceivable subject, which involved great cost for paper and printing, there would always be Supplementary Estimates at the end of the year. If any plan could be adopted by which the demands for fresh Returns might be submitted to a Committee he thought that a great saving might be made. The Secretary to the Treasury had just informed the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) that he had been asked for a special Return this year upon a subject with regard to which a similar Return had been made last year; and it was in this way that thousands of pounds of the public money was annually spent. He thought that a Committee would do a great service to the House of Commons by recommending economy in the matter of Returns.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he should support the Motion of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton. It was quite natural for the Secretary to the Treasury, or the Head of any Department, to resent the inquisitiveness of Members into the Departmental Estimates; but the country had come to the conclusion that its expenditure needed reduction.

MR. WIGGIN said, a great deal of dissatisfaction had been expressed last year with the enormous cost of the Printing and Stationery Department, and some hopes were then held out that a reduction would be effected. But the Committee now found that, after voting £500,000 for this purpose, they were called upon to meet a deficit of £20,000. He agreed with the hon. Member for Wolverhampton that the country was rightly complaining of the enormous expenditure of the Government; and as they came into Office with the cry and complaint that the expenditure of the late Government was excessive, he thought the least they could do was to make a firm stand against further increase of charge. He was most reluctant to vote against the Government on this Motion; but he felt it his duty to do so, on the ground that if no beginning was made there would be no economy. He should support the hon. Members for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), and other reformers in their endeavours to reduce the National Expenditure.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was glad to find that the desire for economy was finding expression amongst a great number of Members in all parts of the House. It was, of course, expected, when the Government came into Office, that there would be great economy in the matter of expenditure; but anyone who looked into the Estimates during the time they had been in Office would see that, instead of a diminution, there had been a growing increase of charge in all the Departments. There was one thing which the Prime Minister had insisted upon more than another in reference to the comparison of Estimates—namely, that when they compared the Expenditure of one year with that of a former year, they should compare original with original Estimates. If the Committee looked at the original Estimates of this year, they would see, by comparing them with last year's original Estimates, that there was, on the whole, an increase of £1,100,000. The country, at all events, was not aware of this; and when the Estimates for next year came to be discussed, he, for one, should be prepared to vote for any proper reduction that might be proposed; although, on the present occasion, the money having been spent already, he did not see that any useful result would follow from opposition to the Estimates before the Committee.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that, while agreeing with the principle of economical administration, he thought that the energies of economists should be wisely directed. His hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), in his opinion, had not taken the right course by proposing a reduction of the present Vote. The Secretary to the Treasury had informed the Committee that there had been increased activity in all the Departments of the Service, and that this activity had found its expression in an increased charge for paper and printing. Now, he thought it was absurd that a man whose business was increasing should object to the increased charges which that increase of business rendered necessary. Besides that, his hon. Friend appeared to have missed his mark, inasmuch as this expenditure had already been incurred, and it was absolutely necessary that these Votes should be agreed to, in order that the House might have sufficient time to enter upon questions of general legislation. He believed, if the item of printing were looked into, it would be found that no great reduction could be made under that head. Committees had frequently sat to consider the expenditure of the Public Offices; and surely, by that time, they had arrived at some satisfactory system with regard to their administration. For his own part, he did not wonder at the cost of the Stationery Department, considering the urgency with which Members insisted upon Returns being printed. At the same time, he believed those Returns were, for the most part, useful, because the country could not have too much information as to its affairs; and it must, therefore, be willing to bear the cost of supplying it. The expenditure of the Department was large; but it did not amount to more than half the cost of a man-of-war. Therefore, while offering his services in support of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), and every other reformer who would assail extravagance where it existed, he hoped the Committee would not be led aside into wasting time on the present Supplementary Estimates, and particularly in connection with a Department where such useful expenditure was incurred.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 50; Noes 118: Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 20.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) had alluded to a valuable Report made in 1881 by the Controller of the Stationery Office. The Secretary to the Treasury, as he understood, had stated that it would be a desirable thing to have such a Report; and he (Mr. Labouchere) trusted that the House would be furnished with an annual Report of the Department in future.

MR. COURTNEY said, he had not pledged himself to an annual Report. He had said it would be convenient if it could be produced without further adding to the cost of the Printing and Stationery Department.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he had a few observations to make, before the Question was put from the Chair, with reference to the publication of Parliamentary debates. He asked whether the Government had under consideration the publication of full reports, instead of the partial and varying reports furnished at the present time? He thought the present system involved the maximum of disadvantage. He would not go into the question of an official report; but would only remark that any one so unfortunate as to be compelled to read through the Parliamentary debates of former years would find it one of the most difficult and embarrassing of operations. They were difficult, and sometimes self-contradictory. He understood that for a portion of the evening the reports were still left to the newspapers; but that the proceedings in Committee, and after a certain hour the debates, were recorded by the reporters supplied by Mr. Hansard. Now, he suggested that this was a most illogical and absurd compromise between two systems, and that to have a complete report would not cost very much more than was now spent. He could not understand why the Government should abstain from adopting the method which, he believed, had been adopted by all the Colonial Legislatures. He would not trouble the Committee with any further observations on the subject; but must express a hope that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would not state that a full report was not furnished because of the expense it would involve.

MR. COURTNEY said, this question had been brought forward in the last Parliament. He was bound to say that the opinion of the House was then entirely against the adoption of any scheme for the production of a full Report.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £1,100, Works and Public Buildings Office.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked what price had been obtained for the old Law Courts, and why it was not mentioned in the Estimate?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the total amount on account of the old Law Courts was £3,300, and he presumed that this would appear in the original Estimates. The present Estimates were only Supplementary.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR pointed out that, so far from this being in the nature of a Supplementary Vote to meet the balance of expenses incurred by the Office of Works and Public Buildings, it actually constituted a permanent increase in the cost of the staff of that Department, and that it was for salaries and wages alone that £900 was now asked for in excess of the sum of £43,630 taken in the original Estimates for 1882-3. But that was not all, because it appeared that, though the total original Estimate for 1882-3, as stated at the foot of the Vote, was £46,480, yet that for 1883-4 was £49,144, or an increase of upwards of £3,000 over the amount at first voted. Such an item as an increase of charge for the Departmental salaries had never before been allowed to appear in these Supplementary Estimates; and he was bound to say that if it was necessary to appear at all it should have been brought to the notice of the

House on the regular Estimates. With regard to the item of £900 for salaries and wages, on account of the increase of business arising from the transfer of change of Inland Revenue Buildings, he thought that a transfer in connection with buildings of that nature ought not to have involved the country in so large an increase of annual expenditure. But the point of objection to which he referred was that this increase of salaries had taken place at the middle, instead of the beginning of the year; and he appealed to the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to move the Treasury to prevent the recurrence of this in future.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, this was a permanent increase of the Vote, and it was rendered necessary by an addition to the staff of the Department of a Surveyor, Assistant Surveyor, and Clerk. The increase was not only due to the Inland Revenue Buildings recently thrown upon the Office of Works, but also to the requirements of the Postal Service, which had so increased the duties of the Office that it was impossible to avoid an extension of the staff. He pointed out that had another Surveyor not been appointed the Parcels Post could not have come into operation when it did, but would have been necessarily postponed for several months to come. He begged to assure the Committee that the additional assistance was rendered indispensable by the increased labour thrown upon the Department by the transfers indicated, and that the existing Surveyors were at the time of the fresh appointments thoroughly overworked.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he wished it to be clearly understood that he did not grudge the money if that had been well spent. His contention was that the Commissioner of Works, who knew of the overcharged state of the Department, when last year's Estimates were before Parliament, should have laid a statement immediately before the House, and not have made the expenditure, and then ask sanction, when it could not be refused.

Mr. MOLLOY asked if the Government had in contemplation any system of assurance in connection with the Post Office?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE admitted the importance and interest attaching to the question of the hon. Gentleman opposite, which, however, was one that would more correctly be addressed to his right hon. Friend the Postmaster General.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £627, Fishery Board, Scotland.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, before the Vote passed, he wished to give the Government an opportunity of explaining the grounds upon which Sir Thomas J. Boyd had been appointed Chairman of the Fishery Board. An Act had been passed last year for the re-organization of the Fishery Board in Scotland; and it might have been expected that, in order to make the Board useful, it would be composed of men in the full vigour of life, and possessing some knowledge of fishery and maritime affairs. Sir Thomas J. Boyd was, he believed, a most distinguished and estimable citizen of Edinburgh, and a publisher of books; but he had never heard that he possessed any special experience of the kind he had mentioned. Besides that, the gentleman in question was well advanced in years, and it was not to be expected that he could infuse such vigour as was desirable into the action of the Board. The appointment of Sir Thomas J. Boyd had taken all those who were interested in fishing in Scotland very much by surprise. There was at that moment great agitation in Scotland with regard to fishing; the line fishers and net fishers were greatly exasperated with the system of trawling; and it would be of great advantage if this Board were to collect trustworthy information as to the effect of trawling upon the supply of fish. He had not heard that the Board had taken any active steps in this matter, although it had been hoped that the re-organized Board would prove itself of some use, if not directly, then indirectly, by obtaining the information indicated. He hoped some Member of the Government would be able to explain what the Board was intended to accomplish, the purposes to which it was going to devote its energies, and the circumstances which justified the appointment of Sir Thomas J. Boyd to the Chairmanship of the Board?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he might answer the question of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Forfarshire by saying generally, in the first place, that Sir Thomas J. Boyd had received his appointment because, after the fullest inquiry into the subject, he was considered the best man who could be obtained for the office of Chairman of the Board. He was a man of great administrative experience; he had been twice Lord Provost of Edinburgh; he had given evidence of his powers of organization by establishing, upon a new basis, the Merchant Company Schools in Edinburgh. What he did in connection with these schools, and in other municipal affairs, showed that he was possessed of administrative powers of a high order. The Fishery Board was to be placed on an improved footing, and undoubtedly it became an important matter to discover who was the best person to give it a good start on its new footing. The fishing interest, as had truly been stated, was a large one, and he might add that it was one in regard to which there were various conflicting interests. There were, as the Committee well knew, as regards herring, the brand and the anti-brand interests; and in the case of salmon the complaint between the upper and lower proprietors, and various other matters in respect of which there were adverse interests. Hence there could be no doubt that it was essential to have the Board presided over by a gentleman of approved ability, and who had given evidence, in many capacities, of fairness, and moderation of mind, and who had no sort of personal interest in the controverted matters with which the Board would have to deal. In the judgment of those who had the duty of nominating the Board, Sir Thomas J. Boyd possessed these qualities, and seemed to be eminently fitted for the office. The hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) had said something in regard to the age of Sir Thomas J. Boyd. From the Book of Reference on the Table, it appeared that Sir Thomas J. Boyd was born in 1818, and he did not think any hon. Member would be prepared to say that a gentleman of that age was necessarily disqualified from holding the office by reason of his years.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY remarked that he had not said anything of that nature.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, he thought there was every prospect of Sir Thomas Boyd being able to serve in this capacity for a considerable time to come. With regard to trawling, that was a question which was under careful consideration; but as to the particular steps the Board had taken, or intended to take, in the matter, he would venture to ask his hon. Friend the Member for St. Andrew's Burghs (Mr. Williamson), who was a Member of the Fishery Board, and who would be able to give the Committee more precise and accurate information on the subject than he (the Lord Advocate) could, for an explanation.

Mr. WILLIAMSON said, he would like to supplement the remarks of the Lord Advocate with regard to the Chairman of the Fishery Board, by saying that he was sure that Sir Thomas Boyd was a man of ability and energy, and that he would devote his time and power to the business of the Fishery Board with enthusiasm. He was sorry that any remarks should have been made in that House in any way derogatory to the Chairman of the Board, who made a most admirable President in every respect. He believed that the business of the Fishery Board, under the Chairmanship of Sir Thomas Boyd, would be conducted with great advantage to Scotland. He was able to form this opinion, because he had attended most of the meetings of the Board. With respect to trawling, he had not come down there believing that that question would be discussed under the present Estimate. He wished to point out that the Fishery Board of Scotland were only the administrators of the law. They had not had the law to make, nor could they rescind it. Representation had been made to the Board as well as to the Government, and they were under very careful consideration; and all that it was possible for the Board to do would be done for the fishermen. In the meantime, he could only repeat that they were simply the administrators of the law, and not the makers of it.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he thought that his hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) had done good service to the country in raising this question. The hon. Member had a large fishing population among his constituents, as he (Sir George Balfour) also had in Kincardineshire, who were very poor and unprotected, and required to be carefully looked after. His hon. Friend had, by his useful criticisms and remarks, done good service to the public interests, and he hoped he would long remain in the House to continue that service. In reference to the Estimate, he could only repeat what he had stated upon the last

Estimate—namely, that the Committee had not received all the information connected with the expenditure which it was entitled to have. The present demand, though for only £627, was only a portion of the extra cost for the re-organized Fishery Board, because the Estimate for 1883-4 amounted to £17,740, against £16,307 in 1882-3, being an addition of £1,433, and not £627 as now asked for. That was the result of the hurry scurry of last year in forcing through the House the Fishery Board Bill. Personally, he had done all that he could to induce the Government to delay the passing of the Act constituting the new Fishery Board, until they had fuller information. He had no hostility to the Board; but he believed the Government had acted upon imperfect information as to the requirements and duties of the Board. He found that there had been an increased expenditure for salaries and allowances from £6,537 to £8,420, and that the sum of £900 for travelling expenses had been increased to £1,100. Incidental expenses had also been raised from £350 to £400. But, to enable these increases to be made, the extra grant for Fishery Harbours which last year was £3,000, was in 1883-4 put down to £2,300. He did not complain of the money that had been given to make the Fishery Board efficient; but he thought that the Government ought to lay full information before the House at the time the ordinary Estimates were passed, and an Estimate of the extra cost of the new Fishery Board over that for the old Board ought to have been submitted to Parliament before the Bill for the re-organization had been passed. He could not help thinking that, with regard to the financial control of the House, the House of Commons was frequently placed in a false position, and in this case some deception appeared to have been practised, in asking for changes without making known the cost thereof. He had no wish to assert that there had been anything positively wrong; but he was satisfied that deception had existed, and he hoped the House would take steps to guard against it in future. He thought that the Secretary to the Treasury was to blame. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were probably glad to hear him making those remarks about the policy of his Friends; but he hoped he would not be wanting in criticizing their policy if in power just as he criticised that of the Liberal Party.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY trusted that he had not said anything derogatory of Sir Thomas Boyd in the business to which he had devoted so much of his time, nor yet of his connection with the organization of schools; but it did seem to him a most extraordinary statement to hear from the Lord Advocate that a gentleman was qualified to be Chairman of the Fishery Board who was 65 years of age, who possessed no knowledge of fishing, so far as the House was aware, and who had passed his life in publishing books. He thought it not only desirable, but that they were entitled to know from the Lord Advocate what progress had been made in the organization of the work of the Fishery Board. Could the right hon. and learned Gentleman give them some idea of the benefit this Fishery Board was going to confer upon Scotland, and what it had done since its re-constitution? The improvements already pointed out by the Lord Advocate were improvements with which neither the Government nor the State had anything to do, but which were already determined by the law. He thought, before they voted this money, it was desirable they should have some idea of what the Fishery Board had already done; and unless they obtained some explanation they had a right to challenge the Vote.

Mr. WILLIAMSON said, he was of opinion that the demand for answers to these interrogatories was rather absurd, seeing that the Board had only been in operation for three or four months since its re-constitution. It was somewhat preposterous to ask a Member of the Board, after so short a period, to go into all that the Board were going to do in the interests of the fishermen of Scotland. The Board would do the best they could. [Mr. J. W. Barclay: What are they doing?] It was impossible to enter into an explanation at that moment.

Mr. MOLLOY said, he thought it was as well to emphasize the qualifications of the Chairman of this Fishery Board, as they had been stated by the Lord Advocate. He presumed, however, that it was simply a lawyer's idea of the business qualifications of the President of the Board. The only explanation as yet given of this appointment, and the qualifications of Sir Thomas Boyd, was that Sir Thomas Boyd had been twice Lord Provost. He did not know how far a man occupying the position of Lord Provost indulged in fishing; but it further appeared that Sir Thomas Boyd had also been Chairman of some educational establishment, and that he was a bookseller. He would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman one single question—had this distinguished gentleman, who was to be an authority upon fishing, ever done as much as publish a single book on fishing?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he was unable to answer that question. He had no list of the books which Sir Thomas Boyd had published.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER: Will he promise to write a book? [*Laughter.*]

MR. BUCHANAN said, he did not think it should be a qualification for the Chairman of the Fishery Board that he should write a book. [Mr. O'CONNOR POWER: Oh! do not take me seriously.] He failed to see what possible qualification it would be. It was desirable, if possible, to get a scientific man to preside on the Fishery Board, because it was desirable that the Board should engage in a scientific investigation in regard to the general aspect of the fisheries. But, apart from that, Sir Thomas Boyd was eminently qualified, and had already displayed his skill in the successful carrying out of many useful works connected with the City of Edinburgh; and he thought the Government could not have done better than select that gentleman as the President of the Board.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE protested against the argument of the hon. Member for St. Andrews (Mr. Williamson), that the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) should not be entitled to demand some sort of information as to the working of an important Board of this kind. It was unfortunate that a question of this kind should have come up in Committee of Supply. No doubt, there was a very great and growing interest taken in these fishery questions, especially in the North of England and in Scotland. That interest was increasing very much, and the present appointment seemed to him a somewhat lamentable one, when they considered the reasons given for it. The people of Scotland had a right to ask for something more than the suggestion that the Chairman of the Board had displayed ability in other pursuits. They had no guarantee whatever that this gentleman had ever had anything to do with fishing. Personally, he could hardly conceive what possible qualification Sir Thomas Boyd possessed for the post, and he could imagine nothing more unfortunate for the fishing on our Northern Coasts than this appointment.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR regretted that the Lord Advocate had not risen to give an explanation. The reason was quite clear—namely, that the Lord Advocate found it impossible to give one. His right hon. and learned Friend knew how earnest he had been in trying to obtain information as to the position of the Board, and the nature of its work, before it was decided upon constituting it; but the Lord Advocate said—"No; let the Board be constituted." He (Sir George Balfour) had communicated all the information he possessed as to what the duties of the Fishery Board ought to be, and the hon. Member for Banff (Mr. Duff) knew how he had endeavoured to obtain an explanation as to the nature of the duties which the Board would officially be ordered to perform. The Lord Advocate, however, refused to listen to him, and he accordingly intimated that he would raise the question on the first occasion the Estimate was brought forward; nevertheless, even now, his right hon. and learned Friend was not prepared to give any information as to what the Board intended to do. He did not ask what they had done, because he thought they had done nothing. But the Committee had every right to ask under what regulations the Board acted apart from the meagre directions contained in the Acts. At present they knew nothing, except that the Board said they intended to do something; but what that something was nobody knew. The Lord Advocate represented the Government, and it was to him that he (Sir George Balfour) appealed, and not to any Member of the Fishery Board. The Lord Advocate was an officer of the Government, and it was his duty to supply the information; and he ought not to depend upon the fact of a Member of the Fishery Board being in the House to father on that Member the duty of giving an answer to the question which had been put by his hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay).

Mr. WILLIAMSON said, he was sorry that the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (Sir George Balfour) should have asserted that the Fishery Board had done nothing, and he would, therefore, take the opportunity of referring to one particular work which they had just arranged. The Board had resolved to make a harbour at Ness, in conjunction with the representatives of Sir James Mathieson. That harbour, which would cost £4,000 or £5,000, would be of the very greatest value to fishermen, and would relieve the distress which now prevailed in the district, by providing labour for men on the spot who were also fishermen. He was sure that it would be a most valuable work, and that it would absorb a large portion of the revenue of the Board for the current year. If the House would grant the Board £250,000, they would be able to construct harbours all round the coast; and he would suggest that their Irish Friends should receive an equal amount for the construction of harbours on their coasts. Then they would see a large amount of valuable work done; but as long as the House stinted the Board in the amount, and asked what they were going to do, it was absolutely impossible to give assurances upon the subject. He could, however, assure hon. Members that the harbour they had decided upon constructing at Ness would be of very great value indeed, as an important point in the interests of Scotch Fisheries.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, that the duty to which the hon. Member had just referred was part of the duties charged upon the previous Board. When the Fishery Board was re-organized, it was understood that they would take some general interest in the fishing throughout Scotland; and if they had really had on the Board, as Chairman of the Board, some gentleman who took an interest in the question of fishing, either scientific or practical, some steps might by this time have been taken in regard to the question of trawling, which was now occupying so much attention. What the Scotch Members wanted to know, and what they ought to know, was, whether the Fishery Board had made up its mind to see how they were to direct inquiries for the advantage of the fishermen of Scotland? No doubt, if the House voted the Board large sums of money, the Board would give instructions for the erection of harbours of refuge. But what he understood, when the Bill was passing through the House, and the Board was being re-organized, was that the new Board would put itself to some trouble in order to gain some information respecting the sea fisheries, and not merely information to enable them to discriminate between the private rights of the upper and lower proprietors of salmon fisheries, with which he apprehended the country had nothing to do. He hoped the result of this discussion would be to put some vigour into the Fishery Board in the direction he had intimated. And he begged to give Notice that, if the Fishery Board were not prepared to give a clear account of their proceedings, when the regular Vote came on for discussion, he should again call attention to the matter.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) remarked, that his hon. Friend the Member for St. Andrews (Mr. Williamson) was a member of the Fishery Board, which he (the Lord Advocate) had not the honour of being, and therefore the hon. Member was in a position to give more information about their proceedings to the Committee than he could. But there had not yet been time for an annual or any other Report. The Committee must bear in mind that the Board had only been established for a few months, and they could not be expected to show any very substantial results in the way of work. Ness Harbour was truly, looking at the unhappy condition of some of his countrymen in the North of Scotland, at the present moment a very valuable piece of work to start with; and, unless he was mistaken, from the information he had received, the Board was now concerning itself in making regulations upon various matters connected with fishing, and he hardly thought much more could be expected from them during the short time they had been in existence. As for what the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) had said in regard to the rights of proprietors, it had not been suggested that the Board should determine any question of rights between the upper and lower proprietors. Almost all the main questions regarding the fisheries in Scotland had very controversial elements in them, and that was one of the considerations which made it desirable that a gentleman of administrative ability and of undoubted sense, probity, and experience in business affairs should take up and consider and deal with the opposing interests which would be duly represented before the Board. The question raised by the hon. Member for Forfarshire was reasonable to the extent that when the Board had been a little longer in existence it should justify itself in greater detail than it had yet had an opportunity of doing. He had never seen any cause to depart from the view with which the Bill was passed. He believed now, as he believed then, that the Board would effect great improvements, and render important services to the fishing community, although there had as yet scarcely been an opportunity of their doing so.

Mr. WILLIAMSON said, he wished to add to the explanation of the Lord Advocate, that the question which was agitating the people on the East Coast of Scotland had reference to trawling. They were all aware aware of that; but the representations of the fishermen had been addressed chiefly to the Board of Trade, to the House of Commons, the Law Officers of the Crown, the Lord Advocate, and others. Very few of these representations had come directly before the Fishery Board. If the Board of Trade, or the Government, desired the aid of the Fishery Board upon any question in regard to any alteration of the law, or as to trawling, or in regard to inquiries on other questions, they would be most happy, and only too glad, to have these delicate questions settled. It was not right to accuse them of indifference in the matter; but, as he had already stated, the Board were only the administrators of the general law, and were not empowered to frame new laws in regard to the Fisheries.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, they were now told by the hon. Gentleman the Member for St. Andrews, who had a seat on the Fishery Board, that the Fishery Board were making a harbour at Ness, in the Island of Lewis, and that it would relieve distress in that Island. He should like to appeal to the Irish Members how they would like to find that £6,000 a-year was taken away from the harbours of Ireland, so necessary for the prosecution of fishery works, in order to be expended in the relief of distress? Yet that was what the Fishery Board of Scotland had done. They were taking £6,000 a-year from fishery harbours, and spending it in giving relief to distress. This amount of £6,000 was the annual sum given for fishery harbours, and the sum was to be applied this year solely for the purpose of constructing one new harbour, in an Island which had already been twice aided with grants of Fishery Board money; so that the very first thing the Fishery Board of Scotland was doing for themselves was what the Irish Members insisted on having done for them by Government out of funds quite distinct from those applicable to fishery havens. The Fishery Board had sent an engineer down to Ness, who reported that the work would cost about £4,000. That was all they had done; and as to any labour or brain work, not a single particle of it had been expended in the matter. Notwithstanding his earnest representations to the Government to define what the duties of the Board were to be, the Committee was still left in the dark, and no information could be obtained. Unless some more good was to be done than had been done hitherto, he despaired of any good object being accomplished by the Board.

Mr. MOLLOY desired to put a question to the Lord Advocate. The Estimate amounted to £16,000, and he found incidentally that out of this amount £8,414 was to be expended in salaries. Therefore, in order to expend for the benefit of the fishery interests in Scotland the sum of £16,000, the Government were taking £8,414 of the sum voted for salaries, and the only thing the Committee was told the Board had yet arranged to do was to provide a harbour which was to cost £4,000. Possibly the Lord Advocate might be able to explain to the Committee how it came to pass that, in order to expend £16,000, it was necessary to apply £8,000 in salaries?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, that what the hon. Member referred to was by no means all the work the Fishery Board had done, or were doing. There was a very large administrative staff employed in connection with the herring brand; and he might say that this was an operation which, so far from resulting in any cost to the National Exchequer, brought in a very material profit of something like

£6,000 each year. He thought that when the whole of the accounts were placed before the hon. Member, he would see that it was quite a mistake to suppose that they were spending £8,000 in salaries for the purpose of administering £16,000. There was a large sum of money received from the herring brand.

MR. DAWSON asked in what part of the Estimates he would find the credit account of the £16,000?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, it was in the ordinary Estimates. The hon. Member must bear in mind that this was merely a Supplementary Estimate. The whole of the matter was gone into in the ordinary Estimates, and the information would be found fully detailed there as to what was done with the money received. When the Estimates came up, he should be glad to give every information with regard to them.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he wished to call attention to a matter which, very naturally, did not attract the Scotch Members. When the Irish Members were asked to vote a sum of money for the Fishery Board in Scotland, they should bear in mind that this was an exceptional Vote for the encouragement of the Scotch Fisheries. He failed to see why, out of a common taxation, these sums should be demanded for the support of the Scotch Fisheries, while the Irish Fisheries, which, in comparison, were still more important to the wellbeing of the Irish population, were comparatively neglected. It was no answer, on the part of the Government, to say that the outlay for the purposes of the fisheries was more than repaid by the results. They were told that the branding system more than paid these expenses by the fees received. His contention was, that if the Scotch system were extended to Ireland in a similar way, the expenses of the same encouragement would be more than repaid by the returns. He wanted to know why they should be asked, from year to year, to support the Scotch Fisheries, when there was no similar treatment of the Irish Fisheries. Under ordinary circumstances, he would not attempt to interfere with the encouragement of the Scotch Fisheries, because he thought there could be no better way in which the money of the country could be expended than in promoting an industry like the Scotch Fisheries, which employed and supported so many thousands of worthy men, and maintained so large and industrious a population. But every argument which could be advanced in favour of the support of the Scotch Fisheries became an argument against the Vote while the same fair play was refused towards Ireland. [“Oh!”] Scotch Members cried “Oh!” He thought this objection came with double force from Irish Members, because on more than one occasion all the influence of Scotland had been employed with the Government for the purpose of preventing the encouragement of the Irish Fisheries. [“No!”] Hon. Members said “No!” but did they know the history of the Lymph Fishery, in regard to which the Irish interests had been opposed by united Scotland, headed by the Duke of Sutherland? He had heard a Scotch Member just now intimate that he would welcome a proposal for a grant of £250,000 for the encouragement of the Scotch Fisheries, and a similar sum for the encouragement of the Irish Fisheries; but it would require strong measures to induce the Government to observe the rules of equality and fair play as between Scotland and Ireland. Only a short time ago a Representative of the Irish Fisheries asked from the Government an advance of the paltry sum of £50 for the purpose of trying the experiment of the winter cure of herrings in Ireland, which might have provided the fishing population with a means of support. Winter-cured herrings from Scotland were sent all over the world. He read only the other day, in a Consular Report, that almost all the cured herrings which formed the staple article of diet in Silesia came from Scotland. The Irish people were refused every opportunity of developing their industries, and too often it was some Scotch Member who came forward and referred to the want of industry, the want of self-dependence, and the want of self-help which characterized the Irish people. Well, this was a specimen of the self-help of the Scotch. They got thousands upon thousands of pounds to help their industry, and beyond question the help they got from the Government was more than repaid in the fees returned. All the Irish people asked was that they should enjoy the same privileges. He repeated, that if Ireland was treated in the same way as Scotland, he would not say one word against the cost of encouraging the Scotch fishing industry. No section of the Scotch people was more remarkable for their industrial efforts. No section of the Scotch people was more deserving of encouragement and admiration than the fishing population; but he had felt that he ought not to allow this occasion to pass without renewing his protest against the system of denying to Ireland the encouragement which was lavished on other parts of the Kingdom.

Mr. DAWSON remarked, that at any other time this question of fair play between Ireland and Scotland would have been an interesting topic; but at a time when they were told from the Treasury Bench of the fearful scenes of starvation which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had seen in Ireland, and when they knew that the Irish seas were teeming with food for the starving population and for export abroad, this was even a more effective occasion for attacking the Government for having treated penuriously so great and so prolific an interest. His contention was, that every industry ought to be encouraged and fostered; and he suggested that they would never extend the Irish Fisheries, or any other Irish industries, until they received the support and encouragement of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that the Vote now before the Committee is for the Scotch, and not for the Irish Fisheries.

Mr. DAWSON said, he would go on then to the Scotch question. They were now called on year after year to vote these large sums of money for the benefit of Scotland, and that they did cheerfully because they were always glad to see the trade and industry of Scotland developing themselves. It was, however, painful to see the Scotch industries in so flourishing a state, while those of Ireland were depressed, and the people in a starving condition.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) was altogether wrong in what he had stated with regard to Scotland, and he himself (Sir George Balfour) had assisted the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet) in getting a large grant for a harbour in Ireland—namely, for Wicklow, for which £15,000 was granted, and a loan of £20,000 on low interest. It did not, therefore, become the hon. Member for Dungarvan to complain of the Scotch Members. No less than £15,000 were this year being voted to Ardglass, Kintail, and Arklow; and if they compared the payments made to Scotland with those made to Ireland, it would be found that the grants paid to Ireland far exceeded those given to Scotland. In regard to the branding question, the hon. Member knew very well that it was declared by the Commissioners of Irish Fisheries to be impossible to brand herrings from Ireland; therefore, there was no necessity for imposing the brand. [Mr. O'Donnell dissented.] He observed that the hon. Member shook his head; but if he inquired, he would find that to be quite correct. He hoped that Irish Members had too much good sense and good judgment to indulge in such absurd comparisons and such extravagant statements. He trusted that they would now drop comparisons, and try to get for Scotland as much money as Ireland had got.

Mr. BLAKE said, the hon. and gallant Member had appealed to him in regard to the expenditure on Irish harbours. He willingly responded to the appeal by saying that the very largest expenditure which had taken place in Ireland for some time past had been done entirely in the interests of Scotland. He had no doubt that the hon. and gallant Member had in his mind's eye the harbour of Ardglass, in the county of Down. Now, he happened to be the Inspector sent down by the Government to report upon the advisability and necessity of increasing the accommodation at Ardglass. Since then the Government had agreed to expend £15,000 upon that harbour.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR asked what the expenditure had been?

Mr. BLAKE said, that, in his Report, the chief fact he laid stress upon, and the great fact which was brought before the Government, was that this harbour was more largely used by the Scotch fishing-boats than by any other class of boats. From that point the Scotch fishermen were able to carry on, with great success, their winter fishing; and the Scotch who used it were as ten to one compared with the Irish fishermen. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had alluded to another matter which had come under his (Mr. Blake's) experience. While he was on the Fishery Board in Ireland, the Board felt that a large income might be realized from the winter cure of herrings. They, therefore, recommended to the Secretary to the Treasury, the Predecessor of the hon. Gentleman who now occupied that position, that a sum of £50 should be given to them, in order to try the experiment, and after some correspondence and consideration that paltry sum of £50, to enable the Irish fishermen to try the experiment, was refused. [Mr. COURTNEY dissented.] The hon. Gentleman shook his head; but he (Mr. Blake) had a much better opportunity of knowing the facts than the hon. Gentleman had. He was an officer of the Fishery Board at the time, and he spoke from his own knowledge. He would tell the hon. Gentleman another fact, and that was that since the Union between England and Ireland, Scotland had received £1,000,000 more for the encouragement of her fisheries than Ireland had. He asserted that positively. In a work he had written on the subject of the fisheries, that fact stood recorded, and it had never been contested. The hon. Gentleman must be aware—for he believed that he understood very well the fisheries of the country—that long after the bounties were removed from Ireland they were continued to Scotland, and that Scotland received every possible help she required for the purpose of harbours, and for other purposes, until she was able to walk alone. While no advances were made to distressed Irish fishermen, a sum of money annually continued to be given in aid of the Scotch fishermen, until they continued no longer to require it. He had the honour of sitting, about a year ago, upon an Inquiry, under the Presidency of the hon. Gentleman the junior Lord of the Treasury, upon the subject of the Scotch Fisheries; and the hon. Gentleman would recollect that he had worked very zealously in the interests of Scotland. He believed that the recommendations which he made at that time had since been carried into effect to a certain extent. He believed that it was a great mistake that they had not been carried out still further, because he thought that a great deal depended upon their being carried into effect. The hon. Member for St. Andrews (Mr. Williamson) asked that £250,000 should be given to Scotland, and a similar sum to Ireland. He (Mr. Blake) would be glad to close with that offer. He was happy to say that, as far as the fisheries of Scotland and Ireland were concerned, there was ample room for both, and nothing could do more good than a wise and judicious expenditure upon harbours. Hundreds of thousands of pounds of fish went uncaught in consequence of the want of harbour accommodation. Perhaps it would be as well if he should now return to Scotland again, or he might find himself called to Order by the Chair. He thought that the Scotch people knew very well how to manage their own business; and he was indisposed to pass any, except a favourable, commentary on the late appointment which had been made upon the Fishery Board. Hon. Gentlemen had questioned the qualification of Sir Thomas Boyd, because he had written books and had filled the office of Lord Provost; but he (Mr. Blake) did not see that those facts interfered in any way with his qualification for the appointment. He was confident, from what he heard and knew of Sir Thomas Boyd, that the appointment was a most excellent one; and that under his very able Presidency the Scotch Fishery Board would do satisfactory work. He wished all good luck to it, and to the efforts to promote the fisheries of his country by the hon. Member for St. Andrews (Mr. Williamson), who was a member of it. At the same time, he thought it was unjust to Ireland, when everything had been done that could be done for Scotland, when the Scotch Fisheries were now well able to walk alone and pay their own expenses from branding fees, to refuse the same advantages to Ireland which had so long and usefully been extended to the Sister Country.

MR. DAWSON said, the Irish Members did not grudge the money asked for, for the encouragement of the fisheries, or that they should be able to go with superior gear and fish in Irish waters; but what they did object to—and he believed the objection was equally shared by Scotland—was that foreigners could come upon their coasts, and take away from their very doors the food which Nature had provided them with.

Vote *agreed to.*

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present, the Committee resumed.

(5.) £18, Lord Lieutenant's Household, Ireland.

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £2,750, be granted to Her Majesty to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

Mr. O'BRIEN begged to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £2,000. He thought it would be the duty of the Irish Members to make every opposition in their power to this Vote so long as Ireland was administered upon the present principle, on the ground that so long, instead of deserving grants of money, the Chief Secretary and his assistants deserved the rebuke of this House, and at all events must expect no mercy from the Irish people or their Representatives. He hoped they would have other opportunities for discussing other portions of the right hon. Gentleman's policy; but the thing that it was most important for him to explain, and for the Committee to hear, was what was to become of the unfortunate people whom he (Mr. Trevelyan) saw in the first stages of starvation as far back as January last. The right hon. Gentleman had himself put this fact beyond dispute. It was part of the Government case for emigration, that the number of people who could not live in Ireland, who were wasting away towards death, owing to bad and insufficient food, might be counted by thousands and tens of thousands. Then what was the right hon. Gentleman going to do with them, until his only remedy, the emigrant ship, was ready? Was he going, as a matter of experimental philosophy, to wait and to see how much longer a human being could go on famishing by slow degrees in an Empire able to afford £55,000 for the repair of a Royal yacht? It was very kind of the right hon. Gentleman to visit the unfortunate peasantry of Donegal in their little cabins, and to and out all about their being hungry find half naked, and living in the same room as their cattle. He (Mr. O'Brien) only wished that thousands had any cattle to live with; but, unfortunately, although the Donegal peasants did manage to subsist upon seaweed, they were not able to live on the light of the right hon. Gentleman's countenance; and during the three months which had passed since his visit, what had these unfortunate people received from Dublin Castle except a few barren official Reports? A few bags of meal would have been of much more consequence. The right hon. Gentleman stated that he himself saw women and little children, whom he described to the House as starving, or next door to starving, in the early stage of the distress, now nearly three months ago. Was the right hon. Gentleman satisfied that these people should go on starving, losing health and strength, and their hope every day, while he was there theorizing about the workhouse test? Was it to be a crime, punishable with death, that these people refused to quench their little hearths for ever and go into the workhouse? He was almost afraid to dwell on the misery of which the right hon. Gentleman took so philosophical a survey, and he would turn for a moment to the argument by which English Ministers thought themselves justified in goading the people on to emigration. As it happened, he (Mr. O'Brien) could claim to have had rather more than three days' experience on a jaunting car among the cabins of the Irish poor. It was his business to make himself acquainted with every portion of these so-called congested districts, and he protested against the attempts which had been too often made in that House, and out of it, to speak of these districts as if they were incurable wastes and nothing more, and to represent some of the most hard-working peasants in the world as if they were little better than professional beggars, soliciting alms on the doorstep of England. On the contrary, he said that their poverty, instead of being due to nature, or to their own thriftlessness—instead of being due to their drinking tea, or buying dresses, as they had been so generously taunted with doing, their poverty was the direct result and consequence of the system which those who had gone before had set up in Ireland, and which the Government were now maintaining. The entire stigma and blame rested upon the Government and the people of this country, and not upon the Irish peasants themselves. It was their Cromwell who first drove them where they were. Probably he did not anticipate that his sins would fall on the heads of so many generations of Englishmen, or he would have driven them further than Connaught. But even Cromwell did not find out what landlords, far more cruel than he, were not long in discovering — namely, that even in Connaught there were tracts of land too fertile for mere Celtic refugees—the tracts of land they had been driven to were too good for them. The first process was to drive them into Connaught; the next process was to sweep them off every bit of fertile land in Connaught, and to drive them back among the rocks and bogs, where it hardly seemed worth while to follow them. But there was a third process. The landlords pursued them, and found them out even in these wretched places; and he spoke from a pretty fair knowledge of the South and West of Ireland when he stated that as heavy rack rents per cultivable acre were exacted from them for the miserable patches they occupied in Kerry and Connemara as for the same extent of the richest land in Tipperary. Anybody who knew the interests of Irish landlordism could explain why. It was because, in dealing with the stubborn farmers of Tipperary, the landlords had to encounter a sort of "rigour beyond the law," which made them cautious in rent raising. He knew of many instances in the West in which the value of the land had been paid three and four and five times over in the shape of rent. He need only quote Mr. Tuke's book to show that it was estimated by that gentleman that the fee-simple value of the small holdings in Connemara had been purchased over and over again by the labour and reclamation and rent paid by the peasants who cultivated them. Mr. Tuke said, in the postscript to his pamphlet, that a friend of his, who was agent for some property in Yorkshire, writing from Galway on the 29th of July, 1880, said—

> "It is no wonder that Englishmen do not understand the demand for fixity of tenure in Ireland. I have no hesitation in saying that the tenant's outlay throughout the district I am in, in the erection of buildings and cabins, in fencing the land and clearing away the stones, exceeds many times the value of the fee-simple of the land before such outlay."

Yet these men were the very men on whom rack rents were piled up, until they were double and treble the valuation of the land. These were the men whose cattle-runs were taken from them and given to the graziers; who were taxed for the turf they raised on their own land, and for the very seaweed they drew out of the sea. These were the men whom Lord Sligo, for instance, grouped together in "co," as it was called, in Mayo, in order to evade payment of the poor rates which the law made him liable for in respect of holdings of a valuation under £4, so that he might be able to throw the payment of the poor rates upon these poor creatures themselves. It was these men who, for many long years, had been forced, in weariness and want, to trudge through England in search of employment through harvest time, and bring home the rent for the Lord Sligos. Yet, as if to add insult to injury, when bad seasons overtook these men, when they left themselves bare in the effort to raise the year's rent necessary to take advantage of the Arrears Act, they were taunted with being beggars and "ne'er-do-weels," because they had left themselves poor and starving. He denied that, in any country less fatally governed than Ireland, these men's case, even as it stood at present, would be hopeless. Their case was only hopeless in the sense that any man's case would be hopeless when he found himself, bound hand-and-foot, in sight of a granary, with the key in the pocket of the English Government. All the Irish people asked for was to give them fair play. They would then not only be able to live, but to live in comfort in these very places. They did not ask Parliament for its charity. If they would set any great works of National improvement going in any part of the country, they would swarm to it as they at present swarmed to England and Scotland for employment. Give them some encouragement to reclaim the hundreds of thousands of acres in front of their holdings; do something to enable them to catch the fishes teeming in the seas before their eyes; migrate some of them to land further inland, which Professor Baldwin said was unfit for grazing, and which they would be ready to dig and break up, as had been done before in England in the time of Henry VII. Mr. Froude mentioned that when the Isle of Wight was threatened with depopulation, when the Island was becoming deserted by its inhabitants, that House passed a very summary law—

> "That no manner of person should take any several farms, more than one, whereof the

yearly value should not exceed the sum of ten marks."

Mr. Froude remarked that it was—

> "An Act tyrannical in form, yet singularly justified by its consequences."

The farmhouses were rebuilt, the land reploughed, and the Island repeopled. Now, if the Government proposed to treat Ireland to the penal legislation of Edward III.'s time, at least let them have the advantage of some of these methods of mediæval relief, instead of the methods recommended by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. If the grazing tracts must remain grazing tracts still, let them throw the burden of poverty on the wealthy graziers, who monopolised the lands of the people; let them saddle them with the poor rates, just as they did the duty upon distillers and the Succession Duty; but do not go on charging poor rates upon these miserable people. Let them, at all events, do something worthy of a Government that had the rich and unbounded resources of Ireland under their control. Let them do something that was more like statesmanship than falling back upon the workhouse and coffinship—their only instruments of government. If they would not do anything, all he could say was that the Chief Secretary could hardly hope to escape the execration of the world by exhibiting as paupers—branding them as hopeless paupers—men whom their own cruel system had reduced to poverty, and who would never find it necessary to emigrate if English officials would emigrate instead. Until the right hon. Gentleman gave the Committee something like a satisfactory assurance, first as to the present of these unfortunate people, who were slowly dying, and next as to their future, he hoped the Committee would refuse to pass this Vote.

Mr. TREVELYAN: The speech of the hon. Member is not very relevant to the Vote which stands at the head of this Supplementary Estimate; but I am not sorry that the hon. Member has made it, because I know that the hon. Member desired to take an early opportunity of attacking me. In regard to this point, he has already attacked me elsewhere, in a manner which I am glad to have an opportunity of alluding to before this House and the country. The hon. Member—I beg his pardon, I should rather say a certain paper—has successively, and with singular ferocity, and in terms and with charges almost inconceivable to gentlemen accustomed to read only newspapers on this side of the Channel, attacked four Gentlemen who have been connected with Ireland.

Mr. PARNELL: I rise to Order. We are discussing the salaries of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and the salaries of the officials connected with his Office. The right hon. Gentleman is also President of the Local Government Board, which has to deal with the question of distress in Ireland, and therefore I suppose he has a good deal to do with the direction of the policy of the Irish Government with reference to that matter. Therefore, the speech of my hon. Friend was strictly in Order. I wish to ask you now, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman is entitled to go out of his way, as he was proceeding to do, to criticize any newspaper article written by my hon. Friend—[An hon. Member: Or not; *and Cries of* "Oh!"] —or not written by my hon. Friend, but appearing in a newspaper, at all events, of which he is editor, in reference to matters not connected with this Vote, or with the relief of the distress in Ireland?

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member, in his remarks on this Vote, seemed to me to travel over a wide range indeed, yet I was unwilling to interrupt him. But I have observed nothing in the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman who is now replying to the hon. Member, which is not completely in Order. Indeed, they seem to me to be somewhat called forth by the speech of the hon. Member.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I was going to say that the newspaper to which I was referring has held up to the execration of the people of Ireland four Gentlemen. Now, I wish to explain to the Committee what being held up to the execration of the people of Ireland means. I say that four men have been so held up; these men were, my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), Mr. Burke, Mr. Justice Lawson, and Mr. Field, and I ask hon. Members to observe the connecting link. Within the last few weeks the same class of attacks has begun to be directed against me; and I have now in this newspaper been told that I am the most hated man in Ireland; that up to this time it had been believed that no one could be found more inhuman, or more destitute of feeling, than my right hon. Predecessor, whose life was attempted three times; but at last a man has been found, more inhuman, and more destitute of common feeling still. I have been told, in regard to a speech I made on a former occasion, and to which reference has been made in the most stirring terms—I have been told that that speech was heard throughout the House, except on the Tory Benches, with a feeling little short of horror. In the first place, with regard to the Tory Benches, I must say what I have never mentioned before, because it was not necessarily called for, that this policy which the hon. Member has been denouncing was a reversal of the policy of the Conservative Government in 1879-80. No doubt, this reversal of policy was accepted by the Conservative Party themselves, and adopted by the general consent of the nation. If the Tory Party have changed their minds, I believe the nation has gone against them. But for this newspaper in Ireland to tell the House that this enunciation of policy was heard on the Liberal Benches with horror, is nothing else—I am speaking only of the newspaper, I have nothing to do with the hon. Member opposite (Mr. O'Brien)—is nothing else than a calumny, because it was not heard on the Liberal Benches with horror, but with adhesion, and with a sort of subdued applause which came from men who agreed with the sentiments of the speech, although they were not anxious to cheer it lest they might give offence to others. And when a division came there were only two Liberal Members who did not vote with the Government. As for myself, I have been for 17 years in this House, and hon. Members know very well whether I am inhuman and inconsiderate, and desire to take pleasure in the sufferings and misery of the poor. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), coming here with the experience of a fortnight, is not likely to persuade my old Colleagues, either on the other side of the House or on this, that I have been all this time a monster, such as I have been described, rather than a gentleman with the ordinary sense and feeling of gentlemen of this House. I have said that the speech of the hon. Gentleman was irrelevant to the Vote before the Committee; but I must say a single word on the class of persons he has attacked, for he has attacked others as well as myself. The class I refer to is the landlords of the congested districts to which he refers. The hon. Member says that the misery of these poor people has come from the landlords insisting on their rack rents; and I think I heard him say, insisting on them until a vigour beyond the law taught them to take another course. Now, what have rack rents to do with the sufferings of these distressed districts? Allow me to refer to one of these distressed and congested districts to which the hon. Gentleman alluded. In the one which I inspected the rents amounted to something like 30*s*. apiece; and will anyone pretend to tell the Committee that whether a man pays 30*s*., or does not pay it, makes a difference as to whether he lives a life a human being ought to live, or does not? Even were the 30*s*. exacted, it would not make so much difference; but it is not exacted, and in this district for four or five years successively none of these people have paid any rent at all, and the landlord is not a man who cares to enforce it. To say that in this district of Donegal the Messrs. Musgrove are inclined to coin the blood of the people into drachms, is not true. I am very sorry that the hon. Gentleman has led us into these regions. I am a little suprised, I must own, that some hon. Members who have had a long experience in the House should imagine that I could sit quiet when I was told that I had earned the execrations of the people of Ireland.

MR. O'BRIEN: What I said was, that if you could not propose anything better than the workhouse, or the emigrant ship, you could hardly hope to escape the execration of the people.

MR. TREVELYAN: At any rate, hon. Gentlemen who cheered that sentiment will feel, in all fairness and justness, that it was one that I could not listen to without, at any rate, making a protest. As regards this Supplementary Vote, neither my own salary as Chief Secretary for Ireland, nor the salary of my Colleagues upon the Local Government Board, come into question. The Supplementary Vote, for the most part, consists of the salaries and allowances of the new Under Secretary for Crime and Police, and for subsistence allowance to the Under Secretary for Ireland and his Private Secretary. Hon. Members in that quarter of the House said, when we were introducing the Prevention of Crime Bill, that instead of having more stringent laws we ought to alter and improve our police system. Well, the best way to do that is to alter and re-organize the Police and Constabulary and the Dublin Detective Force, and to have a gentleman who was able to give his whole time and attention to that important branch of administration. The gentleman we have appointed is Mr. Jenkinson, and his salary forms a very large part of this extra Vote. In a great crisis the Government thought it right to look round for a successor to Mr. Burke, and they had to consider two things. They had, in the first place, to choose with promptitude. The Chief Secretary of State was dead; the Under Secretary was dead. My noble Friend the Lord Lieutenant had only been three days in his place, and it was necessary to have the machinery of the Government set going with the greatest possible rapidity. Promptitude was, therefore, the first object. The next great object was to choose the most able man we could get; and, therefore, we took from the English Public Service a man who appeared to be pointed out by everyone. I refer to Mr. Hamilton. He was a man who was very much relied upon, and he gave up a most agreeable and delightful position in order to go to Ireland, where he gained no advantages at all, but really suffered a pecuniary loss. Mr. Hamilton, who, with great public spirit, accepted the appointment, simply asked for that common subsistence allowance which is given to an ordinary clerk when away from his own home. These are the two principal items in the Estimates, and I think hon. Members, in order to make the discussion in Committee practical and business-like, will do well to pass them by, and to direct their attention to those more material points of the Estimates which may be attacked.

Mr. SEXTON said, he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that their debates in Committee ought to be practical and business-like; but as there were so few occasions under the New Rules of raising important questions, he thought that his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had selected an apt and suitable occasion for raising the whole question of the administration of Ireland. He was sorry he was obliged to say that the right hon. Gentleman had approached the discussion of the question in a most unfortunate spirit; and his sorrow arose from this consideration. If he had regarded the advent of the right hon. Gentleman to official life with hope, that hope was rapidly dying, even if it was not already dead. The right hon. Gentleman claimed his right to protest against the references which had been made to him. He admitted the right of the right hon. Gentleman so long as he conducted his protest in a rational manner, and in a reasonable spirit; but he (Mr. Sexton), in his turn, protested with all his might against the right of the right hon. Gentleman to stifle debate in that House under an *ad captandum* appeal to English prejudice. What right had the right hon. Gentleman reply to an indictment of the Government upon the question of distress by attacking an Irish Member? The right hon. Gentleman talked of irrelevancy. What was it to the House what an Irish newspaper had written, or who was responsible for it? The question before them was the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the policy, or the inadequacy of the policy, of the Government upon the question of distress. His hon. Friend the Member for Mallow had referred to a county in which the admixture of English blood was larger than in any other county in Ireland; and Englishmen must give credit to their own race for the obstinacy with which the landlords had been met in that county. Never had an Englishman betrayed more ignorance, or more thoughtlessness, than the right hon. Gentleman when he taunted the hon. Member for Mallow with his experience of a fortnight in that House. His experience of what? Was it in that Chamber that a man learnt to know Ireland?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I said that there were Gentlemen in this House who had sat here with me for 17 years, and I appealed to them as to my personal character against the statements made by the hon. Member.

Mr. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had apparently contrasted his own knowledge of Ireland with that of his hon. Friend. [MR. TREVELLYN: No!] The right hon. Gentleman said that his hon. Friend had attempted to hold him up to execration; but was not that purely hypothetical? It depended upon a hypothesis which might never arise. What his hon. Friend said was that the administration of the right hon. Gentleman would be an utter failure, if he persisted in dealing with the large distress in the West of Ireland by means of the inhuman and barbarous alternative of the workhouse test, or the emigrant ship; and that in that case the right hon. Gentleman would inevitably, in the end, expose himself to the execration of the Irish people. Nobody more sincerely deplored than he that the time should ever come, or would be more sincerely sorry, when the gifts the right hon. Gentleman possessed in regard to literature, and in his public life should be worse than wasted—that his life should be wasted and his reputation thrown away on the dreary morass of English politics in Ireland. Now, why did the right hon. Gentleman keep the Committee in the dark? He had led the House to expect at the end of the Autumn Session that the House would be presented with Reports upon this subject. He was aware that the Local Government Board had made numerous Reports as to the state of distress in Ireland. Where were those Reports? Why should they moulder in the pigeon-holes of Dublin Castle? Why should they not be communicated to the House? Why were the Resolutions passed by various Boards of Guardians last winter, not only warning the Government of the actual existence of distress, but pointing out, with the knowledge of men who possessed full acquaintance with the facts, the best method of dealing with that distress—why were they kept back? The House was asked to discuss the question entirely in the dark; and he complained with bitterness that the right hon. Gentleman had placed the Estimates before them that night without accompanying them with that information which would alone enable them to come to an accurate decision upon the question. His hon. Friend had been taunted with his experience of a fortnight. No other man in that House better knew the condition of the farmers and peasantry of Ireland than his hon. Friend, who had been for years connected with the Press of Ireland; and it was a curious instance of the irony of Irish politics exhibited in that House, that the Chief Secretary should content himself with an inspection conducted in a carriage with closed windows, and should taunt a man with ignorance whose knowledge and experience of Ireland was second to that of none. Of course, they had to come to London to hear such taunts. Was it not true that the right hon. Gentleman left a certain town in the North of Ireland, and drove for 15 or 20 miles on a tour of inspection with the windows of the carriage almost hermetically closed?

MR. TREVELYAN: If the hon. Gentleman puts the question to me, I have already answered it. I have already explained that my remarks as to the experience of the hon. Member for Mallow did not refer to his experience of Ireland, but to his experience of me in this House. As to my celebrated tour in a closed carriage, it is scarcely worth while mentioning; but I have already explained to the House that that journey was made from Donegal to Killybeg through a district in which there was no distress, and I certainly did ride in a closed carriage.

MR. SEXTON said, there might be a difference of opinion as to the distress which existed in that district at the time of the right hon. Gentleman's tour of inspection. Upon that morning, when the windows of the right hon. Gentleman's carriage were closed, he passed through a district, perhaps unconsciously, that was permeated with distress. There happened to be on his trail a newspaper reporter who found in that district a cottage in which a woman and four children were starving; they had not tasted food for two days; and the right hon. Gentlemen, in his closed carriage, bowled unconsciously by without seeing them. He objected to such a tour being called a tour of inspection. The Irish Members were not responsible for the action of wild and undisciplined minds. They were responsible for the manner in which they discharged their duty to their constituents and the public; and, for his own part, he would never abate one word from what he conceived to be truth because criticisims upon public men had led to violence. [MR. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The Prime Minister cheered that sentiment. He should like to know if the Prime Minister, during a long and eminently successful life, had imposed silence upon his tongue because of consequences to those who became the objects of his criticism? He claimed the right of following so eminent an example; and for his own part, and that of his Friends, they would ever in that House speak what they knew to be the truth, and uphold what they knew to be justice, without the slightest regard to what might be the consequences to any person. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would never again meet an argument by pointing out that the consequences might be violence to others. If violence resulted to others it was not the fault of the Irish Members, but it was the fault of the evil system maintained in Ireland against their will, and in the face of their denunciations. He assured the Committee, and the hon. Member for Drogheda (Mr. Whitworth), who appeared sensitive upon this part of the question, that the Irish Members would never cease from speaking the truth, whatever the consequences might be. His hon. Friend the Member for Mallow had been told that his remarks were not relevant. They were strictly relevant, because his hon. Friend had proposed remedies large and drastic. What had been done in the West of Ireland as to the construction of harbours? Had the Local Government Board, or the Board of Works, taken any action to provide a single day's wage or labour for any man in Ireland? If that question was answered in the negative, both the Local Government Board and the Government stood condemned. Was it true that the Prelates of Connaught, who understood as well as any man in the world the condition of the people of Ireland, had waited upon the Government and implored them to authorize the construction of productive works? And had not the Government, by maintaining a system of red-tape, made their effort useless? Did not the Bishops implore the Government to withdraw the regulation requiring a farmer, on receiving a loan, to give security for it?

Mr. COURTNEY: Security for the repayment of loans has long ago been dispensed with.

Mr. SEXTON asked if other security was still required?

Mr. COURTNEY: Not for the repayment of a loan.

Mr. SEXTON inquired if the Committee was to understand that a loan was still embarrassed by security?

Mr. COURTNEY: Security is required for the expenditure of the money in order to see that it is expended for the purpose for which it is granted; but the security for the repayment of the loan has been dispensed with.

Mr. SEXTON said that, nevertheless, the security was so embarrassing as to render the loan of no value.

Mr. COURTNEY: There is only a limited temporary security. As I have already stated, the security for the repayment of a loan in 20 years is dispensed with.

Mr. SEXTON said, he should have imagined that that was a matter for inspection. It was exceedingly hard for any poor farmer in Ireland to obtain any security whatever, and why not have allowed the loan to be granted after inspection? The money could be paid in instalments; and if the Department provided the means of inspection, so as to ascertain the actual position of the borrower, this embarrassing and absurd security might be got rid off. But it seemed to be the policy of Her Majesty's Government to endeavour to defeat whatever gift Parliament made to the Irish people. Parliament had originally been moved by an impulse of justice, perhaps by an impulse of generosity. He could say, honestly and sincerely, that that was the impulse of the Prime Minister; but it unfortunately happened that whenever Parliament passed any Act, the Treasury made some underhand arrangement to take away the merit of the gift. He would tell the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, in regard to this question of distress, that if he persevered in the course he was pursuing; if he met reasonable arguments by appeals to passion and prejudice; if he attempted to stifle debate by terrorism; if he met rational proposals for relief and distress in the spirit of a cold and obstinate doctrinaire, it would be better for him and his reputation that he should abandon Office in a month, rather than that he should remain in it for another year.

Mr. PARNELL said, he was sorry to be obliged to press the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant, more particularly on some points which had been brought forward by his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), and subsequently ended by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). The right hon. Gentleman had not attempted to answer the main point of the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow. His hon. Friend wanted to know if the Government intended to adhere to insistance upon their policy of the workhouse test as the main condition of relief? His hon. Friend wished further to know what steps the Government were prepared to take in regard to relief measures? The Chief Secretary had turned these questions aside by an entirely irrelevant attack on some newspaper article which had appeared in a journal of which his hon. Friend was the editor. The right hon. Gentleman had entirely evaded and neglected to answer the important point of saving from famine Irish women and children during the next few months in the congested districts, and he had gone off into the side issue of an attack upon his hon. Friend. He wished to point out to the Committee that he and his hon. Friends were strictly governed by precedent in raising this question of Irish distress. On the Vote for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at the beginning of the second Session of 1880—the first Session of the present Parliament—he had raised precisely the same question upon the same Vote. It was not a Supplementary Vote, but the main Vote; and he knew that if they allowed this Vote to pass the necessity would be gone, for the people would be dead before the main Vote was reached. He, therefore, could not allow this last chance to be thrown away of drawing the attention of the Government to the important and weighty matters which they were now discussing. He had asked the right hon. Gentleman, in the debate on the Address, several questions which the right hon. Gentleman was not able to answer, being prevented by the Rules of the House from replying to those questions. He had asked him then, and he asked him again, whether or not, when he pledged himself a few days before the end of last Session to give outdoor relief in Ireland in order to save the people from hunger, he knew it was the intention of the Lord Lieutenant to address the letter to the Local Government Board which appeared a fortnight afterwards? Was the right hon. Gentleman aware then, when he gave that solemn pledge, that the Lord Lieutenant was about to write to his Department in Ireland a letter insisting upon the rigid enforcement of the workhouse test as a condition of relief? That was a plain question, and was capable of an easy answer. He wished also to know whether, before Lord Spencer issued this cold-blooded letter—as cold-blooded as any that had ever been issued from a Department of the State in Ireland—whether the Cabinet was consulted in regard to the letter, or whether it was done on the responsibility of Lord Spencer, in order to satisfy some idea of his own in regard to the best means of driving the Irish people by starvation into an unwilling emigration? Was the Cabinet consulted or informed before Lord Spencer wrote this letter to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board? Dr. James Ferguson, of Whithorn, in the county of Donegal, in reporting upon the condition of the poor in that district, said that the people were suffering from poverty and destitution, and this was clearly evidenced in their appearance. Diarrhœa and influenza prevailed amongst them, the outcome of insufficient food and general debility. And this was a Report prepared by one of their own Commissioners, a paid officer connected with the Poor Law system in Ireland. Dr. Ferguson went on to say—

> "That in almost every house there was a sick patient, especially amongst the old folk, for whom medicine was useless, the only thing necessary being nourishment. He had been sadly disappointed on visiting one of the schools. He saw nothing but dull eyes and languid faces, betraying weariness and depression of spirits. He also noticed the dreadful sleeping accommodation with which the houses were supplied."

In order to meet that frightfully alarming state of affairs, the Chief Secretary said the Government insisted upon the enforcement of the workhouse test. They knew very well what the enforcement of the workhouse test meant. They knew that it meant more deaths from starvation; that the famine fever would break out in extensive districts, both before and after people sought that remedy. That was the experience they had already had, and the experience which every one of those who lived in any part of Ireland had gained. The English Members of that House did not know the chronic distress which was the portion of the labouring classes and the smaller tenants in the Western districts every winter that came round. But it was also the fact that the people, rather than break up their homes, rather than leave their little huts and go into the workhouse, would endeavour to put up with the pangs of poverty, and wait until death reached, or almost reached, their door. He was not using exaggerated language; he was not capable of using exaggerated language; but it was the history of successive attempts to relieve famine and distress in Ireland, that if they insisted upon the workhouse test, people would die in large numbers, and that many others would become so infected with disease, and by the march of disease and by starvation, that the workhouse would come too late to save their lives. They were told that they ought to advise the people. They would be very glad to give their advice; but he could not wonder much, as he knew what the workhouse system in Ireland was, that the people refused to accept it. The hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), now in prison, had repeatedly urged the people to go into the workhouse; but they would not go there. They had never gone there in famines far worse than the present. They had steadily refused to go until pestilence took hold of them, and until it was too late to save thousands and hundreds of thousands of lives. He did not wonder at this, because he knew very well what the workhouse system in Ireland was. Little children were separated from their mothers; young girls were exposed to the contamination of associating with immoral women; husbands were separated from their wives; and all the ties of home were broken up and entirely set aside. It was not surprising, in the face of this, that the people in these districts should go on from day to day husbanding their last bag of meal, and, when that meal was gone, resorting to seaweed rather than enter the doors of an Irish workhouse. The priests knew, and everyone connected with Ireland knew, that it was utterly impossible to induce them to go into the workhouse. They asked, as a means of stemming the distress, that a small grant, by way of loan, not exceeding £150,000, should be made, in order to enable outdoor relief to be administered. Let the Local Government Board appoint a regular officer to see that the money was not squandered. That was the policy of the late Government. They gave outdoor relief, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) gave outdoor relief. Then why should not the present Chief Secretary? It was only because Lord Spencer had set his mind on facilitating a scheme of emigration by insisting on the workhouse test. The Government would undertake a very great responsibility if they ignored the signs of the times, and left the people to their inevitable fate, unless something was done, and that, too, very shortly. The Government were very foolish for having undertaken their present policy; because they were deliberately spreading abroad the idea that they wished to take advantage of the famine and hunger of the people to force them to emigrate. He ventured to say that everyone in Ireland was disposed to consider any well-prepared scheme of emigration brought in by the Government, with a desire to give it a fair chance; but he doubted if such a policy as this would not render it absolutely impossible to support any scheme of emigration, but would render it essential for the Irish Members to offer a strong opposition to any system of emigration bolstered up by such means as these. This question of the relief of distress in these districts must not be confused with the permanent amelioration of the condition of the people. These were two separate and distinct problems. The Government must save their lives; they could not let the people die. [An hon. MEMBER: You have the Land League money.] That money was not subscribed for purposes of charity, but to stem the tide of landlord oppression, and it would continue to be used for that purpose. It was entirely inadequate for the purposes of wholesale relief which was required in these districts. The Government were responsible for the state of affairs now existing in Ireland, and they would be held responsible for it at the proper time. The people would die if the Government did not do something; and he thought he was entitled to an answer on the points that had been raised. Did the Chief Secretary mean to maintain the workhouse test as a condition of outdoor relief? Was he aware, when he pledged himself to give outdoor relief, that Lord Spencer intended to write that letter to the Local Government Board of which he was President? Were the Government aware that this policy was to be inaugurated—this change of policy in Ireland? Up to that time outdoor relief had always been given in periods of pressure; and what was now demanded was that the wants of the people should be attended to, and that they should be saved from starvation and pestilence. The Irish people would then be willing to consider with the Government other proposals for the permanent amelioration of the condition of these districts, whether by emigration or migration.

Mr. S. SMITH, as a new Member, wished to say a few words on this subject. He was sure that the universal feeling in the House was one of great sympathy with the poor people who were in distress in Ireland; but he was grieved to see matters of recrimination mixed up with questions of distress. Most hon. Members wished to look at this subject from a humanitarian point of view, with the sole desire to help the unfortunate people in the West of Ireland. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) said very few English Members were aware of the condition of the people in Ireland. He himself had shared several times in measures for the relief of distress in Ireland; he had made himself acquainted with the subject; and the judgment to which he had come was that which he was sure was universal in the House—namely, that it was quite impossible for the people in those barren and remote districts ever to be in any but a state of chronic poverty. They must remain in a condition of perfect hopelessness; because it was found that every few years this misery recurred, if possible, in an aggravated form; and the conclusion of philanthropic men desirous of benefiting the people was that there was no practical remedy but either emigration or migration. The land on the West of Ireland would not maintain more than half, perhaps scarcely more than a fourth, of the population in decent comfort; and for the sake of the people themselves, the best thing would be to take them from these abodes of hopeless misery, which had become stereotyped, and move them into new scenes and surroundings. He was very sure that if the Government would introduce any liberal measure for removing the people in a comfortable manner, so as to maintain home ties as far as possible, the House would vote any reasonable sum of money for that purpose. It seemed to him that no practical scheme presented such advantages as emigration to Manitoba. There they could acquire fertile land virtually for nothing; and it would be quite possible to move a large section of the population to that country, and insure them happiness and comfort. But such was the aversion of people to emigration, that he should be glad if some scheme of migration could also be devised. If any reasonable plan were advanced by which these people could be settled in comfort at home, he was sure the House would be most willing to consider it. At all events, many hon. Members would be thankful if they could effect some permanent good for the people of Ireland. He did not himself intend to suggest anything specific, because he felt sure the Government had given all possible consideration to the subject; he rose rather to assure the Committee that there was a large measure of true sympathy for the Irish people, and perfect readiness to discuss any plan proposed in a reasonable and kindly way.

Colonel DAWNAY said, he quite agreed with the remarks of the hon. Member (Mr. S. Smith), which were in remarkable contrast with those of several previous speakers. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had made several suggestions for the relief of distress in Ireland, one being that the great grazing districts should be broken up; and he had observed that at present the starving inhabitants of some districts had to choose between the workhouse and the coffin-ship. At all events, the workhouse would save them from actual starvation if they choose to go there; and with regard to the "coffin-ship," or emigrant ship, if it took them from misery and famine to comfort and prosperity, he thought they had reason to be thankful to the emigrant ship. But hon. Members from Ireland would have nothing to say to emigration; they set their faces against it. He believed that was because they dared not allow the people to escape; they must keep them as the tools of their agitation, which had been so well described by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). Were there no starving paupers in this country, and within a short distance of that House, that the whole time of Parliament must be taken up with starving Ireland? England had lavished millions on Irish starvation, and would do so again; but that would be in spite of, and not because of, the hon. Members for the City of Cork and Mallow and their Friends.

Mr. DAWSON said, he thought the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan), considering his antecedents, would be heart-breaking to the Irish people. The right hon. Gentleman could not be ignorant of the Poor Law principles in Ireland when he proposed this system. Lord John Russell, when that Poor Law system was introduced, recommended the reclamation of waste lands and reproductive works. That was the spirit with which the system was proposed; but they had had more recent evidence of what the Poor Law could do if properly worked. How was it worked in England at the time of the Cotton Famine? Was there any red-tape then? Were there any of these heart-breaking statements, that the people must die or break up their homes? No; the Poor Law system in England was elastic and self-governing; but the Government were utterly powerless to do anything in an elastic way with the Poor Law system in Ireland. When the President of the Poor Law Board, at the time of the Cotton Famine, took upon himself to suspend red-tapeism in Lancashire, and to give outdoor relief, the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright) wrote to him and urged that the widest discretion should be given to the Guardians to deal with that great evil, for there was no body to which the spending of the ratepayers' money could be more wisely intrusted. Contrast that with a recent case, in which when some Guardians in Ireland ventured to be elastic and to spend some money, they were at once discharged by the Auditor of the Local Government Board. An hon. Member who had just spoken had asked what could be done in the present emergency? What could be done in the shape of emigration or migration? He would rather put it: What could be done from migration and emigration? As a last resource, he would go to emigration, for he was not one of those sentimental people who would keep the poor at home to starve, and when the last resource became necessary, he would even advise emigration; but he was strongly against emigration while the country was teeming with undeveloped wealth, which was sufficient to support its population. What did Lord John Russell say when the population of Ireland was 8,000,000? He said that although he found that vagrancy required the Poor Law in Ireland, yet—

> "Let it not be supposed that I believe, when I speak of emigration, that the present 8,000,000 of inhabitants living in Ireland may not be very well sustained with good and sufficient means by the soil of Ireland?"

The right hon. Gentleman now stated, after many years of beneficial English legislation, Ireland was not able to support 4,000,000 or 5,000,000. It had been said that the action of the Land League had led to crime in Ireland; but it was the Poor Law system that had led to crime. That was the opinion of a Government official high in office in Ireland. Dr. Hancock stated that not only was the Poor Law system bad, but was the sure origin of a fruitful crop of crime, which the Government were for ever punishing, but never eradicating. He stated that one of the earliest cases of shooting at an *employé* of a landlord last autumn was the shooting of the agent of an English clergyman who demanded his rents, but refused to make any abatement, though so many landlords had done so. He, no doubt, thought the Poor Law in Ireland was the same as in England, and that outdoor relief would be given without his reducing the rents; and upon that misconception he pressed for his rents, families were ruthlessly broken up, anger and revengeful feelings were engendered, and the outcome was murder. The hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr S. Smith) asked what could be done; and the right hon. Gentleman ought to answer the question. The Government had been told in Reports from their own Commissioners, Professor Baldwin, in his evidence before the Commission had stated, that in Donegal half of an estate had been given over to the people to cultivate free of rent for a time; they had reclaimed the land, and the holdings were now paying a good rent; while the land on the other side of the estate was not paying 6*d.* Could it be said that there were not productive resources in Donegal after that? In the chapter on Peasant Proprietary in his *Political Economy,* Mr. John Stuart Mill described how the Waste Lands Society took half the side of a mountain, gave the people £2 apiece for temporary sustainment; the people reclaimed the land, and before their leases were half out they repaid all the money, and had live and dead stock in superabundance for their maintenance. That case was only typical of hundreds and hundreds in Ireland. It was time to tell the people and the Government of England, and the whole world, that the Irish people were not unreasonable, and that when they had exhausted the resources of their own country, which at present could support them in a state of prosperity and wealth, they would be glad to send the honourable surplus away from Ireland; but while the resources of the country were undeveloped they would not allow the English Government to outrage their countrymen by hunting them away from their own land.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he would invite the Committee to make a descent for a moment from the height to which they had been invited by the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) to the practical issue before them. He had listened with great pleasure to the practical observations of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith), who was well known to have some actual knowledge of this subject; and he was glad to find one hon. Member giving utterance to sentiments which he himself had frequently expressed. He had always said there was only one sound practical remedy for the great mass of evil which existed in Ireland, and that remedy he had always called migration, though in a different sense from that in which it had been used that night. He had always held that the removal of a British subject from one part of Her Majesty's Dominions to another was simply migration, even though the removal might be from the United Kingdom, so-called, to some other portion of the Empire. He used the words "so-called," because he believed, in reality, that the whole of Her Majesty's Empire was as firmly united as was what was called the United Kingdom; and, therefore, he used the term "migration," because he thought the removal of the surplus population from one portion of the British Empire to another could not be termed emigration. But without bandying arguments upon that question, he was glad to find that it was recognized by practical philanthropists on the Liberal side of the House that emigration or migration, whichever was the correct term, was the true remedy for the existing evils in Ireland. Without dwelling further upon that matter, which he thought had been raised not quite within the four corners of the discussion on the Vote, he would say that if the Government intended seriously to promote emigration, no agency could, in his opinion, be less calculated to carry that system out effectually than that in whose hands it had been placed—namely, the Poor Law Guardians. When a clause was introduced into the Arrears of Rent Bill, somewhat late, it was thought, by some who had not had his painful experience, that the House was taking a very large step in the direction of promoting emigration; but, as he had remarked to some of his friends at the time, no practical step at all was taken. The Government had handed over the administration of the only good clause in that measure to an Executive body, who were bitterly hostile to the principles of that clause. Hon. Members spoke of the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster as having guaranteed his authority to the statement that the representatives of the ratepayers, the Guardians, were the proper persons to administer the money of the ratepayers; but the right hon. Gentleman had never gone much into the details of Irish affairs; he had only generalized upon them; and any person who knew anything of the administration of the Poor Law in Ireland knew perfectly well that the Guardians were representatives of those who paid a very infinitesimal fraction of the rates—they were the representatives of those who elected the Guardians; but they took very good care that the rates should come from the pockets of other people. The Guardians represented those who invited them to retard the operation of the Emigration Clauses; they were the nominees of agitators, sometimes agitators themselves.

He trusted Her Majesty's Government, seeing that emigration was no longer a mere Tory "fad"—that it was no longer a panacea recommended exclusively from that Bench, but urged upon the Government by well-known philanthropists and practical men in all parts of the House—would devise some measure for carrying, out in a *bonâ fide* manner, the power already vested in the hands of the Government under several Acts of Parliament. Under an Act passed 40 years ago large powers were vested, not only in the local authority, but also, with the consent of the Treasury, in private individuals, for the promotion of emigration, by means of advances from the Consolidated Fund. These powers might wisely be called into operation. Why could not Mr. Tuke be multiplied—to use an Hibernicism—many times, and in every way great agencies be called into existence, private agencies or acting under Government control, to carry out the work which the Guardians did their utmost to defeat? So long as action was left to the hands of the Guardians there would be no practical result. Her Majesty's Government might now show that they had realized that emigration was the only true remedy for the state of things in Ireland; and he trusted they might use some efficient agency to carry out sections that already existed in Acts of Parliament. He, for one, was very glad that the Government had declined to listen to the demand for subsidies for relief works. He more especially desired to express his satisfaction at this, though, as was well known at the time when he was responsible for Irish affairs, the Government took an opposite course. But the Government then had to deal with a very different state of affairs. They were compelled to relax the rules as to outdoor relief, and to have recourse to these agencies; but he must own he would be sorry to see the experiment tried again. There were then no means of avoiding it. The circumstances were widely different to what they were now. There were no practical means at the moment for encouraging emigration. The Canadian Government, however, eventually acceded to a suggestion made during the late Government's tenure of Office. But he ought to observe that these proposals were never formally submitted by either the Home or Dominion Government, as they had not advanced at that time beyond the stage of communications between himself and the representatives of various Emigration Offices, and with those who acted for the Canadian Government, with a view to obtaining the assistance of that Government to a comprehensive system of emigration. He had always maintained that an ill-advised scheme of emigration was calculated to do immense harm. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the other night, mentioned certain statistics showing that a large number of people had been exported from Ireland during a certain time. Now, that sort of emigration was most undesirable, inducing the able-bodied to leave the land, leaving the aged and helpless behind, a most unwise course, especially, also, when the emigrants left their native land without proper precautions for their comfort and safety in transition, and when they landed. Such exportation was calculated to do infinite harm. It was not only cruel and inhuman to the poor persons connected with it, but it not unnaturally engendered a feeling against even a wholesome scheme of well-considered emigration. Therefore, he had always felt that until, by the aid of our Colonies, some well thought out, duly-prepared scheme could be presented to the Irish people it would be unwise to raise the cry for emigration. He never, for a moment, advocated the wholesale exportation of Irish people without proper arrangements for their well-being; but since the Canadian Government had placed at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government their willing assistance and co-operation, without which emigration could not be safely conducted, he hoped the Government at home would not be slow to avail themselves of such co-operation; and, working in harmony with the Dominion Government, or other of our Colonies, would see their way to form a comprehensive scheme of State-aided emigration to relieve Ireland, and to confer an advantage on the British Empire at large.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he was very glad that some views which were put forward in the debate on the Address, and which had reference to a permanent remedy for chronic Irish distress, had already gone so far in impressing themselves on opinion on the Opposition side of the House. He gathered from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman that he was anxious, as well as the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith), that whatever emigration from Ireland was promoted by the Government should be promoted in a systematic manner, giving a large amount of comfort and expectations of prosperity to the people who left for another country. He addressed the House at length on this subject in the debate on the Address, and would, therefore, not dwell upon it; but he was thankful to the hon. Member for Liverpool that he advocated a plan that embraced a concurrent scheme of migration and emigration; and he could assure him, from intimate knowledge of many parts of the West of Ireland where the suffering from distress was great, that there were large tracts of land there the fee-simple of which was so small that it could be easily purchased by Government, under a scheme that would allow a tenant to be put on the land with advantage to himself and a guarantee for his permanent prosperity in his new home. He was glad that reference had been made to the offer of the Canadian Government in making proposals for the reception of Irish emigrants; and he would make only one observation upon it now, to contrast the generosity of the Canadian Government with the niggardliness of the Imperial Parliament. If it was true, as the hon. Member said, that various Acts of Parliament had been passed heretofore to promote emigration, and if it was equally true that they had not been effectual in carrying out that object, then it was perfectly plain that a new Act of Parliament was required to deal serviceably with this large, this grave, and important question. He trusted, notwithstanding the pressure of other Public Business, he might have an opportunity, on an early day after Easter, to invite the attention of the House to the subject; and he could promise the House that he should approach the consideration of the subject with a great sense of responsibility indeed; but, as claiming to represent a large section of the country, now in a state of great distress, he should give the House some practical suggestions on the point. But the real point to which the attention of the House ought to be directed was not the scheme of the hon. Member who recently addressed the Committee. This was not the time for it. The question was, whether it was in the power of the House, within the next few weeks, even supposing it put aside every other Business, to bring real relief to the distressed districts in Ireland by means of legislation? He believed that outdoor relief had a demoralizing tendency; but if precautions against coming distress were neglected until the last moment there was no other resource. If direct measures were taken beforehand, and the requisite machinery were provided for the relief of distress, then the Government would not be obliged to fall back on this resource. But, owing to the state of feeling in the West of Ireland, the Government were face to face with the fact that the people were not willing to be relieved in the workhouses; and if the intensity of the distress became extensive, as it was feared by many of the clergy and Bishops of the West it would become, it would be impossible for any machinery at the disposal of the Boards of Guardians alone to cope with the difficulty. Therefore, on the Local Government Board of Ireland rested the responsibility of taking adequate measures to meet the distress at the present time. The harsh periodical cry of famine which proceeded from Ireland was not only a source of shame and humiliation to the Irish people, but it was still more a matter of grave reproach to the Government responsible for their condition. He hoped, notwithstanding the temporary demoralization which must result from the application of outdoor relief, that it would not be forgotten by the Irish Local Government Board that the workhouse form of relief was equally demoralizing. Ample reasons had been given by those who had referred to the workhouse test, and the separation of families it involved, for the feeling of shame with which they afterwards moved about among their fellow-men after leaving these temporary abodes. It paralyzed their manliness, and deprived them of self-respect, the only sure basis of self-reliance. In putting these views before the Chief Secretary, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be induced to be guided more by the assurances he gave to Parliament in the Autumn Session; and, in order to tide the people over the inevitable distress of the next six weeks or two months, would not be reluctant to relax the stringent rule laid down.

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, a great deal had recently been heard of what was called the "workhouse test." The Chief Secretary dwelt a good deal on this phrase. The workhouse test, it had been repeated again and again, must be availed of in this emergency. The Irish Government were resolved on that; but he wanted to know, when a test was spoken of, did it not mean some means of finding out the truth in reference to some matter doubtful and dubious? Now, he would ask, was there not admitted distress in these districts in Ireland? Was it not matter of notoriety, and admitted by the Chief Secretary himself? If so, it was a misapplication of words to talk of the application of a test. That there was no need of a test he would call the right hon. Gentleman himself to witness. He had travelled through these very districts; he saw evidences of the distress, and he gave testimony to it; he saw the diet with which the people were staving off the pangs of hunger; he described their wretched, miserable condition. In addition to that, the Government Inspectors had told, in words that horrified every man of right feeling, the lamentably destitute condition of numberless families in the distressed districts. Children wasting with hunger; faces pinched with starvation, and bodies scarcely clad; with such a state of things, represented on official testimony and by the Bishops and clergy by letters in the Press, surely it was not to be supposed it was all fiction. What interest could anyone have in inventing and publishing such things? He appealed to this body of testimony as proof positive for the Committee and for the Government that there was distress, most grievous distress, in these districts; and, that being so, he contended that to talk of the workhouse test was misleading, heartless, and cruel. It was not to be wondered at that the poor people suffered to death's door, and even to death itself, rather than go into the workhouses. He would not expatiate upon it; it had been spoken of before; it was ruin to a family, absolute ruin, to have their home broken up by going into the workhouse. What was the fate of those who went into the workhouses in the terrible Famine years of 1847 and 1848? These houses were miscalled — they were slaughterhouses. Under circumstances such as these, the Government referred to workhouses as the test of destitution! Under ordinary circumstances, and when the country was in a fair condition—in its usual condition—when there was no crisis of destitution and misery, no impending famine, the workhouse might, in some sort, serve as a test of destitution; but he denied that in times like the present this test should be arbitrarily applied. But why was the Chief Secretary, or rather the English and Irish Governments, so anxious to apply this so-called test? It was in order not that the people might be relieved or saved from the pinch of hunger and death, but in order to work out a certain policy on which the Government had set their hearts, and that was to drive the people into the workhouse, to break up their families, and then force them, by way of escape, to take to the emigrant ship. That was not the use for which the workhouse was intended; that was not the use implied when it was called the test of destitution; it made the workhouse an engine of torture for the working out of a certain policy in Ireland. It was not as a relief agent the Government wanted to use it; but as an agent for the depopulation of the country. The Chief Secretary admitted that the people showed a disinclination to enter the workhouse; but, said he, they would do so when they felt the pinch of starvation. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman had not duly considered these terrible words. It was a fact that they had shocked, not only Irish Members, but the Irish people; and it was well he should be told it in plain terms. They had created a thrill of horror in Ireland, because of the deliberately avowed confession of a cruel, cold - blooded policy. But he did not wish to attack the Chief Secretary personally; he never cared to attack individuals; he regarded them as merely part of the works of the machine that governed Ireland. One after another they were agents of a policy not in sympathy with the Irish people—a policy not to do what was best for the Irish people, but to carry on the old game of English rule—a policy of barbarism, to destroy the people in order to govern them. The pinch of starvation had long been felt in Ireland, and it was well known where it came from; Ireland would not be any considerable time without it, so long as she had the finger and thumb of the British Government to give it to them. As to emigration, for the moment it had nothing to do with the relief of the starving people. What were grand schemes for emigration to Canada, Manitoba, and elsewhere, while hundreds and thousands of starving people had to trust to the charity of neighbours to keep them alive? But it was the duty of Government to keep them alive, and not to abandon them to private charity. It had been said —"Why not relieve them with the Land League Funds;" but these funds ought not to be applied to the relief of the British Government. The British Government must do its duty. It was in consequence of their misrule that Ireland had these miseries; and they were bound before God and man to help the people, not to look for a rate-in-aid from the servant girls of America. Some of the money had been contributed for charitable purposes, and had been so employed; but the major portion was contributed for a different purpose; to effect such changes in Ireland as would not merely relieve the distress of to-day or to-morrow, but would put an end to the controlling cause of it—the disastrous system of landlordism and British misgovernment. The Government could not ride off on the plea that the earnings of hard-working men in America should be applied to the relief of Irish distress. Ireland stood to her claim on the British Government; they had Irish resources in their hands; and it was for them to do their duty to a starving people. If there were emigration schemes to be discussed, let them be discussed at the proper time. It was now a question of immediate relief; and he called upon the Government to do their duty, and cease discussion of schemes to come into operation a year or a month hence.

MR. LEA said, he was not aware that this subject would come before the Committee that night; but, since it had been raised, he desired to say a word or two. Distress existed at the moment in many parts of the West. The Chief Secretary admitted that; and in his view the distress was chronic, and a more effectual method was required to deal with it, or every two, three, or four years there would be a recurrence of distress in the West of Ireland. The Chief Secretary believed that the means adopted should not be for temporary relief. Three years ago a good deal of relief was given, but now there was practically the same state of things; and whenever there came a bad season, or the failure of crops, came this private distress. But he should like to ask, how far the Government had distinct information? His desire was that the Chief Secretary should not allow the distress to assume too serious a shape. If it was serious, then some temporary method of relief should be taken; but if the Chief Secretary thought that the crisis could be passed without disastrous results, then he hoped he would devote his energies to some means of permanently improving the position of the population. A good deal had been said of emigration and migration; and it was known that there was much land in Ireland not under cultivation, but which might be cultivated with advantage. He was not aware that any authentic information existed on this subject; and he would like to ask if the Government would issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the quantity of land that could be cultivated, and how far it would be likely to pay for cultivation? Again, there could be no doubt that poverty existed in the most remote districts of the West—in Donegal, Mayo, Galway, and other parts—districts where there were no railways, and which were completely isolated. Now, he believed that if some system of narrow-gauge railways were introduced it would introduce also some sort of civilization among the people, and possibly the poverty would be in a measure relieved. A good deal had been said about the workhouse test, and the objection to sending the people to the workhouse. He did not see that the workhouses in Ireland were very much worse than those in England; but the antagonism to them was even stronger in Ireland; and he had been told by Guardians that the workhouses in Ireland were regarded by the people as not only the type of poverty, but of immorality. How far that was true he did not know; but the people thought so. Whether by the adoption of emigration or migration, or by assisting public works without jobbery, he hoped the Chief Secretary would find some successful means of relieving the state of Ireland.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he could not help, after listening to the discussion, and having had some experience of the effect of distress in Ireland, asking the Chief Secretary if he would take the opportunity of making an authoritative statement to the Committee as to what was the condition and extent of the distress, for very strong statements had been made by Irish Members, and these statements had been supported to a certain extent by authorities like Dr. Ferguson, which were not to be set aside, and again by the authority of the Roman Catholic Bishops. This was strong testimony, and the Committee must not conclude that it was false or exaggerated. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary under the late Government stated with some positiveness that there was a material difference between the present distress and that of 1879; but that was a point upon which he would like to have information, because, though there might not be such proofs as there were in 1879, it was quite possible that in Donegal, Mayo, and parts of Galway, very acute distress prevailed. On this point he would like to have an authoritative statement from the Chief Secretary upon the information supplied by Poor Law Inspectors, and it would be a relief to the Committee to have such a statement. Of course, the policy of the late Government in adopting outdoor relief was not only sanctioned by the late, but by the present Parliament; but the Chief Secretary had, no doubt for very good reasons of his own, chosen to take an entirely new departure, and was dealing with Irish distress, whatever its extent might be, by workhouse relief, making that the test of distress. While this was an interesting experiment, he rather envied the nerve of the Chief Secretary in being able to try it. If he had good authority for believing that a great deal of the distress was fictitious, then, of course, it was a safe method; but the experiment was attended with some risk. If the Local Government Board were to receive information that it had been mistaken, and that there had been deaths from starvation or from disease, from bad food, then, he thought, the Chief Secretary would never sufficiently regret having tied himself to this strict workhouse test. At the present moment there was irritation against the Government in Ireland on account of the Government being carried on in a more or less unconstitutional manner. Did the Chief Secretary think it was altogether wise at such a time to run in other respects counter to the popular feeling? Would it not, on the other hand, render the work of Government in Ireland easier if the Government could see their way to being a little more in accord with the popular mind in Ireland on this question of outdoor relief? It would save the Government from a heavy responsibility; and he did not think it would have a permanently ill effect. He would press the right hon. Gentleman to make a statement, for really the Committee had not information enough.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he had that evening received a document which might interest the Chief Secretary, and divert his meditations from undiluted reflections on the articles in *United Ireland.* This document was a telegram from the Most Rev. Dr. Logue, Bishop of Raphoe, Donegal, whose diocese included almost the whole of the distressed districts, and the telegram ran thus—

> "Please God we will save the people in spite of the Chief Secretary. He may give his emigration scheme to the winds. We appeal from him to the Irish race."

Was there anything in any of the leading articles in any Irish newspaper containing a more emphatic condemnation of the policy of the Government than these words? It was from a Prelate responsible, in a high sense, for the lives of the people among whom his ministrations were cast. Several Members from that side of the House had appealed, and appealed in vain, to the Chief Secretary for some statement, some facts more relevant to this question before the Committee than his own sense of the injury he had received from the attacks on his administration made by the editor of *United Ireland.* Why, up to that moment, had the Government refrained from laying before the Committee the strong facts in the Reports from official sources relating to this very subject? The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) had repeated the request—the entreaty almost—that at this grand and solemn time the Committee should be placed by the responsible Minister in possession of the official facts which were supposed to be within the reach of the Irish Government. The noble Lord stated that when the strict application of the workhouse test had resulted in sickness and, perchance, in death, then a heavy responsibility would rest on the authority that allowed such a state of things to come to pass; and many Members of the Committee would agree with the noble Lord in admiration of the nerve of the Chief Secretary under the circumstances in which he insisted upon this test. At a recent meeting of the Swinford Local Board, it was reported that a great amount of distress prevailed, and that over 30 persons were in the poorhouse suffering from famine fever. Why was there not some statement from the Chief Secretary as to facts of this description? The hon. and gallant Member for Thirsk (Colonel Dawnay) was under the impression that the objection of the Irish Party to emigration—which, by the way, was not an absolute objection, not an objection to emigration at the right place and at the right time—was due to the desire of the Party to keep the means of agitation within their reach. The hon. and gallant Member professed to be unaware that these miserable distressed districts in Donegal were also the quietest districts throughout the agitation. They despaired even of agitation; and now the law-abiding people of these districts were to be subjected to the rigorous workhouse test of the Chief Secretary, or to the seaweed test which the right hon. Gentleman had had an opportunity of observing with his own eyes. The right hon. Gentleman preferred small-holding and closely congested districts; but the right hon. Gentleman had already been informed that in the immediate neighbourhood of these small holdings there were large tracts to which the people could be transplanted, and on which they would find ample room for earning a prosperous livelihood; and even with regard to the existing congestion, if the hon. Member for Donegal (Mr. Lea) chose to speak, he could inform the right hon. Gentleman that within the century—since the year 1800—the rents of Donegal had risen from a total of £47,000 to a total of £367,000, and that not a single penny of all that difference was accounted for or represented by any landlord contribution to the fertility of the soil, or to the proceeds thereof. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had stated that the responsibility for this distress—for the misery and for the probable loss of life that might result—would rest upon the Head of the Government. But how were Her Majesty's Government to be made to feel their responsibility? As to this House, Her Majesty's Government were not likely to be made to feel their responsibility in such a case; but he commended the matter to the consideration, and to the more and more serious attention, of the Irish Representatives. If it was impossible in this House to realize the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government, it was for those who claimed to represent the Irish people, and who were responsible for the lives of those people, to endeavour to make Her Majesty's Government responsible to a wider tribunal—something beyond the tribunal of this House. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had appealed to this House in impassioned terms from the judgment of the people of Ireland. Unfortunately, this House was not trusting to the tender mercies of the Chief Secretary, but the people of Ireland were; and no amount of good opinion in this House, and no amount of Party applause, ought to compensate the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for the opinion which he was fast deserving, and which was growing around him more and more from one end of Ireland to the other. If there was one thing which was more remarkable even than the attitude of the Chief Secretary, it was the attitude of the Prime Minister on the present occasion. The right hon. Gentleman the First Minister of the Crown had sat unmoved, without giving the slightest indication of his intention to take any steps to grapple with the misery in Ireland. He sat there unmoved, his attitude contrasting wonderfully with the interest which he took in Irish affairs in other days, when Ireland was a more certain stepping-stone to power. He sat there now, to all appearance, as calmly considering the distress in Ireland as he had considered the cause of nationality in Egypt.

THE CHAIRMAN was about to put the Vote, when——

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR rose, and said he must request, on behalf of the Irish Members, that the Chief Secretary would make some reply to what had been said.

Mr. TREVELYAN said, it was rather difficult to avoid speaking after the appeals which had been made to him; but, at the same time, he had no desire to weary the Committee. But even in the few words which he had to offer, he must say that the Government had been put to considerable disadvantage in the debate, from the fact of the debate having been of an unexpected character. He came down here prepared to defend the appointment and salary of Mr. Jenkinson, and he found himself treated to a speech from the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), to which he had replied with a warmth which he must own was unusual with him; but which he thought, considering the unexpected nature of the discussion, and the unusual character of the speech made by the hon. Gentleman, was, to a certain extent, excusable. With the exception of the more serious questions which had been put in the course of the debate, he had, unfortunately, not come down prepared with the voluminous and carefully prepared answers to the special allegations of distress which had been so often made to the House at Question time, and which he had prepared against the chance of their being made in an anticipated debate on distress, by carefully reading the newspapers in every case that was cited. In answer to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), what he would say was this—that it was, indeed, the case that the Government had taken the most serious interest of the very highest kind in the distress, and were most carefully watching it. In the face of so much that had been said, it was rather difficult for him to do other than repeat the fact that the Government Inspectors, whom they had multiplied together with the relieving officers in great numbers in those places where the distress appeared to be making any headway—the Government Inspectors had told them that there was no reason at the present moment to believe that in order to meet that distress they need go outside the statutory provisions of the existing Poor Law. If the noble Lord, or any other hon. Gentleman who was at all interested in the welfare of the Irish people, but who could not be more deeply interested in their well-being than the noble Lord had always shown himself to be—if the noble Lord, or anyone else interested in the matter, would name any district about which he was anxious to have special information, he (Mr. Trevelyan) would procure a Report and lay it upon the Table of the House. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) gave Notice for today of a Question as to the nature of the information which the Government were willing to lay upon the Table, and he (Mr. Trevelyan) was quite prepared at the time to answer the Question; but as the hon. Member was not in his place, he (Mr. Trevelyan) was unable to say what he wished—namely, that the Government would be ready to produce any Memoranda or Memorials of Boards of Guardians which he chose to ask for. As for the Reports of the Inspectors, they were made for the private information of the Government; but he would see if there were any of them which the hon. Gentleman would like to ask for, and he would add to them General Reports as well as Reports on the distress in any particular district about which any hon. Gentleman desired to have any information. It was only reasonable that hon. Gentlemen should be supplied with such information. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had twice put to him two or three questions, and on the first occasion he was unable to answer them. The hon. Gentleman had asked whether the Cabinet were consulted as to the policy which Lord Spencer thought it right to pursue? Lord Spencer acted with the full authority, and with the previously obtained authority, of Her Majesty's Government. Of that there was no question whatever, and he used these words exactly in the sense in which they applied. Then the hon. Member for the City of Cork had also asked whether it was not the case that during the Autumn Session he (Mr. Trevelyan) pledged himself to give outdoor relief? On that point he could satisfy the hon. Gentleman, and he must ask him to follow carefully what he was now about to read.

Mr. PARNELL said, that what he asked was, whether the right hon. Gentleman knew of the intention of the Lord Lieutenant to direct the letter which he sent to the Boards of Guardians at the time that he (Mr. Trevelyan) did pledge himself to give outdoor relief?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he knew perfectly well of the intention of the Lord Lieutenant, not perhaps to write that exact letter, but to adopt the policy which he did adopt, and which, at that time, had obtained the sanction of the Government.

MR. PARNELL: Of the English or the Irish Government?

MR. TREVELYAN said, of the English Government. But the question was whether he (Mr. Trevelyan) pledged himself to give outdoor relief; and on this point he again asked the hon. Gentleman to follow his words carefully, construing them fairly, and not catching at any single word. In answer to a Question from the hon. Gentleman, asking generally whether the recommendations which the Government had received from the Irish Local Government Board had met the anticipated distress, and in answer also to a Question put by the hon. Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea) about the Ennis and West Clare Railway, he (Mr. Trevelyan) replied as follows—

"The permanent officials of the Local Government Board have reported that at present the information before them respecting anticipated distress in certain districts in the West of Ireland where it is most apprehended is not of such a character as would lead them to believe that the relief which may be afforded under the existing Poor Law Acts will be found insufficient to provide for the wants of the destitute poor in the coming winter."

He intended that passage to govern the next sentence.

"They have already issued a Circular to the Unions in the West of Ireland—that is, to all the Unions in Connaught, and to the Unions in the counties of Donegal, Clare, Kerry, and West Cork, calling their attention to the necessity of making every provision both for indoor and outdoor relief, and especially to see that the relieving officers' districts are not too large, and that the relieving officers are within easy reach of the poor persons residing in every part thereof."

Now, that outdoor relief he referred to as the relief which could be given under the existing Poor Laws — the relief, namely, for the infirm and the sick—and the Circular which was issued two days before he spoke on the occasion to which he now referred, and which was laid before the House, specially desired the Guardians to receive in the workhouses an unusual number of poor people. He (Mr. Trevelyan) went on to say—

"In short, the Government have given every care to see that the normal machinery for the relief of distress is in proper order,"

—that was the normal statute machinery—

"and they expect to be able to meet the distress with the aid of that machinery. If exceptional pressure comes, it will be their duty to see that the administration of the required relief is not interfered with from want of sufficient funds. I may say that this is a subject which, of all others, is most engaging the attention of the Government."

Then he was asked from the Front Bench opposite—

"From what source will these funds be provided?"

and to that he replied—

"Sir, distress amounting to famine in such a state of things has always been a subject for special treatment by the Government; and I conclude that in the event of such a misfortune they would adopt the example of the Governments which have preceded them, and provide funds to keep the people from starvation, trusting to Parliament to support them afterwards."—(3 *Hansard*, [274] 1711-12.)

In exact accordance with what he stated on that occasion, the Government informed the Boards of Guardians, in that very Circular which had been so often quoted, that if the funds of the Guardians failed to support the poor, either in the workhouse, or in supplying outdoor relief, or, if the workhouses were full, in those cases the Government would go to their aid with a loan, and that was a plan which had been already in force on a very small scale in one Union; and the Government intended before long to lay on the Table of the House a Bill, which was, in truth, something like an Indemnity Bill, to justify them in taking that course.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked what was the name of the Union referred to?

MR. TREVELYAN replied, that it was Belmullet. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had asked him one other Question—namely, whether the Government intended still to rely upon the workhouse test, which the hon. Gentleman said they had adopted for the purpose of facilitating their scheme of emigration—a scheme which, on another occasion, he (Mr. Trevelyan) would be very glad to explain in order to interest hon. Gentlemen opposite in it, for it was a well-considered scheme, and he hoped it would extend itself. But it was not for the reasons which the hon. Member for the City of Cork had stated that the Government had been primarily guided in the enforcement of the workhouse test. They would be very glad if emigration were largely adopted by the inhabitants of the congested districts; but they had had two motives, and two motives only, in enforcing the workhouse test. One was, because they believed that it encouraged self-reliance, and weaned people from depending on the help of others. They believed that that was true in Ireland, as it was true in England. One hon. Member opposite had said that he (Mr. Trevelyan) had been "sucked into the vortex of Castle influence," and thus induced to believe in this system; but the fact was that, for several years past, he had been a subscriber to a Society which was carried on for the purpose of inducing Boards of Guardians to enforce the workhouse test more strictly in England; and as to the remark of the hon. Gentleman who said the Government would not apply this system to England, the fact was that it was being drawn tighter and tighter on this side of the Channel. It was because he believed it was good for England that he hoped it would be good for Ireland. The other motive was to save the pockets of the ratepayers, who, otherwise, would be ruined. Several Unions were rendered absolutely bankrupt in the course of the last distress, and they were only saved by the Government going to their aid and distributing, he thought from the Church Fund, a sum of £19,900 in order to keep them going. The Government could not find it within their duty to expose those Unions to the serious burdens which outdoor relief, given, as he was afraid it would be given, in the absence of the workhouse test, would involve.

Mr. DAWSON said, it was he who had made the remark which the right hon. Gentleman had referred to, and he felt that it was due to himself that he should make this explanation. He had said that England would make the administration of the Poor Law elastic in times of very great famine and distress, as was done in the case of the Lancashire Cotton Famine. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that, in the ordinary normal condition of the country, the Poor Law test should be enforced in order to avoid vagrancy and its effects; but, in times of famine, they should do in Ireland as they would do in England. He would also like to say this parting word. Let the Chief Secretary of the present remember a Chief Secretary of the past, if the right hon. Gentleman was anxious to win the love of the Irish people. What was the motto of a Chief Secretary who did win their love? In a sentence which ought to be written in letters of gold over the portals of the Castle, he said—

> "When the people of a country are obliged to leave it *en masse*, the Government of that country stands judged and condemned."

[Several hon. Members: Name, name!] That was the language of Chief Secretary Drummond, and the principal figure in that condemnation should be he who had himself adopted the responsibility.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he should have to press his Amendment to a division. He had no intention of entering into an altercation with the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, though, possibly, were he to do so, he might say as much as the right hon. Gentleman had done; but he was sorry to see that the debate was closing without anything like a satisfactory answer to the question as to what was to become of the unfortunate people whom the Chief Secretary found starving? Until that important question was answered, he thought the other question, of what was to become of the right hon. Gentleman or of himself, was a matter of comparatively trifling importance.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman has not moved any Amendment. He stated his intention of so doing, but he has not carried it out.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he would be very pleased to move an Amendment in the form of a reduction of the Vote; and, if he could have his own way, he would be prepared to vote, not only against this Supplementary Charge, but against the whole Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office. He wanted no Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; he wanted no Lord Lieutenant. But the question now was as to the policy which the Chief Secretary represented in Ireland; and that policy would be hereafter known in Ireland as the "Pinch-of-hunger policy." That term would follow the name of the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary as surely and as faithfully as the term "Buckshot" followed his Predecessor. The

Government in Ireland now offered to the starving people not two alternatives, but three. They offered not only emigration or the workhouse; but, according to official information, they had offered recently, or were about to offer, a further alternative, and that alternative was the recruiting sergeant. He trusted that the expectations of the Government would be disappointed with regard to all three. But that which had the longest reach—that which was likely most permanently to injure the people of Ireland—was the proposal for emigration. No proposal for meeting the difficulties of the Government in Ireland had ever obtained such general endorsement and acceptance at the hands of Englishmen as that of emigration, and none had ever been received in Ireland with so much indignation and disgust. In all other countries, and in all other times, the increase of population had been looked upon as a sign of national well-being; and in the Estimates which were made from time to time of the comparative progress of the nations of the world, increase of population was always taken as a sure indication of national prosperity. But in Ireland, and in Ireland only, the aim of the Government was to depopulate the country, and in that they had been very successful. In the year 1841 there were 8,175,000 persons in Ireland; 10 years later there were but 6,500,000. They had been told that that decrease was due to a famine of unprecedented severity in 1846 and 1847; but long after the effects of that famine had gone by they found the same diminution going on. In 1861 the population had dropped below 6,000,000; in 1871 it was not 5,000,000; in 1881 it was only a little above 5,000,000, and the depletion was still going on. The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) had just quoted a former Chief Secretary as being the author of the celebrated sentence pointing out that when the inhabitants of any country left it in great numbers, because they could no longer live in it, the Government of that country was thereby tried and condemned. It was not an Irish Chief Secretary who said that; it was a man who, as a writer and as a political economist, might, he thought, be considerably overrated; but it was perfectly fair to quote him to the present Government, and to hon. Gentlemen who sat on the Ministerial side of the House. It was John Stuart Mill, and his words would receive very general acceptance in that House. While the population of Ireland had for 30 or 40 years been diminishing, and while it still continued to diminish, the stream of emigration went on increasing. In the year 1876, 37,000 persons emigrated; in the year 1877, 38,000; in 1878, 41,000; in 1879, 47,000; in 1880, 95,000; and in 1881, 78,000. From what he had heard, he was afraid that this year the figures would pass those of the year before last, and be about 100,000. But that was not enough. That decay of the population was not sufficient to satisfy this enlightened Government; they knew that of the men, women, and children who left Ireland as emigrants, 67 per cent, or more, were between the ages of 15 and 35 years; and of the emigrants from Ireland for the last year for which the statistics were complete—the year 1881—the proportion between the ages of 15 and 35 years was exactly 75 per cent. These people left behind them relatives who were generally old and infirm, and who were a drag upon, instead of an assistance to, the country; and these relatives so left behind went to increase the amount of misery and destitution which prevailed. Well, what did the Government do? They fell back upon the proposals of that abominable Committee of an unreformed Parliament, which in 1827 adopted the principles of Malthus, and advocated emigration; but, at the same time, advising that when a landlord cleared away 100 of his ancient tenantry, the holdings of those tenants should be consolidated, so that they could not be separately occupied again, forgetting that it was to the British Government that the mischief of continual subdivision was due, and that the congestion of which the Government now complained in Connaught was also due to the action of the British Government. It was the British who decreed, and, to a great extent, enforced their decree, that the native Celtic people should go beyond the Shannon, and they were driven to a great extent beyond the Shannon; and from that day to this Connaught had been, to a great extent, congested, especially in the poorer districts; and another English decree was made, providing that when an Irish occupier died his holding should be compulsorily subdivided among his children. The same spirit which prevailed in 1827 prevailed now, and the same principles which were advocated then were advocated now. The point was to get rid of the poorer portion of the people of Ireland. The Government proposed a system of emigration; but he wondered whether they had seriously considered all the difficulties which lay in their path—the difficulties of arranging the details, managing multiplied officials, and so forth. Supposing, however, that the elaborate machinery of the Government was perfect, and that they were prepared to deport a good number of the people, who were the people who were to be sent out of the country? Was it the dissolute and the worthless, or was it the industrious, intelligent, and self-reliant portion of the people? If the latter class were sent abroad, they would probably do well wherever they went; because the Irish people, when driven out of Ireland, had managed to push their way to the front in almost every country of the world so soon as they were free from English laws. If it was the ne'er-do-wells and the lawless who were to be sent away, how was it proposed to select them, in order that they might be deported? Then, what was the whole thing to cost?—for that was a point which had not been examined so far. If it was proposed to spend a large amount of public money in assisting emigration, that money would be spent unnecessarily and almost uselessly; because, as he had pointed out, there was already a continual stream of voluntary emigrants going out from Ireland to America. If a large sum of money was voted to assist people to America, the result would be—as they could never get any man to go to America at his own expense if he could go at the expense of the State—that there would be an enormous number of applications made for the money, applications by real intending emigrants, which would never have been made but for this policy; and, no doubt, Parliament would in the end discover that it had been freely voting money away without removing the difficulty. But again, he asked, what would the scheme cost? The Canadian Government issued a Circular some time ago giving instructions to those who proposed to emigrate, and from that Circular it might be gathered that the minimum amount necessary to support and establish an emigrant in Manitoba was about £35 a-head. To that must be added the cost of transit, which was about £8 more, including incidental expenses; and the average cost, therefore, was about £43 per head. But if the Government scheme of emigration was to effect anything tangible—anything appreciable—it was necessary that it should embrace a very much larger number of persons than voluntary emigration would remove; and, therefore, if the emigration scheme was to be effective at all, the smallest number whom the Government ought to count on removing was 150,000 persons. According to the figures he had quoted, it would cost to remove them a sum of £6,450,000; and now he would ask the Government, did they not think they could spend that money to much greater advantage in directions very different from emigration? If this scheme which the Government were now prepared to adopt was carried out, what would be the result? What was the result of a similar movement about 120 years ago, when the Presbyterians of the North of Ireland, suffering from the Test Act, and from tithes, and from multiplied injustices and extortions under which they laboured in common with the Catholics, left Ireland for America in great numbers? A similar state of things was then produced to that which the Government wished now to produce; and at that time the fathers of Andrew Jackson, John C. Colquhoun, and J. C. Buchanan found new homes on the other side of the Atlantic. Those were the very men who formed the Pennsylvanian line, and had the satisfaction of destroying British rule there. If 150,000 persons were now removed from Ireland to America, the day would come when Manitoba would form another Irish line, fronting, and he trusted with equal success to the former, a second Red River Expedition. But that result would not, he thought, occur, because the designs of the Government would be frustrated, not merely with regard to emigration, but also with regard to the other alternatives in the programme. The people of Ireland would not go out from the country, and they would not go into the workhouses until it was absolutely impossible for them to live; and long before the great bulk of the people could be driven in by the pinch-of-hunger policy hundreds of thousands would be ruined throughout the country. The resources of the country in men would be materially diminished, and the Government would have an increase of pauperism and of the poor rates to deal with, which go far to countervail any advantages which they might hope at present to derive from their system of emigration. The third alternative offered to the Irish people was the recruiting sergeant. For some years the Irish Militia had not been embodied, and it was observed by the military authorities that recruiting in Ireland had very sensibly fallen off—a circumstance which was ascribed to the fact that the Irish Militia had not been called out for their annual training. Now, it was proposed to call out the Militia again, in order that the recruiting field might supply a larger crop; but he trusted that the Irish people would perfectly well understand the reason of this last move of the Government; and he trusted that that reason being appreciated, and thoroughly understood, the people of Ireland would know how to act under the circumstances, and how to disappoint the expectations that had been formed. He moved the reduction of the Vote by £2,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £750, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, though he did not support the hon. Member who had just moved the reduction of the Vote, thought there might be a few reasons for Irish discontent which escaped general observation, and which, in a few words, he would endeavour to make clear. There was the reason assigned by the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, one of the right hon. Members for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), that "the Irish were idle, therefore they starved;" and that "the Irish starved, and therefore they rebelled." There was also the reason assigned by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone), that the Government of Ireland was "as bad as it could possibly be, and one of the worst Governments in Europe." The hon. Member who had just sat down had spoken in language unfairly condemnatory of the recruiting sergeant. The average Irishman was never so happy as when he was fighting. He had a combative disposition, and it was far better for himself and for his country that he should be fighting the enemies of Great Britain and Ireland than that he should be struggling with the Government at home. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) disputed altogether the proposition of the hon. Member, that an increase of population was always considered a sign of the prosperity of a country. That was often theoretically and practically wrong, and was proved to be wrong by the case of India; for the political economists and the social economists of the day regarded the great increase of population in India as a serious evil. He was not at all sure that the decrease of population in Ireland had been a serious injury to the Irish people; and he wished to point out one great benefit which it had been to the hon. Members who represented the extreme Irish Party in that House. The decrease of population in Ireland had greatly increased the population of the United States and of Australia; and the increase of the Irish population in those parts had enabled them to send home large sums of money for the sustentation of the Land League and other amiable objects. Then he objected to another remark which had been made by the hon. Member—that Irishmen always came to the front whenever they went abroad. That was not quite an accurate statement. Irishmen had many admirable qualities, and they always came to the front in the matter of fighting; but in the matter of prosperity they did not always come to the front. It might not be their own fault altogether; but they sometimes adopted a strategic movement to the rear. The Chief Secretary had been endeavouring to do his duty in the Government of Ireland under great difficulties. The right hon. Gentleman had been in a very difficult and trying position, but he had done his work well; and he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) should certainly oppose any reduction of the Vote when moved upon such grounds as had been stated. The greatest benefit that could be conferred on the suffering population of the West of Ireland would be the development of a well-considered and economical scheme of emigration; and he hoped the theoretical objections of hon. Members from Ireland would not prevent the Government from considering the best means of removing, for their own interest as well as for the benefit of Ireland, a large number of these distressed people. No practical reasons had been given for the proposed reduction of the Vote; and, as he had already said, he should oppose the Motion. It had been said that the decrease of a population was necessarily a source of national danger; but he thought the reverse might occasionally be true, and he was not at all sure that the increase of the population in this country at the present time was not a very serious danger to England, just as the density of population in parts of Ireland had been a considerable difficulty to that country. He should oppose any reduction of the Vote.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 15; Noes 156: Majority 141. — (Div. List, No. 21.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(7.) £142, Record Office, Ireland.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(8.) £1,700, Wreck Commission.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not wish to oppose this Vote, but simply to ask the President of the Board of Trade to explain how this amount was reconcilable with his statement last Session, that the new arrangement with regard to the Assessors of Wrecks would not increase the charge to the public. Last Session considerable alterations were introduced in the mode of remuneration of the Wreck Commissioners; and when he had pointed out that that would impose a permanent charge on the public in place of certain fees, the right hon. Gentleman said there was no ground for that supposition, as there would be no increase of the amount.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he thought the hon. Member was under some misapprehension. He had no recollection of having made such a statement, although he did remember the hon. Gentleman asking a question with regard to unclaimed wreckage. He could not recollect any question as to the charge for Assessors. The additional charge now made was due to the inquiries before the Wreck Commissioners having been more numerous.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £210, Revising Barristers, England.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £40,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he intended to move the reduction of the Vote by £30,000. He thought hon. Members opposite, who had been endeavouring to bring about a spirit of economy in these Estimates, would be rather surprised at the amount of money which Irish Law Charges required. The original Vote was something over £86,000; but here was a Supplementary Estimate of £40,000, or nearly half the whole original Estimate. That was his first point; and the second point was the nature of some of the prosecutions for which this money was asked. The first prosecution was that of his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy); and he thought the Chief Secretary ought to be obliged for having this opportunity of speaking upon this subject to-night; for if he remembered the words correctly, the right hon. Gentleman had said, on a previous occasion, that there was no prosecution and no action of the Government on which they more anxiously invited discussion than the prosecution of that hon. Member. What was the hon. Member prosecuted for? For some sentences taken out of a considerable speech in County Carlow; and he wished to invite the attention of the Committee to this extraordinary act on the part of the Government. The Government possessed various powers for instituting prosecutions of this kind, and all the machinery placed at their disposal by the Prevention of Crime Act; but instead of resorting to that machinery they went back to a Statute of Charles I. in order to prosecute his hon. Friend. His next point was that the Government did not venture to bring any definite charge against the hon. Member. All they said was that the words, if persevered in, would have such and such a tendency. He ventured to say that an indictment of that kind suffered from the very worst vice—namely, vagueness. The next point was that the punishment inflicted fell not so much upon his hon. Friend as on the constituency he represented; and although the Chief Secretary gave what to him seemed to be a satisfactory answer, he could not help noticing that the term of the hon. Member's imprisonment was co-extensive with the duration of the Session. He was sure the right hon. Gentleman would bear testimony, as would any of the hon. Gentlemen opposite, to the remarkable Parliamentary ability of the hon. Member for Wexford, and was quite aware that in the course of this Session several measures would be proposed for discussion with regard to which the hon. Member was acknowledged to be a very skilful authority. On Wednesday next there was proposed to be an Act to amend the Land Act of last year; and the Prime Minister had admitted that almost next to himself the hon. Member for Wexford was one of the most trustworthy authorities on this most important and most vexed question. He thought the House had treated his hon. Friend almost scurvily by the manner in which they had received the Judge's intimation of the hon. Gentleman's imprisonment. But he would not go over all that again, except to say that in the insolence of his ignorance the distinguished Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland did not even correctly describe the constituency of the hon. Gentleman, nor correctly give his name—although in 20 or 30 years the name of Healy would probably be far more familiar to the people of Ireland than that of Chief Justice May. He did not wish to dwell on the words which were used in connection with this trial; but he would extend an invitation to the right hon. Gentleman. The Chief Secretary frequently had to say things and to express opinions which were not welcome to hon. Members on the Irish Benches, or to the constituencies they represented; but he would invite the right hon. Gentleman to take advantage of this opportunity, and not to let this Sitting of the House terminate without getting up and announcing that the Government had resolved to release the hon. Member for Wexford and the two other gentlemen who were imprisoned on the same charge, and to allow the constituency of Wexford the enormous advantage of having their Representative in the House to advocate their cause. He was sure the hon. Gentleman's words had produced no bad effects in Ireland; and he challenged the Chief Secretary to trace to those words a single act of violence or illegality in the county in which those words were uttered, or elsewhere. He wished further to say that he was afraid the right hon. Gentleman was adopting some of the ways and opinions of his Predecessor and some of the Liberal organs in this country; but he could not help remarking that the action of the Government in this matter had met with the unanimous disapproval of the Liberal organs in England. In a friendly spirit to the right hon. Gentleman, he would again invite him to seize this excellent opportunity of announcing the approaching release of the hon. Member. Passing from this case to that of Mr. Harrington, he did not think the Government would be able to say a single word in their defence in regard to this matter. He was not going to fight over again the words which the hon. Member for Westmeath had used; but here was a fact which must strike anybody. The hon. Member for the County of Westmeath was at this moment serving a term of imprisonment for intimidating the farmers of Westmeath; and yet four nomination papers were sent in on behalf of Mr. Harrington, three of which were signed exclusively by farmers in that county whom the hon. Member was accused of having intimidated. In other words, the Government said to the farmers of Westmeath that Mr. Harrington was intimidating them, and yet these poor shivering intimidated farmers came forward and signed nomination papers, and subscribed towards Mr. Harrington's expenses! These were the farmers whom he had been intimidating. He asked the Chief Secretary if he really seriously believed that the farmers were intimidated by Mr. Harrington? That was a categorical question; and he asked for a categorical answer. If he could not say conscientiously and truly that he believed that those farmers were intimidated, was it not his duty at once to acknowledge his mistake, and open the prison doors to the hon. Member? Practically, the charge of the Government against Mr. Harrington was that he was endeavouring to force the farmers by intimidation to the employment of labourers, whether they wanted labourers or not. On that point he wished to say that there was no such inflammable material in Ireland, except in periods of distress, as the labourers; and no strike could be more fierce and furious, or more murderous, than a strike between the farmers and the labourers; and, further, if once the spirit of crime and outrage took possession of the labourers against the farmers, the Government would find that a far more difficult strike to put down than one between the farmers and the landlords, for, as perhaps the right hon. Gentleman had heard, a leading gentleman in Ireland, when conversing with an agricultural labourer, was told by the labourer—"We can fight the landlords a great deal better than the farmers can;" and being asked how, he took a box of matches from his pocket, and said—"That is the only weapon." In recommending the farmers to approach the labourers in a kindly spirit, Mr. Harrington was really making himself the custodian of peace between the two parties instead of stirring up strife Were the farmers intimidated? If so, why did they support Mr. Harrington? If they were not, were not his words calculated to preserve peace and order between those two important classes? He would now pass from the sentence on Mr. Harrington to the circumstances of his imprisonment; and he must say he thought the Chief Secretary himself could scarcely read some of the details given in the newspapers with regard to the treatment of Mr. Harrington without feeling something like shame. In an account of the transfer of Mr. Harrington from Mullingar Gaol to Galway Gaol, *The Westmeath Examiner* of March 3rd stated that he was required to carry slops from his cell some distance to a yard, past the Governor's house, where, perhaps, he might be the object of the jeering observations of some of those very landlords whose power he had helped to break in Westmeath. Mr. Harrington, like a man of courage and spirit, refused to do this degrading and ignominious service, and what was the result? Because he refused to carry the slops from his cell a considerable distance, he was kept from the Friday to the Wednesday without being allowed out of his cell for a moment's fresh air. From Friday to Wednesday this man was kept in solitary confinement. This man was a Member of this House, and within a few weeks of this would be walking up the floor, and would have a right to take part in the discussions of this Assembly, just as much as the Prime Minister, or the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary himself. He thought the Chief Secretary would do him at least this justice—that he never made any strong attack upon him personally, and he hoped never to do so, strongly as he resented the right hon. Gentleman's political doctrines; but he would say this—that he would rather be Mr. Harrington and clear out the slops of his cell for 12 months, than be the Radical Chief Secretary, who sanctioned the proceedings taken against Mr. Harrington. There were other things which arose on this Vote, and he hoped the Committee would excuse him for enumerating them very briefly. Some of them were brought forward on an Amendment proposed previously. He did not take part in the discussion, and he did not now intend to enter at any length into them. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was sufficiently acquainted with political and economical doctrines to know that the end did not always justify the means. He thought nothing was more instructive in the remarks that were made on a previous occasion by his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), and nothing should commend itself more seriously to the statesmanship of the inner circle of the right hon. Gentleman's mind than the contrast between the manner in which the Irish people received the verdict in the Maamstrasna murder cases, and the other cases which had been tried subsequently. In the case of the Maamstrasna murders there was this feeling amongst all others—that the men had received a fair trial; that there was no jury-packing; that men of the prisoners' own creed and feeling were not excluded from the jury box, and thatt here could be no doubt whatever of the patience and the conscientiousness of the jury empannelled.

He did not believe there was a man or woman in Ireland who did not approve of the verdict in those cases, and who did not, so far as it was possible for any human being to rejoice over the doom of a fellow-creature, rejoice that the trials had resulted in the men being sentenced to death. But let them contrast the reception of the verdicts in these cases with that of recent verdicts in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary were to talk for 12 months in this House he would not induce any sane man to believe that the exclusion of every Catholic from the juries recently empannelled was the result of accident, and was not the result of a deliberate design on the part of the Crown. The feeling was universal in Ireland that some of the men who had been convicted by means of informers and packed juries died on the gallows innocent men. He would not attempt to enumerate or particularize the cases; but, in his mind, there was no doubt that some of the men were innocent of the crime for which they had been deprived of life. An hon. Friend beside him reminded him of the dying declarations of Poff and Barrett. He could not believe, knowing the character of the Irish tenant, knowing what he did of the farmers, of their faith and of their religious feeling—he could not believe that these two unfortunate men, Poff and Barrett, would, when standing upon the brink of death, have written declarations of innocence if they were guilty of the crime. And he put that to the Committee, that it would be better for the permanent peace of Ireland, it would be better for the peace of the right hon. Gentleman's own mind, that even 20 murderers should go unpunished than that two innocent men should be put to death upon the verdict of a packed jury. He promised the Committee that he would not detain them very long, and he would not allude to the matters with which he had dealt at any greater length. He would only repeat his request and earnest prayer to the right hon. Gentleman that he would seize this opportunity of announcing the unconditional release of those gentlemen who had been put into gaol under obsolete proceedings for freely expressing their opinion on public platforms in Ireland. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £30,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

MR. O'DONNELL said, that, in rising to support the Amendment of his hon. Friend, he ventured to express the hope that the Committee would take this occasion of marking its sense of the manner in which recent prosecutions had been conducted in Ireland. He did not wish to refer, of course, to the debates in the present Session; but they knew that in the public Press there were very strong expressions of surprise and condemnation at the declarations of the Irish Party that the belief of the vast majority of the Irish people was that the manner in which prosecutions were conducted in Ireland had led to many iniquitous sentences, and to the execution of innocent persons. There was not a man who travelled through Ireland, and who even only partially learned the condition of the Irish nation, who would not corroborate that statement. Throughout Ireland the vast majority of the people did believe that iniquitous sentences were passed, and that innocent persons had been executed. Now, he would ask any fair-minded man, any man of a statesmanlike disposition, what could be the legitimate effect of such a system of legal procedure, which produced an impression of that kind upon the minds of a whole population? They knew very well that it was very easy for officers of the Crown to rise in that House and to declare that they were utterly unaware of any such thing having taken place as jury packing, and to assure the House that any unpleasant appearances that might be presented by the facts were purely accidental. Accidents of that description were regarded as very deliberate contrivances by the public opinion of nations. In case after case hundreds of Protestants and men of strongly anti-popular opinions were placed upon the juries who had to deal with crime of an agrarian character. Now, if it occurred only once that upon a jury panel consisting of scores and scores of Catholics, and scores and scores of Protestants, that only once a purely Protestant jury of 12 men was struck, it would seem, even in that single instance, to be a curious and singular sort of accident. But when on the next day, when the next trial of the next prisoner was before the Court, they found that in a similar manner, out of the hundreds and hundreds of Catholic jurors, every one, somehow or other, was not upon the jury that was struck for the trial, and that the jury for the second trial consisted exclusively of men chosen from the Protestant members of the panel, then, he said, the doubt and the surprise as to the possibility of accident which were felt on the first occasion became singularly increased and intensified when the second accident occurred. And when, on a third occasion, the day after, on the next trial of an agrarian offence before the same Court, they again found all the Catholic jurors excluded from the jury, and none but Protestants and political partizans, antagonistic to the people, placed on the jury, it was beyond the power of mortal man to convince any Assembly that on the third occasion that was an accident also; and when upon the next day, in the case of the next prisoner accused of an agrarian offence, they found that a fourth jury was struck of an exclusively Protestant complexion out of this mixed panel of Protestants and Catholics, then the public opinion of the Irish nation must be forgiven, if it attributed the circumstance to a strained use of the powers the Government possessed, to arrive at a conviction by fair or foul means, and if they believed that the Government, having the choice to arrive at a conviction by fair means, deliberately chose foul means to do men to death. It might happen that a prejudiced jury might arrive at a true verdict. It might happen that a panel struck and chosen by foul means would, nevertheless, find verdicts in accordance with the facts; but that was not trial, and was not law; that was simply as much a case of assassination as where a man committed such a crime with a pistol or some other weapon. Let them leave the case of Ireland out of consideration for a moment, and take the case of England. Let them imagine that in the City of London, or any city of England, Protestant jurors were excluded, and none but Catholics put upon the jury in some important case; let them imagine that that was repeated four times over, and then ask themselves how they could impress the public opinion of England with the belief that they were acting in conformity with justice or the principles of common honesty. It was an old observation of English visitors to Ireland, and observers of the Irish character, that there was nothing that the Irish respected and loved so much as fair and equal justice; but there was no shadow of even the appearance of equal justice about the proceedings at the recent Assizes; and if persons in the country, or out of the country, engaged in stirring up seditious feeling and creating disaffection amongst the people, it was the Government by themselves who had, by such a misuse of the powers of the law, supplied the emissaries of sedition and disaffection with the best argument for sowing hatred and enmity between the people and the Government of Ireland. On a former occasion, in a speech delivered somewhere in the country, though not, he believed, in Ireland, the administration of which the right hon. Gentleman was appointed to conduct, the Chief Secretary attempted to defend the treatment which was extended to Mr. Harrington by stating that Mr. Harrington was an opponent of the Government of a formidable description; nay, he believed that, even in this House, the right hon. Gentleman had endeavoured to extenuate the conduct of the Government by speaking of Mr. Harrington as a formidable man. What impression could be derived from such a view, what inference could be drawn by the Irish people from such a defence, except that the Government made use of the powers of the law, unfairly and strainedly, in order to place a formidable opponent within the four walls of a prison? He read carefully every word in the case against Mr. Harrington; he read it most carefully, with a sincere desire to discover, even on grounds of expediency, some reason for the prosecution; and he did not hesitate to say that from the beginning to the end of those proceedings not a single fact was revealed that called for any condemnation of Mr. Harrington. On the contrary, the facts showed that Mr. Harrington was deserving of the thanks of every man interested in the welfare of the Irish people. When Members of the Irish Party defended the case of the tenant farmers in the House of Commons, was there a more frequent reproach made against them — and he put it to the honour of English Members sitting on both sides of the House—was there a more frequent reproach made against them than that they were neglecting the interests of the agricultural labourers because they had not the votes possessed by the tenant farmers? There could be no doubt that, whatever was the condition of the Irish tenant farmers, the condition of the Irish agricultural labourers was, unfortunately, worse. Mr. Harrington went down to the county where, undoubtedly, the tenant farmers had gained considerable benefit by the Land Act; and he pointed out to the farmers of the district, who had gained reductions of rent of 15 and 25 per cent under the Land Act, that they had gained those reductions solely on account of an Act which had been passed largely through the co-operation with themselves of the agricultural labourers; and he appealed to their sense of gratitude and honesty of feeling to stand by the men who had stood by them hitherto; and he warned them that unless they did aid the agricultural labourers in the demands for redress they were now making, unquestionably the force of the labourers' agitation would be turned against them. What was that but a form of words and a statesmanlike thought deserving to be made and entertained by everyone honestly engaged in Irish agitation? But it was upon that expression, it was upon those appeals and those words alone, that the magistrates, who professed to deal out justice, sent Mr. Harrington to gaol for two months. They had the admission of the Chief Secretary that there was another reason; and they were to conclude that the magistrates, who were the creatures of the Government, who were dependent upon the Government for their bread, and who had recently seen some of their fellow-magistrates removed from the Magisterial Bench and driven into retirement against their own protests, were overborne by the will of the Government on whom they were so absolutely dependent. The unanimous conclusion of the Irish people must be that the magistrates who sentenced Mr. Harrington to two months' imprisonment for doing his duty did so because Mr. Harrington was a formidable political opponent of Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant appealed, and appealed with good reason, to his high reputation in that House, and to his many years' experience in the service of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had, no doubt, a high reputation here; but he possessed no such reputation amongst the people of Ireland. He (Mr. O'Donnell) did not say that by way of reproach; he only stated it as a fact. The right hon. Gentleman came to Ireland as a new man; and he (Mr. O'Donnell) asked if the way to create a reputation in Ireland for himself, similar to the reputation which he believed he enjoyed in the House of Commons, was to cast a formidable political opponent into the common gaol for two months for laudably and honourably doing his duty between man and man and class and class in an Irish county? Her Majesty's Government might be indifferent to the opinion of the people of Ireland, and Her Majesty's Government might wish to emigrate several more thousands of the people of Ireland to foreign shores. He asked the Government if they wished these emigrants, be they willing or compulsory emigrants, to carry a good or a bad opinion of Her Majesty's Government in Ireland when they went to foreign shores? Most assuredly the packed juries in the Green Street Court House, the dying declarations of innocent men, the scandalous and iniquitous sentences upon formidable opponents were not calculated to make the new tide of Irish emigration more favourable to Her Majesty's Government than those Irish settlers now living under the flag of the great Republic of America. The jurisdictions of foreign countries might dismiss with contempt the paltry grounds on which Ministers' charges were supported by Her Majesty's Government; but the Committee knew that the creatures of Governmental choice in Ireland were always ready to carry out any decisions that were suggested by the Government. All the force of the military and police was at the back of the unjust Judges in Ireland to induce, at least, a material respect for their decisions. But the period of coercion must come to an end sooner or later, or the Government must establish new and worse coercion. The present system was intended to last for three years. The Prevention of Crime Act would come to an end just as the last Coercion Act came to an end, and England would then be faced by the usual problem of an irritated and exasperated Ireland. There had been many attempts to solve that problem. He saw the notion was gaining ground of turning Ireland into a Crown Colony; but even in Jamaica the experiment of a Crown Colony was not favourable to British administration. The Irish people defied the Coercionists to turn Ireland into a Crown Colony, for the very day they did that would commence the final and victorious struggle of the Irish race for the complete attainment of the national idea.

Mr. LEAMY rose to support the Amendment, and to mention one or two cases of hardship, in the hope of obtaining some information with regard to them from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. On the 21st of December last, three men were sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment with hard labour for stopping the Galway hunt at Dalystown. The magistrate before whom the men were brought was himself a member of the hunt; and he would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland to say whether the Government approved of a magistrate, who was out in the hunt stopped by the men, presiding in the Court when the charge against the men was brought? He would like also to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether it was a fact that 34 men, tenant farmers and labourers, residing near Kilmacthomas, County Waterford, were prosecuted under the Prevention of Crime Act for interfering with a hunt there; whether it was a fact that the evidence did not show that any violence was committed; whether some of them were sentenced to a month's imprisonment with hard labour; whether others were sentenced to a fortnight; or whether, in the latter case, it was desired that the sentence should be increased? He also wished to asked whether it was a fact that, during the hearing of the charges against these prisoners, the orders of committal were printed and filled up before any verdicts had been returned at all? He would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman another question, in order to show how the law was disliked in Ireland, and how it was administered when the person accused happened to be one of the people, and when the person accused happened to be one of what was called the gentry. He had mentioned the case of 34 men sentenced to hard labour for stopping a hunt. The case on which he would like the right hon. and learned Gentleman also to give an explanation was one that occurred in Kildare the other day, where a gentleman, a member of the hunt, was prosecuted by a farmer for intimidation and for using threats. What happened in that case? Was there a prosecution brought by the police under the Prevention of Crime Act? No; in this case it was left to the farmer to put the law in motion against the gentleman, and what was the result? Whereas the farmers and labourers for stopping a hunt had been sentenced to different terms of imprisonment with hard labour, the prosecution being brought at the instance of the police, the gentleman in question was not sent to hard labour, but was simply bound over in two sureties of £5 each to keep the peace. How could the Government expect that the people would respect the law, when a farmer who obstructed a huntsman was prosecuted by the police and sent to gaol, and when a member of the hunt who broke the law was simply bound over to keep the peace? If a farmer was sent to gaol for threatening a gentleman, surely a gentleman should be sent to gaol for threatening a farmer. If the Government wished that the law in Ireland should be respected, they should make it clear that the law had no respect for persons; and he hoped that in this case the Committee would receive some satisfactory explanation from the right hon. and learned Gentleman. There was another case that he would mention, in order to show what the Prevention of Crime Act was capable of doing. The Committee had heard a great deal of the absurd prosecutions under the Statute of Edward III. at Armagh Petty Sessions recently; how James M'Closkey was charged for putting out his tongue in a threatening manner. Surely it was only in Ireland, under the Prevention of Crime Act, that such a thing would be regarded as an offence. There was also another case of injustice, and it was the last one he should refer to; it was that of the prosecution of the Mayor of Wexford. The Mayor of Wexford had been cast into prison for inserting in his newspaper a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting in which sorrow was expressed that John Flynn still held land from which a farmer had been evicted 12 months ago. That was a resolution passed at a meeting, a report of which the Mayor of Wexford, as the editor of a paper, received in an ordinary way of business; and for inserting that resolution he was charged under the Prevention of Crime Act, and, as the Committee knew, sent to gaol. When the Prevention of Crime Bill was passing through the House no one believed that an editor would be brought up under the 7th clause. There were special clauses dealing with the Press, and everybody believed that the proprietor or an editor of a paper would not be dealt with under the 7th. The Government, however, discovered that by the 7th clause there was a handy means of dealing with the Mayor of Wexford, and they accordingly put it into execution, much to the surprise and consternation of the whole country. It was the more to be wondered at that the Mayor of Wexford was committed to prison in this manner, because he was the first prosecuted, and prosecuted under a clause which it was believed would never be applied to the Press. It generally happened that when a man was brought up under a new Act he was discharged simply with a caution. The proceedings in this case were particularly unjust, because the 7th clause had been enforced against a man who was never supposed to have had any criminal knowledge at all. He (Mr. Leamy) maintained that so long as the Government administered the Prevention of Crime Act in such an arbitrary and unjust manner, so long the people would regard the Act as an engine of oppression. In conclusion, he simply wished to repeat his questions—was it a fact that men in Ireland had been sent to gaol for stopping a hunt, though it was proved they had used no threat or violence; was it a fact that these men were prosecuted by the police; was it a fact that a gentleman huntsman, charged with an equally grievous offence, was not prosecuted by the police, and was only bound over to keep the peace?

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he wished to ask two questions from a financial point of view. He observed that the original Estimate under this head was £47,300, and that the sum actually expended last year was £64,600. This Vote presented all the vicious appearances of Supplementary Estimates, for the Government produced an apparent reduction of something like £17,000, and now asked for an additional sum of £40,000. He should like to have some explanation of this matter. He also observed that £29,300 was set down as fees for counsel, in addition to the large sum voted for the Crown Solicitor and the Sessional Solicitor. If the Committee would consider the matter, they would find that £29,300 was at the rate of £560 a-week for counsels' fees; and he could only say that the fees paid to counsel in Ireland must be upon a very different scale to those paid to English counsel. Then they came to the sum of £10,000 for general law expenses, and £15,000 for prosecutors, in addition to the large sum already voted. He did not intend to enter upon the general questions of policy, which hon. Members opposite had raised; but he must say that if any Vote on this Paper indicated a lavish, he thought he might almost say a reckless, expenditure, it was this Vote.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, it might be a convenience to the Committee to know whether, after this Vote was passed, the Government would not consent to report Progress. If there was no assurance of that kind, he should be very much inclined to move that Progress be reported now. At all events, they ought not to go beyond this Vote. There was a fair understanding, when the New Rules were passed, that Supply would not be taken too late in the night.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that, in reply to the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, he wished to state very plainly to the Committee what position Supply was in. The Government, of course, had no desire to sit later at night than was absolutely necessary; but to-day they had very carefully ascertained, at great pains, what was the latest day on which the Supplementary Estimates must be taken. If they passed the Supplementary Estimates and Excess Votes to-morrow, it would be possible to conclude the necessary Business in connection with Ways and Means on Tuesday week—that was to say, they would be able to pass a Ways and Means Act on that day. If, on the other hand, they did not complete the Supplementary Votes and the Excess Votes to-morrow, it would be practically impossible for the House to rise for the Easter Recess until Thursday fortnight, the day before Good Friday. These were the simple facts, and he would put it to the Committee whether they were willing this Business should be thrown off till the day before Good Friday, or whether they would determine to get through the Supplementary Votes to-night and to-morrow, and thus rise on Tuesday week? Of course, if the House and the Committee were determined not to go further than the present Vote to-night, it would be absolutely impossible for the Government to resist; but he would appeal to the Committee to allow the Government to take the present Vote now, and to do their best to-morrow to get through the remaining Votes.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he was sure there was every desire on the part of hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House to give all reasonable assistance to the Government in taking Votes which were necessary; but, on the other hand, looking at the importance of the Votes to be considered, he thought the House would be prepared to undergo some inconvenience in the discharge of a grave public duty, even though it might amount to their not rising for the Easter Holidays until the Thursday in Passion Week. He thought there was a general feeling in the House that the amounts now asked for the Public Service were of so grave a character that they ought not to sit to an hour of the morning when it was utterly impossible that the Votes could receive that consideration they demanded. His right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would understand that he did not call in question the dates and figures he mentioned; he simply rose to express the belief that the Committee would be perfectly ready to put themselves to some amount of personal inconvenience in order that these Votes might receive proper attention.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he thought that the Government might have expressed some regret at the position in which they themselves had placed the Committee. They knew perfectly well what was the law, and, had they referred to any almanack, they would have seen what time there was at the disposal of the House for the consideration of the Estimates. They passed the New Rules of Procedure largely with the view of having full and adequate discussion of the Estimates. Had the Government really desired that the Estimates should receive proper attention, they ought to have called the House together earlier than they did; Easter was exceptionally early, and, as a matter of fact, the House met exceptionally late. He thought it was so important that these Estimates should receive adequate discussion, that he should very much prefer taking a Saturday Sitting rather than hurrying through the Votes at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, when there was but a thin, discontented, and incompetent House.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): The Government could not anticipate that the debate on the Address would last 11 nights.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It happened last year.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: And the year before.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: Do we understand that after this Vote the Government will consent to report Progress?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): Yes.

Mr. PARNELL said, he thought it more regular that this discussion should proceed on the Motion to report Progress. He therefore proposed to conclude with a Motion to that effect. He joined with previous speakers that the House should give every facility to the Government to enable them to take Votes in Supply at a proper hour, and it had been suggested that it would be reasonable to take a Morning or a Saturday Sitting. It was perfectly true that the Government had been placed in a difficulty by the prolongation of the debate on the Address; but it was a difficulty that they might very readily have foreseen—it was a difficulty which had arisen in two previous Sessions, for the debates upon the Address on both of those occasions had been prolonged for more than a fortnight. It was not very reasonable for the Government to say—"We require these Estimates by to-morrow night, otherwise we shall not be able to adjourn on Tuesday in Passion Week." He did not think it was too much to ask the House of Commons to sit for a day longer, either by taking a Saturday Sitting, or by taking a Morning Sitting, or even by sitting a day more in Passion Week, in order that these most important Estimates should be taken decently and in order. They were at present engaged in discussing a Vote of a most exceptional character, amounting to £40,000, in addition to the very largely swollen Vote which they had previously taken; and the Committee were justified in believing that at 20 minutes past 1 o'clock in the morning the facilities for discussing a Vote of such a character were not those they were entitled to demand. He therefore hoped that the Government would agree to report Progress on this important Vote, and that they would afford those facilities for criticizing their proceedings and their action which the Constitution required when the Government were asking the Committee to vote money. He begged to move that the Chairman do now report Progress.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 17; Noes 97: Majority 80.—(Div. List, No. 22.)

Original Question again proposed.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, that, in reference to the item of fees for counsel, it was a fact that the Estimate for this year had been exceeded very considerably. The total Estimate of the year under the head of Law Charges for Ireland amounted to the sum of about £86,000, and the present application was for a Supplementary Vote of £40,000. The expenditure under the same head last year was about £106,000. He supposed it was not expected that the law expenses would, during this present year, have been so very largely increased. The increase was certainly due, to a large extent, to the passing of the Prevention of Crime Act. If it had not been for the passing of that Act, there would not have been trials in many murder cases; and it must be remembered that the trials which had taken place had been of exceptional importance and exceptional magnitude. In many of those cases the venue had been changed, which involved considerable outlay; and he was quite certain the House would not have considered that those who were in charge of these important matters had done their duty if they had not secured the best legal ability they could command. The hon. Member was in error in assuming that the sum in the Estimate was exclusively for fees to counsel and to the Law Officers; and it might turn out, at the end of the financial year, that this Vote would not all be required. In the course of the year there were not only numerous and expensive murder trials, but a great many other cases under the Prevention of Crime Act, and there was also the regular Assize, which, owing to the amount and pressure of the business, was unusually prolonged. That circumstance explained, to a large extent, why the general law expenses and the fees to counsel were much larger this year; and he could assure the Committee that those having the administration of this matter in Ireland had been in communication with the Treasury, giving the matter their closest attention, and endeavouring to effect the utmost economy in their power. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had made several complaints against the Government in the course of his observations. In reference to the prosecution of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy), that matter had been often before the House, and the language used by the hon. Member had been frequently repeated, and had, he believed, shocked the country. The speech of the hon. Member was considered to be of such a character that it could not possibly be allowed to pass without severe censure, and proceedings on the part of the Government. The proceedings that were taken were not taken under the Prevention of Crime Act; and, as he understood, that was one of the complaints of the hon. Member for Galway, because he asked why the proceedings were taken under a Statute of Charles I. They were not taken under that Statute at all, although, to a certain extent, they were controlled by regulations passed in the Reign of Charles. Many political rights and privileges depended upon Statutes of that age. But when the hon. Member referred to this ground of complaint, he would remind the Committee that, under the proceedings against the hon. Member for Wexford, that hon. Gentleman had it in his power at any time to give security which would have enabled him to attend to his Parliamentary duties. Proceedings were taken against him; and, had it not been for his own action in support of an application for postponement, that coincidence of time pointed out would not have occurred. But while the hon. Member for Galway objected to the conduct of the Government in not proceeding under the Prevention of Crime Act in that case, when he came to the case of Mr. Harrington he complained because the Government did proceed under that Act.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he had never done anything of the kind. He had not made the slightest complaint of Mr. Harrington having been tried under the Prevention of Crime Act. He had complained that Mr. Harrington was charged with intimidating the very people who had subsequently elected him.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) said, that if he had misunderstood the hon. Gentleman it was unintentional; but in reference to the question of intimidation, it did not follow that because persons who had been intimidated afterwards came forward and signed nomination papers, therefore the intimidation did not exist. He could not accept the statement in the newspapers as to the circumstances, about which he know nothing more than, possibly, the hon. Member did. The hon. Member had next referred to the conduct of the juries in a number of cases, and expressed his opinion that two innocent men had been convicted and executed, and based that opinion on their having made dying declarations of innocence. He was not present at the trial to which the hon. Member referred. The trial took place at Cork. The case was twice tried; in the first trial the jury disagreed; but in the second there was a conviction. He was acquainted with the evidence. Nothing could have been clearer or more distinct than that evidence, and, in his opinion, there never was a case more clearly and conclusively proved; and that opinion was shared, he believed, by those who took part in or were present at the trial. These men made dying statements that were inconsistent with their guilt; but those statements did not appear to him to be of the slightest importance in a matter of this kind. No person of sense could, for a moment, lay down the proposition that because a criminal at the last moment, and even under solemn circumstances, announced his innocence, therefore the sentence should not be carried out. If any such doctrine were laid down, very few criminals would ever be executed; for a man who would commit a foul and base murder was equally capable of making a declaration of innocence. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had used some strong language as to the constitution of the juries in Dublin; but in reference to that question, when the hon. Member spoke of trials conducted without a shadow of justice, he differed from the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), who said the Maamtrasna trials were conducted in a manner which commended itself to approval.

Mr. O'DONNELL: I was referring to the first four trials at the Lawson Assize, where the juries consisted of Protestants.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Porter) replied, that at the Lawson Assize the Judge had no more power in the constitution of the juries than the door-keeper had; and with regard to the Maamtrasna trials, if the hon. Member would analyize the juries, he would find that in two cases the juries were similarly constituted. [Mr. O'Brien: There were four and five.] In one case there were; but in that trial there was a conviction. Then, with regard to jury-packing, those cases were not Party cases—there was no question of Protestants and Catholics; for the persons charged and the witnesses were Catholics. And so, in every case, were the unfortunate victims whose death was the subject of inquiry. They were cases of justice being administered; and he did not believe that in their cooler moments hon. Members would say that Protestants would be guilty of the crime of returning verdicts against innocent men. The hon. Member for Waterford City (Mr. Leamy) had mentioned several cases of the administration of the Prevention of Crime Act, and had referred to a case in which 34 men were sent to prison for stopping the hunt. Well, he could conceive that even if no assault was committed, and no bones were broken, yet a mob of 40 people, using violent language, clearly came within the clauses of the Act; and it turned out that one person, who was described as a member of the hunt, used language of which the justice did not approve, and for which he was punished. It was not conceivable that the action of one person against 40 would amount to intimidation, and that case certainly did not come within the clauses of the Act. The hon. Member mentioned another case in which a magistrate, who was stated to have taken part in the trial, was a member of the hunt. The fact of the magistrate being a member of the hunt did not disqualify him from sitting on the Bench; but if the magistrate were present on the occasion, and were in any way mixed up with the transaction, and afterwards sat on the Bench and adjudicated on the case, he thought that was a case of inadvertence on the part of the magistrate. The hon. Member also referred to the case of a newspaper editor who had written an intimidating article, and said that was the first offence of the editor, and was not of that character to which it was supposed the Act would apply. He did not know on what ground it was supposed that the Act would not apply to a newspaper; and he could conceive of no case of intimidation coming more clearly under the Act than publication in a newspaper. If publication by word of mouth was intimidation, far more would publication be in a newspaper, which was circulated all over the world. It seemed to him that there had been no reason shown why this Vote should not pass.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, it seemed to him that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had made no sort of reply to the hon. Member (Mr. H. H. Fowler) with regard to the economical question. He had stated that there had been many more cases in consequence of the Prevention of Crime Act. Of course there were; but £18,000 were put down for fees to counsel in cases arising from that Act alone. Could the right hon. and learned Gentleman state how many cases did arise from that Act? Were there 100 prosecutions? The right hon. and learned Gentleman would not say there were more than 100; therefore, if there were not more, then counsel received in each case £180. Now, in Ireland, as a rule, when a man was prosecuted, he gave counsel £10 or £15, and for that he generally got Queen's Counsel. Why did the Government thrust this expenditure upon the country? He had always wondered why there were so many barristers opposite. The reason was that there was a regular system of bribery in Ireland. It was preposterous, unless it was to be said that everyone who went to the Bar in Ireland was to be bribed to remain one of the English garrison, that this Vote should be passed. Without going into the question in detail, he thought a great deal of what hon. Members opposite said was perfectly right on the mere economical question; and unless he heard a clear explanation from the Attorney General for Ireland, or from the Chief Secretary, respecting this enormous expenditure, he should vote with hon. Gentlemen opposite. Taking the number of cases at 100, counsel in each case got £180; but there was also an item of £15,000 for Crown Prosecutors, who, he supposed, were solicitors. Therefore, the solicitors made £150 in each case, and counsel £180. That was too much; and he thought that if the English Attorney General were present, he would say that, although admitting that in England the fees were excessive, especially when the Government paid them, still these fees were far in excess of any fees given in this country.

MR. DAWSON said, he thought these facts threw light on the whole history of Ireland. The country had been reduced to such a state of prostration under English government, that there was no successful thing there to be compared with the rich harvest of the law in these cases. In an Irish Court to ask a question or make a motion there must be five or six counsel. It was the etiquette that one must ask the question first; then another must ask it; and then a third, and so on. That was why the Government could not find money for relieving the people. Where was the spirit of Plunket and Bush? Where was the spirit even of a man like Butt or MacDonagh, or other men who had gone to the Bar and won credit? It was all gone; and there was no spirit now alive but that which was kept viciously alive by these over-payments. That was the whole explanation. This accounted for the prostration of the glorious profession of the Irish Bar; and he did not think hon. Gentlemen would deny that that this must suggest to the Irish people a *raison d'être* for these continual Crimes Acts and prosecutions. They were the only harvest left in an impoverished country for a degenerate Profession.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY felt that so many new questions arose out of these facts that it would be impossible to discuss them with advantage that night. The Attorney General for Ireland had said he would not, at that hour of the night, enter into details; but what were these questions if details were not entered into? Some of the details involved the whole heart of the questions at issue; but they could not be discussed now. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had been most anxious to do the best he could in putting his case before the Committee. He said—"I shall not go into this question;" "I am not acquainted with the other question;" "I have the question under consideration;" and so he passed from point to point, and he had for his sole support the "still small voice" of the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds). He could say nothing but "According to the best of my judgment;" "I believe that this is the conclusion I have formed;" and so on. He did not discuss a single point, and gave no reasons to the Committee. It was the idlest waste of time to go on professing to discuss these questions under such conditions, and at such an hour. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government found themselves determined to go to a certain point of Supply within a certain time that night or to-morrow. What did that mean? That the Government were determined to pass this Vote, discussion or no discussion; that they were determined to dragoon the Committee to pass Votes in a certain time. Why should the House not have a Morning Sitting on Saturday, or sit until Thursday week, the day before Good Friday? Surely there was nothing so serious in those penalties that the Committee must pass important Votes of this kind, involving great sums of money, without receiving any reasons. He should move that the Chairman do now leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

Mr. Dawson

Mr. SEXTON said, he wished to recall the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman said that if they got through the necessary Votes to-morrow night they would suffer no material inconvenience. After the Vote now before the Committee, there were only three others upon which the Irish Members desired to offer any lengthened observations—namely, those for the Land Commission, the Metropolitan Police, and the Irish Prisons. They had no desire to delay the Committee for a single moment on any Vote on which, in their opinion, it was not necessary to obtain explanations. But in reference to this Vote they thought explanations were necessary. There had been no real discussion upon the Vote; the discussion had been all on one side. They claimed their right to hear what the responsible Minister for Ireland had to say. This was not a matter for a "dry-as-dust" exposition, but for a statement of policy. All that the Attorney General for Ireland had shown was that, though Ireland was a miserable country for the people, it was a good country for the lawyers. Not only was it true that there was a bribe for every lawyer, but he actually believed that County Chairmanships, Inspectorships on the Arrears——

The CHAIRMAN: Under the New Rules the hon. Member is bound to confine himself to the Question before the Committee, which is that I leave the Chair.

Mr. SEXTON said, he thought the Question was the necessity of taking this Vote. This was not a suitable time for disposing of the Vote; for, after a considerable discussion on this side, they had only received a dry legal speech—and in the presence of the responsible Minister for Ireland—and until the Chief Secretary replied the discussion could not be satisfactorily concluded.

Mr. PARNELL said, he could not understand why the Government clung so pertinaciously to having this Vote that night. A certain amount of discussion must take place upon it before it was obtained; and it was manifest that that discussion could not be proceeded with with advantage that night. The Committee was not in a frame of mind to listen to arguments raising the important questions it would be necessary to bring before the Committee; and, taking all the circumstances into consideration, it was not reasonable to expect the Committee to sit up any later now. Suppose the Government agreed to a Motion to report Progress, would they lose any time by giving to Members from Ireland facilities which they asked for, for discussing the questions they wished to discuss? The Government might bargain with the Front Opposition Bench not to take the rest of the Votes that night; but it would be necessary to go into Committee of Supply on some other day; and on the Motion for that purpose the Irish Members could raise the question of his hon. Friends the Members for Wexford (Mr. Healy) and Westmeath (Mr. Harrington). That question had, however, already been partially gone into by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), and it would be capable of an answer from the Chief Secretary. It would be fair and right to give the right hon. Gentleman time to consider the important considerations placed before the Committee with regard to the release of these two hon. Members, or their continued detention, between now and the next Sitting of the Committee. When he introduced a Motion to refer the question of the imprisonment of his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) as a Question of Privilege to a Select Committee, the right hon. Gentleman admitted it was a matter which might profitably and properly occupy the attention of the House. It, of course, became a question for the House to consider what time they ought to take before bringing the matter before the attention of the Committee; and they certainly had been under a considerable hope, and they did still hope, that if the Government received a little more time for the consideration of the matter, the time that they now urged upon the Government to take by agreeing to the proposal to report Progress, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would find himself in a position to give more satisfactory assurances to hon. Members sitting on the Irish Benches than he had yet been able to give. They hoped that by the adoption of the Motion they now made there would be a distinct gain in the matter of the progress of Public Business and the progress of Supply. He and his hon. Friends trusted that the Government would be able to see their way to release the hon. Member for Wexford, in order that he might be able to be present next Wednesday on the debate on the Land Bill which he was so largely instrumental in drafting. And now he would ask the Government what they hoped to gain by asking for this Vote that night? It must have been plainly seen by the course of the debate that there were various matters of great importance requiring further time for consideration. There was the question of the swollen payments that were proposed to be made to the lawyers. They had heard that a new light had dawned on the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler); and they had every reason to hope that if a little more time were allowed, perhaps that light might be increased and intensified, and that those hon. Members might derive the greatest possible benefit by the delay asked for. There were considerations of immense importance in connection with this Vote, which had not yet been put before the Committee; and he would ask the noble Marquess the Leader of the Government (the Marquess of Hartington) whether he really thought there was any material advantage to be gained by refusing the concession now asked—namely, that they might, at a more reasonable time than the present, be called upon to discuss this matter?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, some regret had been expressed that his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland had not replied to the speeches that were made from the other side of the House. His right hon. Friend would be perfectly ready, even at a later hour, to say what he had to say on this subject; but he (the Marquess of Hartington) feared, from the observations that had just fallen from the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), that there was no disposition to allow the Government to take this Vote that night, and he was afraid that the Government found themselves not in a position to press the Committee. He hoped, however, he might gather from the observations that had just fallen from the hon. Member (Mr. Parnell), that if the Government acceded to the Motion now made, that there would be no disposition on the part of him or his hon. Friends to interpose any obstacles to the Speaker leaving the Chair to-morrow when the Motion was put; and he hoped he might also take it for granted that the discussion on these Votes to-morrow would not be protracted to any unreasonable length. He must remind the Committee that, after all, they were only discussing Supplementary Votes, and that it would be possible to discuss the principles involved in the Votes when the Estimates of the year were brought up. He, therefore, would ask hon. Gentlemen to confine themselves, as much as possible, to such exceptional matters as might be involved in the Supplementary Estimates. If the Motion now before the Committee were withdrawn he would agree to report Progress.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

ISLE OF MAN (HARBOURS) BILL.

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

[BILL 101.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. J. HOLMS, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was to give the Government of the Island power to raise money by passenger duties for the purpose of repairing their harbours; and when he told the House that the Bill had the sanction of the people of the Island, and had also received the sanction of the Treasury, he did not imagine any opposition would be offered to the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. J. Holms.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

BOROUGH FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 22.]

(*Mr. Biggar, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Gray, Mr. Callan, Mr. Leamy.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment to Second Reading [7th March]

The Marquess of Hartington

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dawson.*)

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member sees there is an Amendment to the Bill in the name of the hon. Member for Downpatrick (Mr. Mulholland).

MR. PARNELL asked whether that Amendment did not come under the alteration of the Rule known as the Half-past Twelve o'clock Rule, by which it was provided that a Notice of opposition must be renewed in writing? It appeared to him that that Notice had not been renewed in the case of this Bill, as there was not a letter of opposition before the Order.

MR. SPEAKER: This Order of the Day is on the Order Book, under the Order of the House, and an Amendment is attached to the Order of the Day. The Amendment stands on the Paper. It is quite obvious that until that Amendment is withdrawn the Order of the Day comes within the operation of the Rule.

MR. DAWSON said, that, with the permission of the House, he would put the Bill down for to-morrow.

Adjourned Debate *further adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

LAND DRAINAGE PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order under "The Land Drainage Act, 1861," relating to Burgh Saint Peter Improvements, situate in the parish of Burgh Saint Peter, in the county of Norfolk, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 114.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 9*th March,* 1883.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Land Law (Ireland), *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) * [17].

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund, &c. (Permanent Charges Redemption) Act (1873) Amendment * [13], and *passed.*

MALTA (CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION).

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

EARL DE LA WARR, in rising to call attention to the affairs of Malta, with special reference to Correspondence respecting the constitution and administration of Malta presented to Parliament in August, 1882; and to move for further Papers and Correspondence relating thereto, said, that the subject was one which had often engaged the attention of Parliament and of the Government. There had been Petitions, addresses to Colonial Secretaries, correspondence with the Maltese Government, and all substantially agreeing in one point—namely, that some modification was required in the form of Government now existing in the Island. The Papers showed how far from satisfactory was the condition of the inhabitants. Poverty and mendicity were constantly increasing. The dwellings of the labouring class and poor were unhealthy; agriculture from various causes was not developed; commerce and shipbuilding were almost at a standstill, while no efforts were made to encourage industry and enterprize. He did not propose to enter into details upon these subjects; but he might add, from his personal knowledge of Malta, that he did not think that picture was very far from being correct. As to the alleged cause of distress and want of improvement in the country, it might be briefly stated that it was attributed to the form of Government which had existed in Malta since it became a part of the British Dominions. It was that there was a Military Governor only, and that there was no Civil Administrator of the civil functions of the Government. During the period that Malta had been annexed to the British Crown there had been one Civil Governor, Mr. More O'Ferrall, and he held the office only a short time. As to the objection which was sometimes raised with regard to the appointment of a Civil Governor in place of a military one — that Malta being a fortress of great importance to the Imperial interests of this country it would not be possible to intrust the supreme authority to a civilian—he admitted there was some weight in the argument; but it might be answered that the General commanding the forces would retain the entire military authority and command of Malta as a fortress, but at the same time there might be a Civil Administrator responsible to the Colonial Office, who would preside, assisted by a Council, over the local and general internal affairs of the country. Precedents of such a kind might be found in the Colonies; but in hardly any of the British Dependencies had British subjects had so few British rights in the way of self-government as the Maltese. In reviewing the history of Malta since it first became subject to the British Crown, which it did by its own act, it was hardly possible not to see that Malta had been regarded almost as a fortress only, with comparatively little consideration for its development as a country possessing a hard-working and industrious population. It had been heavily taxed for Imperial purposes, while, at the same time, little progress had been made in the material welfare of the people. He was not arguing that great advantages would at once be gained by the appointment of a Civil Governor; it would be a work of time. Neither did he suppose that much good had not resulted from the office being held by distinguished military men, acting under the highest sense of duty and responsibility as Governors; but, at the same time, he could not but think that if a Civil Administrator were appointed benefits would accrue in the development of the resources of the country, and in promoting the general welfare of the population. But there was a further question, not necessarily, though in a great measure, connected with that to which he had referred—he meant not only the extension of the franchise in the election of non-official Members of the Council, but that the Council should have a greater control over the expenditure of the country, and in matters of local legislation and the imposition of taxes. Very urgent representations had, from time to time, been made by persons of influence, and by the inhabitants generally of Malta, showing that control in these matters was enjoyed by British subjects in almost all other places. A Petition, signed by upwards of 8,000 inhabitants, was presented to Parliament in 1879; this was followed by an address to which a reply was given by the noble Earl opposite, then Colonial Secretary, and now Secretary of State for India. That reply was referred to in a subsequent Petition as having "produced a most painful impression among the whole population," the noble Earl having declined to take any steps in answer to the prayer of the Petition. It was not difficult to see where the objection laid with regard to this Council. The Council was composed of 10 official Members, and eight elected Members; consequently, when any question arose, not only of Imperial interest, but also of local interest or taxation, the vote might be carried by the official Members against the elected Members of the Council. This occurred in a recent instance on a question of drainage, where the unanimous vote of the elected Members was defeated by the votes of the official Members. He regretted to find that the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon), who was not now in his place, laid down this doctrine, when Colonial Secretary, that this power of out-voting the elected Members should be retained by the Imperial Government, even on questions of local interest and taxation. Very different, however, was the language of some other Colonial Secretaries. Lord Cardwell, when Colonial Secretary in 1864, said—

> "I will, however, take this opportunity of expressing the desire of Her Majesty's Government that this principle should never be lost sight of by those who administer the Government of Malta—that great consideration should be shown to the opinions of the elected Members of Council in matters of local and domestic interest; and, above all, that no Vote of money should be passed against the majority of the elected Members except under very special circumstances in which the public interests or credit were seriously at stake."

Lord Grey also in 1853, when Colonial Secretary, in Lord Russell's Government, said that every opportunity ought to be taken of giving increased development to representative institutions where they already existed, but in an imperfect order; and he added that it was wise and politic to intrust the civil government to a person—Mr. More O'Ferrall—who, not being burdened with the command of the troops, might have more leisure to look closely into the state of its civil affairs, and ascertain what improvements were required in their management. He believed that they might look for these questions, so vital to the interests of Malta, meeting with due consideration at the hands of Her Majesty's Government. The noble Earl opposite the late Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Kimberley), in a despatch of the 24th of June, 1882, now took a more favourable view of the claims of the Maltese people. He said—

> "The arguments in favour of appointing a Civil Governor to administer the Government of Malta have received my special attention."

And, again—

> "I do not desire it to be supposed that I am insensible to the considerations to which it may be admitted the present circumstances of the Island lend increasing force in favour of intrusting the Government to a civil officer of experience."

These statements afforded ground for hope that the just and reasonable demands of the Maltese people would receive fair consideration, and that the inhabitants of the Island would be placed under a Government which would give to British subjects British rights by enabling them to manage their local and domestic affairs, and to exercise a due control over the taxation of the country.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further papers and correspondence respecting the constitution and administration of Malta."—(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, that he had recently returned from Malta, where he had heard a great deal of the subjects referred to by the noble Earl. In his opinion—and his experience of Malta extended over 40 years—it was not correct to say that the inhabitants were unanimously in favour of the appointment of a Civil Governor. The Maltese did not speak of the days when the affairs of the Island were administered by a Civil Governor as days of unusual prosperity. It was true the rule of Mr. More O'Ferrall had been very popular; but then the fact of that gentleman being a Roman Catholic prejudiced the Islanders somewhat in his favour. The appointment of a Civil Governor was not the great want in Malta. What the people complained of was that proper sympathy was not extended to them by the authorities at home and those who governed them, and this complaint should receive consideration. The late Secretary of State for the Colonies said on one occasion that he was of opinion that the number of voters was not in proportion to the population of the Island, and held out hopes that the subject would receive the attention of the Government. At present there were only 2,300 electors out of a population of 150,000. The noble Earl, with less than his usual accuracy, said that the franchise should be extended to all persons who paid rates and taxes. There was, however, no such person as a taxpayer in the Island; and people thought that, by making such a statement, the noble Earl showed that he had not paid so much attention to the question as he ought to have paid to it. The fact was that the people of Malta had been treated more like a conquered people than as men who ought to possess the rights of British subjects. The higher classes of the population were very intelligent and able; and the lower ranked among the most industrious communities of the world. The people were much interested in all the affairs of the Island, and they felt that they had not that share in its representation which they deserved. They were most sincerely attached to the British Crown, and desired to retain their connection with England. It was an error to suppose that the Island was in a wretched condition. In all directions signs of improvement were to be seen, and agriculture was in as flourishing a condition as it could possibly be in. It was a matter for regret that there was not more sympathy between the English officials and their Maltese fellow-subjects. The want of such sympathy, and not the absence of a Civil Governor, was the principal cause of discontent in the Island.

THE EARL OF DERBY said, he thought the practice of discussing in that House the affairs of our Colonial Dependencies was a satisfactory practice, for those who resided in the Colonies were thus made aware of the interest felt at home in their well-being. He was glad, therefore, that the noble Earl had introduced this subject. Though he could not entirely approve some of the arguments that had been used, or accept as correct all the statements which had been made, he was not disposed to enter into a controversy with the noble Earl. He felt, in fact, bound to accept many of the conclusions at which the Mover of the Resolution had arrived. He thought, however, that his noble Friend had drawn rather toc gloomy a picture of the material condition of the Island. No doubt a good deal of poverty was prevalent; but it would be difficult to show that that poverty had been produced by administrative neglect or mismanagement. It was the natural consequence of the presence of a very dense population within narrow confines on a barren soil. His noble Friend (Viscount Sidmouth) spoke of a want of sympathy with the people as prevailing among the official classes, and of a feeling that improvements were discouraged. That was a charge of so comprehensive a character that it was impossible to deal with it in the absence of details. The only local improvements about which much interest had been excited lately were the repeal of the import duty on grain and the new drainage scheme, which was declared by the best local sanitary authorities to be indispensable. The people objected to the removal of the import duty and the substitution in its place of a direct tax. The drainage scheme also was the subject of very great complaint; so that in these, the only cases of the kind that had recently occurred, the officials were in favour of improvement, and the people against it. Setting those questions aside, he agreed with the general views expressed by his noble Friends. There was no disaffection in Malta, and the people had no desire to be placed under any other Government. They were too few to entertain the idea of standing alone, and they certainly did not desire that the Island should be annexed to Italy; for if it were annexed to that country, they would be much more heavily taxed than they were now. He believed the people of Malta were sincerely attached to the British connection; but there was, no doubt, a certain amount of discontent in the Island, arising from causes to a great extent of a local character. The first question which his noble Relative mentioned was the question of a Civil as against a Military Governor. That was not a question on which opinion in the Island was unanimous; it was one very open to argument, and of which the merits were not all on one side. The argument in favour of a Civil Governor was that a Military Government confined itself to military interests, and did not extend its care to the requirements of the civil population. The argument against a Civil Governor was the obvious inconvenience of separating the civil from the military power, and dividing the decision of questions connected with one another between two co-ordinate authorities, who, if they were not more than ordinarily prudent and cautious, were likely to be brought into collision. The question was an important one, he fully admitted; but no change could be made, if it were to be made at all, until the expiration of the present Governor's term of Office, and that would not be for a period of one or two years. Upon that matter, therefore, he suspended the expression of any opinion. He would only say that he would give a careful consideration to the question when the time came. With regard to the Legislative Council, two matters were made the subject of complaint. One was that the elected Members were chosen on too narrow a basis; and the other that, from the composition of the Council, the elected Members were always outvoted by the official Members. With regard to the first of these complaints, he had dealt with it already. The number of electors was now, he believed, a little over 2,000; but by an arrangement already made, the Letters Patent having been granted, the suffrage would be extended to about a £6 rating. The effect of that would be to substitute some 6,000 electors for the 2,000 and odd who now held the franchise. That would not be considered a very revolutionary change, the total number of the inhabitants being upwards of 150,000. At the same time, it multiplied the present electoral body nearly three-fold, and was a substantial concession. With regard to the other and probably more important question, that of the powers which the Legislative Council exercised, he had thought it desirable to deal with that also. Undoubtedly, it was a fair ground of complaint if the elected Members of the Council were, on purely local matters, liable to be outnumbered and outvoted by an official body which gave its vote as one man. He had endeavoured to deal with that grievance by limiting the number of officials who should attend the meetings of the Council to a number equal to that of the non-official or elected Members, so that the two parties would exactly balance each other. He did not propose that the Governor should, as a general rule, vote at all; it was only in case of an exact balance of votes that he would give a casting vote. The Governor was directed that if the question was one, in his judgment, involving only local interests, and in which no Imperial interests were concerned, he was to accept the decision of the elected Members. If, on the other hand, Imperial matters were concerned, then the Governor might either suspend his decision, or, if he thought fit, he might outvote by his casting vote the elected Members. But, in case of his so doing, he was immediately to report the fact to the Secretary of State. The consequence would be that his powers would not be exercised except under the immediate supervision and control of the Colonial Office. He did not know whether that concession would satisfy all who had complained; possibly not; but it was a very large concession to their reasonable wants, and it would exhibit evidence of a desire to make local self-government in matters not affecting Imperial interests a reality and not a mere show. Another proposal was that, instead of all the electors voting in one constituency, the Island should be divided into electoral districts, seven or eight in number. That proposition had been inquired into. It was one which he saw no reason for opposing. It was a point on which local opinion and local feelings should be consulted, and he proposed to leave it to the Legislative Council to deal with as they might think fit. His noble Friend would see that he had to a very considerable extent anticipated his requests, and had brought, or was bringing, into operation changes which those whom his noble Friend represented desired. He had laid the Papers on the Table that afternoon, and he believed they would be in the hands of their Lordships some time next week.

The Earl of BELMORE said, that it appeared from the Papers that what the Petitioners asked for was that a Civil Governor might be appointed, who should be subordinate to a Military Governor. He thought he was correct in saying that there was no modern instance of such an arrangement. In Ireland there was a Lord Lieutenant and a Military Commander-in-Chief under him; but that was the reverse of what was now asked for. He should like to ask whether the noble Earl would think it desirable to advise Her Majesty to appoint a Civil Governor, who should be subordinate to a Military one?

THE EARL OF DERBY said, he had stated that he did not contemplate any change, because the question would not arise for one or two years. Until then he could not decide.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE CONGO RIVER.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD MOUNT-TEMPLE: I wish to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is in the contemplation of Her Majesty's Government to recognize the claim of Portugal to dominion over the territory adjoining the River Congo; and, if so, whether he has reason to anticipate that the policy that has hitherto prevailed in that territory will not be reversed in regard to the Slave Trade and freedom of commerce? I have been prompted in this matter by the alarm of the manufacturers and merchants concerned in the trade of this district. They are of opinion that if the Portuguese should succeed in exercising a Sovereign jurisdiction over the Native Tribes of that country, the restrictive and obstructive policy which has hitherto been characteristic of the Portuguese Government would seriously interfere with the existing trade, and would also prevent that full development of it which is now anticipated. There is every reason to believe that hereafter the River Congo may become the great highway to Inland Tribes, who are industrious and peaceful, and ready to enter into commercial relationship with Europeans. The civilization of these African Tribes appears to depend in a great measure upon free and legitimate commerce with Europeans; and, therefore, all who are interested in the development of the civilization of the African Tribes must be interested in the answer that the noble Earl will give to my Question.

EARL GRANVILLE: I am glad that the noble Lord has put this Question to me, as it will enable me, I trust, to put an end to misapprehensions which seem to exist, and which, to a certain degree, are shared by himself, as to this important matter. It appears to be supposed by some that Her Majesty's Government propose to give up a vast extent of territory which belongs to this country, with some vague hope that the Portuguese will furnish an obstacle to the ambitious designs of other Powers. The noble Lord is not misinformed to this extent; but even he has considerable misapprehensions on the subject. I do not think it is unnatural that those who have taken a great interest, either in the question of slavery or as to the question of religious efforts, or on questions of trade and commerce in these countries, should feel most sensitive with regard to any proceedings that are likely to be taken. It is not so very long ago that the interests of Europeans in the Congo and other African Rivers were centred in the desire of monopolizing the Slave Trade in them. It will be a great glory for this country that she took the lead in reversing this policy and leading the way to a suppression of this abominable traffic. But a great change has come over the African question. The labours of men like Livingstone, of Stanley, and others, have given us a knowledge of the physical character of Central Africa, and of the populations which inhabit it, showing that there are great capabilities for the development of trade, and we are now better informed as to the civilizing effects which are the sure results of commerce. The work of the Philanthropic International Association, in which the King of the Belgians takes a great interest, the mission of M. de Brazza, the increasing trade in different degrees of the English, the Portuguese, the French, the Germans, the Dutch, and the Belgians on the Congo and its banks, is acting as a stimulus, and affords grounds why no reasonable endeavours should be neglected to insure freedom of commerce and navigation, and to anticipate possible jealousies, which so easily check trade, and which, under the pretence of securing peculiar advantages to some, are really injurious to all. There is much now which is not satisfactory on the Congo. In those territories which we acknowledge to belong to Portugal, complaints are made of high duties, of a differential treatment of the foreign and Portuguese flags, of arbitrary fines, and of other vexations, all of which are great impediments to commercial intercourse. On the Congo itself the Portuguese declare that the Slave Trade is entirely at an end; and there can be no doubt that it is greatly diminished, partly owing to the ceasing of the Transatlantic demand for slaves, partly to our efforts, and partly to a change of policy on the part of the Portuguese Government. But this is not in the least the case as regards East Africa, where we struggle at great disadvantage when trying to suppress the Slave Trade, in consequence of the want of a proper understanding with the Portuguese Government. But there are territories on the Congo to which the Portuguese lay a claim, in the most solemn manner in which it is possible for a nation to put it forward, by diplomatic declarations and by legislative enactments, which, however, have been as constantly repudiated and resisted by us as a matter of right. Successive Secretaries for Foreign Affairs have stated that the fear of encouraging the Slave Trade, and the danger of interference with our commerce, were the political reasons which induced them to lay further stress on the matter of right. The present state of these territories is unsatisfactory as regards the present and the future. It is true that there are many respectable firms who manage to work fairly and harmoniously with the Natives. But it cannot be denied that there is no acknowledged jurisdiction; that in places anarchy prevails; that there are many cases of practical slavery, of cruelty, and then of retaliatory outrages, without any opportunity for redress. It became thus a matter of some urgency to consider whether, without abandoning our position as to the matter of right, the political objections to which I have alluded could in any way be met. An important interchange of views took place in 1881 between our Minister, Mr. (now Sir) Robert Morier, and M. de Serpa, who initiated it. In last October, 1882, M. de Serpa renewed this conversation. The chief object of Her Majesty's Government in assenting to the renewal of the conversation was stated by me to be the abolition of slavery, and the civilization of Africa by the extension of legitimate commerce. The Portuguese Government declared, in still more emphatic terms, that their objects were the same. They gave proof of their being in earnest by expressing their assent to the perfectly free navigation, not only of the Congo, but of other African Rivers, which are arteries of trade; and agreed not only to establish in the territories which we have not recognized as belonging to Portugal, but in all the African possessions of Portugal, the liberal commercial system which was established in 1877 in Mozambique. The general principles of the agreement do not offer any difficulty; but I am far from being sure of coming to an understanding on the conditions which in our view are indispensable. It may be convenient that I should state what appear to us to be essential points. I need not say, in the first place, that the agreement as to dealing with slavery must be complete. In the second place, it is necessary there should be complete security that undue burdens, which do not now exist, should not be placed in any part of the Portuguese possessions upon missionaries, shipowners, or traders. I said that it was supposed by some that we were giving away boundless territory which belonged to us; but, in reality, we are doing no such thing. What we propose is that, without receding from the position of legality as to the right which is claimed, we should agree, on the conditions which we have stated, together with some arrangements of a satisfactory character as to Whydah, to withdraw our objections for the future to Portuguese jurisdiction, within certain defined geographical limits. This engagement ought not to be merely of a bilateral character; and we will, therefore, give our full support to Portugal to obtain a similar assent from other Powers. I am far from being certain that these negotiations will be successful; but if a good Treaty is obtained—and a bad one would be worse than nothing—I believe we shall strengthen the general principle of freedom of navigation and commerce in the great rivers of the world, and that in Africa itself we shall greatly advance the interests of civilization and of commerce. It has been asked what security shall we have that the Portuguese will observe the conditions of any Treaty? This is an argument which, if valid, is fatal to all Treaties. It would be unbecoming in my position to admit that this result would be likely to happen; but, admitting it hypothetically, I would ask how should we have less moral and physical power to enforce the conditions of a Treaty to which Portugal has consented, than that by which we now resist the claim of Sovereignty which Portugal so strongly asserts? It would be wrong of me to go into great detail on matters which are under negotiation; but I trust that the statement which I have made of the general character of the negotiations will be sufficient to enable this House to judge of the principles on which Her Majesty's Government are acting.

LAND LAW (IRELAND).

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE EARL OF **DONOUGHMORE** moved the re-appointment of the Select Committee on the Land Law (Ireland) Act as follows:—

D. Norfolk.
D. Somerset.
D. Marlborough.
D. Sutherland.
M. Salisbury.
M. Abercorn.
E. Pembroke and Montgomery.
E. Stanhope.
E. Cairns.
V. Hutchinson.
L. Tyrone.
L. Carysfort.
L. Kenry.
L. Penzance.
L. Brabourne.

LORD **DENMAN** thought that the subject of inquiry was sufficiently exhausted and the continuance of the Committee superfluous.

Motion *agreed to.*

The Committee to appoint their own Chairman.

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS—SCHEME FOR ST. DUNSTAN'S-IN-THE-EAST—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF **REDESDALE** (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) rose to call attention to a Question put by him to the Government when Parliament met in October as to the course to be pursued in regard to a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners in relation to a charity in St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, the time allowed for addressing Her Majesty to withhold her consent to the same having expired during the interval which occurred in the sitting of the House from the adjournment in August to the meeting in October. The answer he received to the Question was that the matter should be attended to; and he now wished to know what course the Government had taken, or intended to take?

LORD **CARLINGFORD** (LORD PRIVY SEAL) said, the position of the Scheme was certainly a very peculiar one. The Scheme had been laid on the Table of both Houses in the month of August. Then came the long adjournment, and the result was that the larger part of the statutory period during which the Scheme of the Charity Commissioners must lie on the Table was consumed by the adjournment. The noble Earl had put a Question to the Government on the subject, and the Government then, after carefully considering the matter, decided that, under the peculiar circumstances, the Scheme should not be submitted to Her Majesty in Council in the ordinary course, but should be kept back until Parliament met again, so that opportunity might be given to any Member of their Lordships' House who might think fit to take action. He himself much doubted that action would be taken in the matter, because the objections made to the Scheme were identical with the objections which had been disposed of by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Without, however, going into the merits, the Scheme had not yet been submitted to the Queen in Council, and it would not be so submitted until after the Easter Recess, so that any action might be taken in respect to it in either House of Parliament.

SALE OF LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend and render perpetual the sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act, 1878—Was *presented* by The LORD PRIVY SEAL; read 1ª. (No. 17.)

House adjourned at half-past Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 9th March, 1883.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Standing Orders, Mr. Denis O'Conor *discharged,* Mr. Shaw *added.*

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1882-3)—Class III.—LAW AND JUSTICE; Class IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART; Class V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES; Class VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES; Class VII.—MISCELLANEOUS; REVENUE DEPARTMENTS; CIVIL SERVICE EXCESSES, 1881-2.
Resolutions [March 8] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—North Eastern Railway (General).*

PUBLIC BILL—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Borough Franchise (Ireland) (No. 2)* [115].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS (REFEREES).

The CHAIRMAN of WAYS and MEANS laid upon the Table Rules for the Practice and Procedure of the Referees on Private Bills, under Standing Order 88 :—

Locus Standi.

1. The Promoters of any Private Bill, who intend to object to the right of Petitioners to be heard against the same, shall give notice of such intention, and of the grounds of their objection, to the Clerks to the Referees and to the Agents for the Petitioners, not later than the eighth day after the day on which the Petition has been deposited in the Private Bill Office; but it shall be competent to the Referees to allow such notices to be given, under special circumstances, although the time above limited may have expired. All notices shall be indorsed with the names of the Petitioners' Agents.

2. Parties who have given such notice as above, may at any time withdraw the same by giving notice in writing of withdrawal to the Clerks to the Referees, and to the Agents for the Petitioners.

3. The cases shall be heard in such order as the Chairman of Ways and Means shall appoint, and according to a list prepared under his direction, and kept in the Referees' Office.

4. When a Bill is called on for consideration, the Agents for the Petitioners against the same shall be required to produce a certificate of appearance from the Private Bill Office, in which shall be stated the names of the Petitioners, their Counsel and Agents.

5. Not less than one clear day's notice shall be given by the Clerks to the Referees to the Clerks in the Private Bill Office, of the days on which the objections to the right of Petitioners to be heard will be severally taken into consideration by the Referees.

6. All notices required to be given, or deposits to be made, in the Referees' Office, shall be delivered in the said office before five of the clock in the evening of any day on which the House shall sit, and before one of the clock on any day on which the House shall not sit.

7. Notices and grounds of objections will be deemed to have been sufficiently served upon Agents, if left at the Agent's Office before Six of the clock in the evening of any day, Sundays excepted.

Committees.

8. Two clear days at least before the day appointed for the consideration of any Private Bill by a Committee of which a Referee has been appointed a Member, a filled-up Copy of the Bill, as proposed to be submitted to the Committee, shall be deposited by the Agent at the Referees' Office, for the use of such Referee.

9. Copies of all the Petitions, upon which Opponents of a Bill intend to appear before such Committee, shall also be deposited at the Referees' Office, by the respective Agents for the Opponents, two clear days at least before the day appointed for the consideration of the Bill.

(Signed) Arthur Otway,
Chairman of Ways and Means.

House of Commons.
March 1883.

QUESTIONS.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—WAKES

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been directed to a letter in the "Freeman's Journal" of the 6th March, from which it appears that a wake was allowed to be held for two days and nights on the body of a man named Bartholomew Roe, who died in Saint Andrew's parish, Dublin, of a fever of a very malignant type, leaving a widow and eight young children; that the widow was struck down, and died in a few days; that some of the children have taken the disease, and are now inmates of Cork Street Fever Hospital; and, whether he will cause inquiry to be made, with a view to preventing similar occurrences in future?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, my attention has been drawn to this case, and I have made inquiry on the subject. The facts are substantially as stated. The dispensary medical doctor, who, I am informed, is a newly appointed and inexperienced officer, cautioned the people against the holding of a wake. Further inquiry as to his action in the matter is being made. Active steps have been taken by the local sanitary authority to prevent any further spread of the disease.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked, whether four other cases of fever had not arisen from this wake, in one of which the person had died?

[No reply.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 — MESSRS. O'BRIEN, GILHOOLY, AND HODNETT.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. John O'Brien, T. C. Cork, Mr. James Gilhooly, Bantry, and Mr. Hodnett, of Ballydehob, at present undergoing imprisonment in Cork Gaol for words spoken at a public meeting in Bantry, are subject to the treatment prescribed for common criminals; and, if so, whether he will advise that the relaxations allowed in the case of Mr. T. Harrington, M.P., should be extended to those gentlemen? He also wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he had received a copy of the following resolution passed by the Cork Town Council that day:—

> "That, having regard to the reported treatment of Mr. John O'Brien, now in prison on a charge under the Crimes Act, we are of opinion that same should be mitigated, and that we would urge on Her Majesty's Government the difficulties which such treatment, in cases like his, create in the way of the restoration of peace, conciliation, and good feeling in the country. Have forwarded a copy to the Chief Secretary?"

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received, within the last three or four minutes, a telegram from the Mayor of Cork, which, as far as I can gather from what the hon. Member read, is the same as that which he read to the House. The persons mentioned in the Question are treated according to the rules as ordinary prisoners sentenced to imprisonment, only with such relaxations as the medical officer recommends should be made. The Lord Lieutenant asked for my advice on the question; and it is under consideration whether any relaxation in their case should be made.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked, Whether this Mr. Hodnett was not the father of the young man just arrested for having placed a packet of dynamite addressed to the Lord Lieutenant in the post-office at Ballydehob?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he had had no time to inquire into the matter. He had merely seen a statement in the newspapers as to the alleged relationship.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—MR. T. HARRINGTON.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that a person named Thomas Harrington, undergoing a sentence of imprisonment in Mullingar Gaol for using words inciting his audience to riot and disorder, was allowed indulgences inconsistent with the strict rules of the prison; whether the same person was afterwards removed to Galway Prison, and was allowed to wear his own clothes on the journey, contrary to prison regulations; whether it is true that the same person was entertained at dinner at Galway while still in custody, and previous to his being lodged in the prison; and, whether, in the event of any persons in the county Westmeath acting on the advice of Mr. Harrington, and being in consequence sentenced to terms of imprisonment, the Government will extend to them the same leniency and comparative immunity from prison discipline which they have granted to the instigator of the crime?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Harrington was convicted of intimidation under the Crimes Act, and sentenced to imprisonment. I have already stated in this House that the Lord Lieutenant instructed the prison authorities that such relaxation of the prison rules might be made in his case as is consistent with the maintenance of prison discipline and as the law will permit. The prisoner was allowed to wear his own clothes when being removed to Galway. The practice, which was relaxed in this case, is to send prisoners in prison dress. I have not the time to obtain a reply to the inquiry I have made as to the alleged entertainment at Galway. I trust that no such cases as the hon. Member supposes in the last paragraph of his Question will arise; but should they do so, they will, no doubt, receive due consideration on their own merits.

MR. SEXTON: Is there any clause in the Crimes Act making a father responsible for the acts of his son?

[No reply.]

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—MR. HEALY, M.P.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, considering that the name of the honourable Member for the town of Wexford is on the back of the Land Law (Ireland) Act Amendment Bill, which stands for Second Reading on the 14th instant, the Government intend to prolong his imprisonment beyond that date?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the fact that the name of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wexford is on the back of a Bill which stands for second reading on Wednesday does not appear to the Government to afford sufficient cause for shortening the term of imprisonment to which he has been sentenced in default of bail. I may point out that it is open to the hon. Member to give bail at any moment he wishes to attend this House.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—OVERSIZING OF COTTON CLOTH.

Mr. BROADHURST asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is now in a position to give a reply to the memorial of the cotton operatives for a medical inquiry into the system of oversizing of cotton cloth?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; the facts placed before me are sufficient to justify and call for a medical inquiry being held into the effect upon the persons employed on this process.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—SUB-COMMISSIONS.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, of the 17 Sub-Commissions under "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," 7 are in Ulster and the remaining 10 distributed amongst the other three provinces; viz. 4 in Connaught, 4 in Munster, and 2 in Leinster, there is any special reason for the great partiality shown to Ulster in this respect; if the County of Derry, with an area of 522,315 acres and a population of 164,991, has a Sub-Commission entirely to itself, while the Counties of Clare and Limerick, with an area of 1,508,836 and an aggregate population of 322,089, have but one Sub-Commission to serve for both; whether he is aware that many applications to fix fair rents have been pending in Clare County for over 12 months, and with no immediate prospect of being disposed of; and, whether, if these circumstances are as stated, he is prepared to recommend the appointment of a special Sub-Commission for the County of Clare?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the distribution of Sub-Commissions according to Provinces is correctly stated; but it was made, not according to the area and population of districts, which would be a very fallacious guide, but according to the amount of business to be done. The number of applications to have fair rents fixed, which remained undisposed of when the Circuits were arranged in January were, in Ulster 24,146, and in the other three Provinces combined 29,859. The allocation of seven Sub-Commissions to Ulster does not, therefore, appear to show any partiality towards that Province. The number of cases pending in Londonderry, which the hon. Member specially named for comparison, as having a Commission to itself, is 2,369; while the number pending in Clare and Limerick together, which also have only one Commission, is 2,573. It is true that many applications have been pending in Clare for more than 12 months; but there will be three sittings of the Sub-Commission before the middle of next month, and 475 cases are listed for hearing. The Commissioners are not satisfied with the rate of progress in Clare, and hope after the close of the present Circuits, in April, to be able to make arrangements to expedite it.

THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE—EXCLUSIVE RIGHT OF RUSSIA OVER THE KILIA MOUTH.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the fact that an arrangement has been made with Russia at the Conference now sitting in London, in virtue of which Russia will have the exclusive right of controlling the navigation through the Kilia mouth of the Danube, subject to certain conditions with respect to the levying of tolls, &c. and that a Treaty in this sense is in preparation for the signature of the Powers, thereby cancelling Article 16 of the Treaty of Paris, which remains in force under Article 63 of the Treaty of Berlin, and which provides that all the mouths of the Danube shall be under the control of the European Commission; if so, whether an opportunity will be given of discussing the subject in Parliament before a provision so important to British trade was abrogated with the consent of Her Majesty's Government? He did did not wish to embarrass Her Majesty's Government in the conduct of the delicate negotiations then going on, but he thought the House ought to be in possession of the facts.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I quite understand that it is not the intention of my hon. Friend to embarrass Her Majesty's Government. In answer to the hon. Member's Question, I may say that the Conference has not yet finished its sittings, and the Members of it are not yet released from the engagement of secrecy as to its proceedings. I hope, however, that Papers will be laid before Parliament in the course of next week.

BARON **HENRY DE WORMS** said, the noble Lord had not answered that portion of his Question which referred to an opportunity for discussion by the House before the Treaty was signed.

[No reply.]

SCOTLAND—THE CROFTERS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. **MACFARLANE** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state generally the subjects proposed to be submitted to the Commission about to be appointed to inquire into the alleged grievances of the Crofters, the area over which the proposed inquiry will extend, viz., what counties and islands will be included?

MR. **J. W. BARCLAY** asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman, Whether the Commission to be appointed to investigate the condition of Crofters in the North of Scotland will inquire into the extent to which Deer Forests have in recent years been created, and the effect of such afforesting of land upon the population?

SIR **WILLIAM HARCOURT**: Sir, I think my answer will cover both Questions. It is proposed to make the reference to the Commission in general terms. I think I have stated before, that those terms will be an inquiry into the condition of the crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. As to what are the circumstances which affect these conditions, that will be for the Commission to determine. All the circumstances which they think affect these conditions they will properly inquire into. In regard to the localities, the terms will be sufficiently large to embrace all the localities affected by the question, and it will be for the Commissioners to judge what are the places in which inquiries ought to be made.

MR. **MACFARLANE**: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the names of the proposed Commissioners, or will he, before the Commission is appointed, afford the House an opportunity of learning what those names are?

SIR **WILLIAM HARCOURT**: I am sorry to say I cannot do that. The hon. Member must be aware that the constitution of a Commission like this is a very delicate matter. I am engaged, and have been engaged for several days, in endeavouring to ascertain the names of those who would be in a position to serve upon it, and I am not now in the position to state the names of the Commissioners.

In reply to Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL,

SIR **WILLIAM HARCOURT** said, it was not proposed to specify counties in the Reference to the Commissioners.

SCOTLAND — DESTITUTION IN THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS—THE SEEDS ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. **D. CAMERON** asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he has received, through the Board of Supervision or otherwise, any detailed information as to the destitution in the Western Highlands and Islands; and, whether, having in view the urgency in point of time for discussing the "Seeds Bill" introduced by the honourable Member for Glasgow, he will, in order to facilitate its progress, communicate to the House any information which he may possess, and which bears on this subject?

THE **LORD ADVOCATE** (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Sir, a large amount of information has been received unofficially in regard to the destitution in the Western Highlands and Islands; and when the Bill of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) was introduced, I requested the Board of Supervision to obtain such information on the subject as they could within a necessarily limited time. They accordingly sent telegrams, putting certain questions to 23 parishes believed to be chiefly affected by the destitution, and the replies received from those parishes, as forwarded by the Board of Supervision, can be laid before the House for its information.

MR. **D. CAMERON** inquired when the Papers could be had containing this information?

THE **LORD ADVOCATE** (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR), in reply, said, the Papers could be had immediately.

DOMINION OF CANADA — DETENTION OF THE "ATALAYA."

MR. **A. J. BALFOUR** asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What proportion of the expenses connected with the detention of the ship "Atalaya" at Quebec, for alleged infringement of the

Foreign Enlistment Act, has been paid by the Canadian Government?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, the whole of the admitted damages and costs in the case of the *Atalaya* have been paid from Imperial funds; that was done in accordance with the directions contained in the despatch under which the ship was detained, and which left no option whatever in the matter.

STATE OF IRELAND — DISTRESS IN THE WEST AND NORTH-WEST.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What documents, in the nature of reports of Local Government Board Inspectors, resolutions of Boards of Guardians, communications made to the Irish Executive, and replies by the Irish Executive, and especially by the Irish Local Government Board, dealing with the prevalent distress in certain parts of the West and North-West of Ireland, he is prepared to lay upon the Table of the House?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, there will be no objection to lay on the Table all resolutions of Boards of Guardians regarding distress which may be specially asked for. The Reports of Local Government Inspectors are deemed confidential, being made for the information of the Board; and it would certainly be extremely inconvenient if, in drawing up those Reports, they anticipated their being called for by the House; but if any special Report is asked for, I will see whether it cannot be presented. I gave a general pledge last night to lay the views of the Local Government Board before the House, and I hope the Papers I shall lay on the Table will do so.

Mr. SEXTON asked, whether, considering the urgency of the question, the right hon. Gentleman would make a compilation of the documents he intended to present, and lay them on the Table as soon as possible, for the information of Members.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I hope to lay some documents of an interesting and important character on the Table before Easter.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—PARLIAMENTARY OATHS ACT (1866) AMENDMENT BILL.

Mr. HICKS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that a great number of Members must be absent from the House during the first week after Easter, in consequence of their having to attend at Quarter Sessions, he will give an assurance that the Affirmation Bill shall not be proceeded with until after that date?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I cannot give any other answer than that which was given by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, and repeated by myself, that we will give every Notice before the second reading of this Bill comes on.

SOUTH AFRICA (THE TRANSVAAL)—CRUELTIES OF THE BOERS.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention had been called, as early as Monday last, to the following passage, page 67, paragraph 49, in the Further Correspondence issued on Wednesday upon affairs in the Transvaal, and vouched for by Mr. Rutherford, secretary to the British Resident to this effect:

> "These four children, Khate, Tapiesu, Pheta, Mentshe, were wounded; four others were killed by the Boers. It is true this was during the war; but they being children, their ages from 9 to 16, and as they were unarmed, and were herding calves only, it was against our laws to kill such or any cowherds if they do not resist capture. The Boers know this rule well;"

and, whether his attention was called to page 74, of the same Report, Annexure H, headed "list of murders committed by the Boers," detailing the murder of nine old and infirm men and one woman, and testified by the Chief Montsoia and three witnesses; and, if not, why the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies has failed to put the House in possession of information which must have been well known at the Colonial Office? I wish to make a short explanation of the reason why I put the Question. On Monday last statements were made by the Prime Minister to the effect that he had no authentic information respecting the murderous outrages committed by the Boers; while the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies declared that the facts were already in the possession of the House.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord is now entering upon controversial matter. It is impossible for me to hear these statements without answering them. I wish then to know, Sir, if the noble Lord is in Order in making them?

Mr. SPEAKER: The noble Lord is in Order in referring to such matters as relate to the Question on the Paper, and are necessary to explain it; but he is not entitled to enter into any controversial matter.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: I have no desire to raise any question upon which there is likely to be controversy. I only wish to ascertain whether certain facts which have a bearing upon this Question are correct.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir—[*Cries of* "Order!"] I am speaking to Order. The facts which the noble Lord began to state were of a highly controversial character; and what I want to ask is, whether it would be agreeable to the House that I should enter into them in replying to the Question of the noble Lord?

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will be able to make a full answer to my Question, and I shall not be deterred from asking it by any reply which he may be pleased to make to it. I wish only to add that at the time the Blue Book was——

Mr. SPEAKER: The noble Lord is now referring to a former debate during the present Session, and is clearly out of Order.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: I have no desire to refer to any former debate at all. But, perhaps, my Question is already so clear that the House will understand what I mean. I will therefore put the Question to the Prime Minister as it stands on the Paper.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he was aware on Friday last that there was in the possession of the Government the official Report upon the South-West of the Transvaal by Mr. Rutherford, Secretary to the British Resident, Prætoria, of which the following are extracts (page 56 [Transvaal, in continuation of C. 3419]):—

> "It is just impossible to record in a report, necessarily limited to its special subject, what anyone who will visit these parts of the country will see day by day. All observance, nay, all sense of law, of right, of reason, is being daily increasingly obscured and rejected. To see land, property, cattle, is to lust for and seize them.
>
> "I have long since much modified any extreme negrophilist views I may have held in earlier years, but not believing that the 'final cause' of the existence of Natives in such immense numbers in South Africa is only that they should be wiped out; and believing, on the contrary, that the problem of their being allowed to continue to exist beneficially to others and becoming improved themselves is one that can be solved, I turn with sad repulsion from what I have seen and otherwise know to exist."

Page 67,

> "The Chief (Mankoroane) then pressed me, just as had been done by Montsiosa and his Council, to give them some information and some hope of intervention on their behalf, pressed hard upon me how unfalteringly they had stood by the English and respected the English laws and line, and 'the Queen's word;'"

and, if it is the intention of the Government to make any determined effort to stop the atrocities and blood-guiltiness of which they now have authentic official information?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, with respect to the important and painful details that are communicated in the Questions put by the hon. Members, I may state that these details reached this country during my absence from it, and they were not within my knowledge at the time I spoke on Monday. At the same time, I must observe that these Questions have no connection with the debate on Monday last. My observation in the debate of Monday last, that the information before the House was not authentic information, referred to what was said by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). On Monday last, we were debating matters supposed to be connected with the conduct of the Boer Government within Transvaal territory, and falling under these provisions of the Convention which refer to the Transvaal territory. The important citations contained in these two Questions differ, I believe, in all these respects. They relate to the acts of independent persons and to another frontier—the opposite and most distant frontier of that territory—namely, the South-West, instead of, I believe, the North-East, and are transactions purporting to have occurred beyond the Transvaal Frontier, and falling under different conditions and different considerations altogether. I may, perhaps, say that my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Ashley), in his speech during the debate on the Address, signified distinctly to the House that the Government were in possession of painful information relating to the atrocities committed in that region. With regard to the Question of the noble Lord, these are matters of very great importance, that are receiving the careful attention of Her Majesty's Government, with the view of a prompt decision as to the course which it might be their duty to take.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: Will Her Majesty's Government state the decision when they come to it to the House?

Mr. GLADSTONE: As I understand the matter, the probability is that the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) will be able to make a Motion on this subject on Tuesday, which may afford a convenient opportunity; but if he should not be able to fulfil that intention, it will be quite proper that the Government should state on a very early date—and I hope not later than the day mentioned—substantially the course that they intend to pursue.

Mr. GORST gave Notice, that he would then move that this House regrets that Her Majesty's Government have so long ignored the proceedings of the Transvaal Government in the cruel and atrocious attacks made upon the two chiefs, Mankoroane, and Montsioa; and that this House is of opinion that energetic steps should be taken to secure the strict observance by the Transvaal Government of the Convention of 1881, so that these chiefs may be preserved from the destruction with which they are threatened.

SEED ADVANCES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR gave Notice that, on going into Committee of Supply, he should call the attention of the House to the conduct of the Government with reference to the Seed Advances (Scotland) Bill.

Sir JOSEPH W. PEASE: I rise to a point of Order. I wish to know, Sir, if the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) can enter upon a discussion in reference to the Seeds question, when a Bill upon that subject is down upon the Paper for a second reading?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not the least intention of discussing the merits of the Bill, but, simply, the attitude taken by Her Majesty's Government, and I apprehend that that will be strictly in Order.

Mr. Gladstone

Mr. SPEAKER: I can only say, in reply to the Question of the hon. Baronet, that I must defer my answer to it until the case actually arises. It will then be my duty to say whether the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) is in Order or not.

SALE OF POISONS—LEGISLATION—PATENT MEDICINES.

In reply to Mr. Warton,

Mr. MUNDELLA: It is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill for the further regulation of the sale of poisons, which will include provisions respecting the sale of so-called patent medicines of a poisonous character. The Bill will be introduced in the other House of Parliament.

THE DANUBIAN CONFERENCE—THE KILIA MOUTH.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Prime Minister, Whether he would give a day for the discussion of the abrogation of the Treaty of 1856 by the Danube Conference?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I cannot answer a Question regarding giving a day for the purpose of considering a matter which the hon. Member assumes to be matter of fact, but which I do not conceive to be matter of fact, and with regard to which, therefore, no occasion has arisen that would form the basis of a discussion.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked, whether there was no alteration proposed at the Conference with regard to the Kilia mouth of the Danube?

Mr. GLADSTONE: That is not the question. The hon. Gentleman said that the Treaty of 1856 had been, or was about to be, abrogated. That was what I was not aware of. I cannot give a day for discussing these things. They will come in their order.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. J. LOWTHER asked whether it was the intention of the Government to propose a Vote on Account?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers), in reply, said, that that was a matter as to which the Government would give the usual Notice. A Vote on Account would follow the Supplementary Estimates and the first Army and Navy Votes.

MR. GLADSTONE: I ought to mention that as far as the Supplemental Estimates are concerned, it is a matter of absolute necessity, in order to meet the provision of the law, that they should be passed by a certain day. If we fail to despatch all the remaining Estimates to-night, I believe, judging from what we conceive to be our duty, it will be our duty to ask the House for a Sitting to-morrow for that purpose. Supposing the case of their not being finished to-morrow, I think a great inconvenience would arise. It would be most imprudent of the Government to suppose that they can take a Wednesday for that purpose, and, therefore, we cannot include Wednesday. Under these circumstances, I say there is very urgent necessity for closing the Supplementary Estimates to-night or to-morrow.

In reply to Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, as to the probable day on which the House would meet after Easter,

MR. GLADSTONE said: I think the noble Lord is under a mistake, and the question of the day on which the House meets after Easter has no bearing whatever on the completion of Supply. The real difficulty which the Government have to consider is the time required after the Estimates are voted for the passage of the Appropriation Bill through the House of Lords.

In reply to a further Question by Colonel MAKINS, as to the day on which the House would re-assemble,

MR. GLADSTONE said: I will endeavour to say on an early day next week; but I cannot give any positive answer on that subject until the Supplementary Estimates are furnished.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked, whether, in the case of the Supplementary Estimates being finished to-morrow, the Army Estimates would be taken on Monday?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir, that is the intention.

In reply to Questions from Mr. GORST and Mr. W. H. SMITH,

MR. GLADSTONE said, that it was the intention of the Government to take the Naval Estimates on Thursday. He could not undertake to say at present what other Business would be taken before Easter.

EGYPT—LORD DUFFERIN'S DESPATCH.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked, When Lord Dufferin's despatch would be laid on the Table.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I stated the other day, that the despatch will be presented as soon as possible after it is returned by Lord Dufferin, and I think that will probably be early next week.

INDIA—DEATH OF SIR SALAR JUNG.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If the Government have received any authentic information as to the report that the death of Sir Salar Jung had not arisen solely from natural causes?

MR. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, that no information had been received as to the circumstances of the death of Sir Salar Jung, which would lead them to believe the statements which the noble Lord had indicated to the House.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

FACTORY AND EDUCATION ACTS (SCOTLAND).—RESOLUTION.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK, in rising to direct attention to the operation of the Factory Acts in Soctland, in so far as they affect Elementary Education in that Country; and to move—

> That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the want of harmony which practically exists between the Factory and Education Acts in Scotland be remedied by legislation at the earliest opportunity,"

said: I desire to show that this want of harmony exercises a very injurious effect on the system of education in Scotland. It imposes unnecessary and vexatious duties upon those who are charged with factory superintendence; it imposes additional responsibility on the school boards; it interferes in many cases with the legitimate claims for the supply of labour; and, not unfrequently, it imposes a very great amount of hardship upon those parents of the working classes who have taken the most efficient means for the education of their children. I think, in order clearly to apprehend the condition in which we are in Scotland in this matter, it is necessary to consider, in the first place, the terms of the Acts of Parliament which regulate education and employment in that country. You have, in the first place, the Scotch Education Act of 1872; in the next place, an Amendment Act relating to education in 1878; and, in the third place, the Factory Act of the same year. The clauses of the Act of 1872 are very clear and explicit. The 69th clause provides that all children between the ages of 5 and 13 shall be educated. The 72nd prohibits anyone employing a child under 13 who has not attended school regularly for three years, or until he can read and write, and renders the employer of such a child liable to fine and imprisonment; and the 73rd requires a certificate of ability to read and write and of a knowledge of elementary arithmetic granted by an Inspector of Schools in order to exempt parents and employers from any legal proceedings. The Act of 1872 was considerably modified by the Act passed in 1878, the 5th section of which Act forbids the employment of children under 10, and allows those between 10 and 14 to work only if they have a certificate in the terms of the Act of 1872, unless any such child is employed and is attending school in accordance with the provisions of any Act or Minute of the Scotch Education Department; and the Factory Act of 1878, by the 20th section, prohibits the employment of children under 10; but by the 26th section it allows a child of 13, who has passed a certain Standard of education—which Standard is to be fixed by the Secretary of State—and has made a certain number of previous attendances, to work full time as a young person under the terms of that Act. These are the Acts of Parliament which bear upon the point. But, besides these Acts, there is permission to the Education Department to pass certain regulations, and in accordance with that Act the Scotch Education Department, on the 16th of December, 1878, resolved that the Standard of education allowing the partial exemption of children above 10 from the obligation to attend school should be the 3rd Standard prescribed by the Scotch Education Code, and that the Standard of educational ability to give full time work after 13 should be the 5th Standard. Those are the Acts and Minutes which regulate the question of education and employment. On the question of how far these Acts and Minutes are reduced into practice, we have some facts that are quite certain and undoubted, and others upon which a certain amount of doubt and uncertainty arise. With regard to the former, it is certain that, both under the Factory and the Education Acts, no child below 10 can, under any circumstances whatever, engage in remunerative employment. In the second place, it is certain that no child under 13 can work full time at all, no matter how much he knows; and, in the third place, it is certain that every child over 14 can work full time, no matter how little he knows. Now, besides these cases upon which no dubiety exists, we have two cases in which the same amount of certainty is not quite so clear. We have first, the case of children between 10 and 13 who are permitted to work half-time. Under the Acts to which I have directed the attention of the House, and under the Minutes of the Scotch Education Department, children between the ages of 10 and 13 are allowed to work half-time. Before the month of August, 1879, no Educational Standard was required for half-time work; it was sufficient that they were attending a certified school; but after that date the Minute of the Scotch Education Department came into force, and the 3rd Standard was laid down as that which was required to enable children to work half-time. Then we have the case of children between 13 and 14 years of age. These children can work half-time, under the same regulations as affect the case of children between 10 and 13; and they can work full time as "young persons," in a technical sense, under the Factory Act, in the first place, if they have a certificate of having passed the 5th Standard; or, in the second place, if they have a certificate of "due attendance," as defined by the Scotch Education Code of 1880—namely, that they have made 250 attendances after five years of age, in not more than two schools, in each year for five years, whether consecutive or not. These are the facts which result from the operation of the Acts of Parliament and the Minutes of the Education Department. There is no doubt, I think, that the intention, both of the Acts and the Minutes, was that, for the purpose of half-time employment, the 3rd Standard should be the Standard of educational efficiency in Scotland; but, in point of fact, that regulation is now practically in abeyance, and the difficulty we have to contend with has arisen from the peculiar wording of the 5th clause of the Act of 1870. That clause says—

> "Such a child shall not be employed, unless attending school in accordance with the provisions of any Act of Parliament regulating labour, or of any Minute of the Scotch Education Department."

I understand that a legal doubt arose in reference to the peculiar phraseology of the latter part of that clause; and I believe the matter was so doubtful, that the opinion of the highest legal authority in Scotland was taken on the point, and that opinion showed such dubiety that no school board felt justified in bringing the case before the Superior Courts to be settled. The matter has rested in that very unsatisfactory state from the time that opinion was given until now. On the particular gravity and importance of this question, and its practical effect upon education, I might adduce a vast amount of testimony which I have been favoured with by persons who take a deep interest in the matter; but I think it will be for the convenience of the House, and will meet my own case, if I lay down simply four statements. The first is found in the 27th page of the Report for 1881 of the Chief Inspector of Factories. The Inspector for the Edinburgh District, there says—

> "Cases frequently arise in my district, of children under 13 years being granted certificates from the School Board, permitting them, as a reward for proficiency, to work full time, sometimes accompanied with a proviso that they shall attend a night school. A child armed with this authority naturally thinks it very hard that the Factory Act interferes and nullifies the advantages he has gained by his own industry and good conduct; the parents are also aggrieved, and the employer is naturally much annoyed, and expresses his disgust at the discrepancy between the two Acts in no measured terms."

Again, the School Board of Glasgow, in their Report for 1881, says—

> "There is a want of harmony between the Factory Act and the Education Act. Some children who have not the requirements of the Education Act may, and frequently do, leave school about 12, but cannot legally work full time until they are 13; while others who have attained the age of 13 are free under the Education Act, but not having passed Standard 5, nor made the necessary attendances, they are not allowed to work full time until they are 14 years of age."

And, in their Report for 1882, they repeat this statement, and add—

> "It is a striking and significant fact that while there were 8,375 children between the ages of 12 and 13 at school in 1881, there are only now 6,438 children. Children under 13 cannot be employed full time in factories and workshops. There is only a limited demand for them in offices, and there is a strong temptation to them to take irregular work, or hang about the streets until they are of proper age."

Then I find the School Board of Paisley, who have also great experience on these particular points, giving an opinion in very much the same terms. They say—

> "We find that the numbers are on the increase, and that out of the 809 under this Act, 266 have not passed the 3rd Standard. These children will, as a rule, be far behind in their education when they leave school, so that we do not wonder that the half-time movement is one which has never commended itself to the public. There are three schools in our town into which half-timers only are admitted, although there are schools under the Government Inspector, where half-timers are likewise admitted. We think that if there was more harmony between the Factory and Education Acts, and if healthy children about 12 years of age, who have passed Standard 5, could be employed to work full time in healthy places, there would not be the same inducement to parents to send their little ones to work on half-time at 10 years old—a custom which is rapidly extending."

They add that there are 600 children in Paisley, under 13 years of age, who have met the requirements of the Education Act and are not attending school, but who could be much better employed than in hanging about the streets. Therefore, they feel that some alteration must be made now, or very soon by the Government. The only other extract which I shall quote to the House is from the school board with which I am myself connected, and which fairly represents the average of a great number of country school boards. It is a mining, manufacturing, and agricultural district, and this is the opinion of one of our most experienced officials—

> "What is wanted is a definition of the standard of education necessary to enable a child between 10 and 13 years of age to work half-time, which would be recognised both by the factory and education inspector. There is a difficulty also with regard to children between 13 and 14 years of age. The Factory Acts do not allow these to work full time until they have

> passed the 5th Standard, while school boards have no right to interfere with children above 13 years of age. The effect of this is, that while these children have to attend school in order to be allowed to work, the school board officer has no control over them."

Now, Sir, I do not think it necessary to take up any more time upon this point, although, if I liked, I might lay similar testimony before the House from almost every part of Scotland; but, under the present circumstances, I do not feel justified in doing more than is absolutely necessary to prove my point. I should like now, very briefly, to bring under the notice of the House one or two only of the very peculiar cases which arise from the practical working of these two Acts. In the first place, Sir, I will point out that the definition of "child" is different under the Education Acts to what it is under the Factory Acts. For the purpose of education, a "child" is a person between the age of 5 and 13. After a child is 13 years of age, the power of the school board ceases by Act of Parliament; and in Scotland, when a child under 13 years of age has passed the 5th Standard, the school board has practically no further control over him; and, therefore, the child ceases to be a "child" for educational purposes. On the other hand, the Factory Act defines a "child" to be a person up to the age of 14 years, and an important distinction of that sort leads to very many difficulties when we come to reduce them to practice. In the case of a child who had passed the 5th Standard, as I have said, the control of the school board over it ceases; but there are very many children who are over 13 years of age, but who have not passed the 5th Standard, nor have made the necessary number of attendances to entitle them to the "due attendance" certificate, and, therefore, if they are allowed to work at all, they are only entitled to work as half-timers, and if they do, they must attend school in order to satisfy the requirements of the Factory Acts. They are, then, in this position, they are attending school without the school board having any control over them. Again, you have children who have passed the 6th Standard before the age of 13. They can only work as half-timers; as half-timers they must attend school; but by the Education Act, with the consent of the school boards and the wish of their parents, they are relieved from attending school when they have passed that Standard. Under the Factory Acts, in order to be able to work, they must attend school, and if they do not, those same parents are liable to fine and imprisonment. There is another case which frequently occurs. A boy has a "due attendance" certificate, and is 13 years of age, and he may work in a factory or workshop under the Act full time, having scarcely any education; but another boy who has passed two subjects in the 5th Standard, and therefore has a respectable amount of elementary knowledge, is not allowed to take employment in a shop or warehouse where his work is practically educational. Then, as often happens, in country districts, where there are no factories or workshops, a child between 13 and 14 who has not passed the 5th Standard, and who has not got a "due attendance" certificate, cannot work half-time because there is no opportunity for doing so; the school boards cannot touch him because he is over 13; he cannot legally get employment otherwise; and, therefore, that child is placed in an enforced state of idleness, at an age of life when it is especially necessary that he should be taught habits of industry. I think it is unnecessary to quote other cases, because those who know the Acts know very well the variety of cases there are that are constantly rising up. I have now laid before the House the proposition which I first laid down, and it would be improper for me, under the circumstances, or under the scope of the Resolution, to do more than indicate the particular direction which legislation might take; but there are two points which, I think, are especially worthy of attention. In the first place, it is very necessary there should be some Standard of educational efficiency, which should be recognized both by the Education Acts and the Factory Acts. I am aware that, in some districts of Scotland, higher Standards might be required than in others—the 4th Standard being recommended in some—but I am not prepared to say what Standard would be the most advisable and necessary for the whole country in the circumstances of the case. My opinion, however, is —and it is based upon facts coming within my own knowledge — that the 3rd Standard would be probably sufficient, and that it would meet all the requirements of the case. But I do not wish to place that before the House in any other shape than merely as my own private opinion; but I am satisfied of this, that whatever Standard of education may be laid down as that without which half-time employment cannot be entered into, it would require to be very carefully guarded, so as, in the first place, not to interfere with those who have already, without that educational requirement, been so far legally, or by the ordinary custom, engaged in half-time occupation. I think also that it might be necessary to follow the example and precedent of the English Act, and in some cases, at any rate, to provide for possibly a temporary or local exemption. I am perfectly aware that the case of exception to Acts of Parliament is one which would be gladly and properly avoided; but when you come to deal with practical and existing circumstances in various localities, I think we must make a choice either between an exception or an evasion; and if you have to take that choice, it is better to have exceptions rather than evasions. Then, Sir, I think also it would be very advisable, in any measure which may be in the future laid before the House, that some means should be taken for bringing the Standards and years somewhat nearer than at present. I have received a copy of an opinion of the School Board of Glasgow on this point, which I believe represents the unanimous judgment of a body very competent to deal with the point. It is in these terms—

> "That the parent of a child of 13 years complete shall, as at present, be free from prosecution under the Education Act; and that, at the same age, the child should be entitled to be employed full time under the Factory and Workshops Act and the Education Act of 1878."

I think, taking into consideration the great experience which the School Board of Glasgow have had in the work of education among people where this particular point arises—for I believe it has come before them more than in almost any other part of the country—I think that opinion is worthy of consideration, although I will not say that I agree to it to its full extent. I am quite sure, if the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council is able to hold out any encouragement that this matter will receive the attention of the Government at as early an opportunity as possible, and that the experience which the various Departments have had will be brought to bear in bringing forward the measure, it will render much more easy the work of national education in Scotland In conclusion, I have only to thank the House for the kind attention given me in dealing with a subject necessarily dry, and should my Motion be practically agreed to, and should a measure of this kind, in course of time, be brought in, I am confident it would be productive of the greatest benefit to the whole community. The hon. Gentleman then proposed the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Mr. R. PRESTON BRUCE, in seconding the Motion, said, that, in his opinion, his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) had succeeded in showing the want of harmony between the Education Acts and the Factory Acts as now enforced in Scotland. It appeared to him (Mr. Bruce) that the inconvenience resulting from that want of harmony came principally under two heads. The first and most important evil was that half-timers—children of 10 years of age and upwards—were employed in factories, without having previously passed any educational Standard whatever. He believed there was no doubt that was the case, although it was directly in the face of the provisions of the Education Act of 1878, and of the Departmental Minute of that Act. According to the Departmental Minute, no child ought to be employed as a half-timer in a factory or workshop who had not previously passed the 3rd Standard; but, owing to some defect in the wording of the Act, he believed that proposition was not operative, and, as a matter of fact, children were employed long before they had reached even that small educational Standard. He agreed with the hon. Member that the 3rd Standard would be the best to select as the minimum, without reaching which a child should not be allowed to take employment. But, at any rate, whether it was the right Standard or not, he trusted that the Government would be able to see their way to lay down that there should be some educational Standard, up to which every child must come before being employed as a half-timer. The other principal question to look at was the position of children between the ages of 13 and 14. These children were in a somewhat peculiar position. They were no longer compellable under the Education Acts to attend school; but, on the other hand, under the Factory Acts they were not allowed to be employed full time in factories unless in certain cases—namely, when they had got a certain certain certificate of education, or of attendance at school. The consequence of that was, that there were a number of children who could no longer be obliged to attend school, and, at the same time, were not allowed to take full-time employment in the factories, and who very probably might spend their time not in the most advantageous manner. There was also the case of those children under the age of 13 who had passed the 6th Standard, and who were no longer compellable to attend school. They, too, by the Factory Acts were prevented from taking full-time employment, and they might for a time be left in enforced idleness. Now, he believed it was suggested that, as regarded the difficulty of children between the age of 13 and 14, it might be got over by altering the definition of a "child," and defining a "child" to be a person between the age of 13 and 18, instead of between the age of 14 and 18, as in the Factory Act. It was, however, observed that if that were done, it would remove the stimulus that at present existed, and which encouraged the child to obtain the 5th Standard certificate at the age of 13 in order to be qualified for work. Before sitting down, he would just ask the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council to one other matter of detail. It had been pointed out that the certificates that were necessary for the employment of children were very numerous, and referred to both physical and educational fitness; and he would like to refer the right hon. Gentleman to Section 27 of the Factory Acts, where he would see that a surgeon had to give a certificate of fitness, which should be to the effect that he was satisfied by the production of the certificate of birth and "other sufficient evidence" that the person named in the certificate was of the age specified. He was informed that under cover of these words "other sufficient evidence" a certain amount of laxity existed in granting these certificates, and he thought it was obviously of great importance, both that these certificates should be made as simple as possible, and that they should honestly represent the facts which they purported to certify. He hoped, therefore, the Government would be able to give some encouragement to his hon. Friend, and that he would secure that amendment of these Acts which he had so ably pointed out.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the want of harmony which practically exists between the Factory and Education Acts in Scotland be remedied by legislation at the earliest opportunity,"—(*Mr. Cochran-Patrick*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. F. HENDERSON said, he was quite sure that all those who were interested in the cause of education in Scotland were very much indebted to the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) for having introduced this subject to the House. To the general proposition which he had made, he (Mr. Henderson) did not think any possible objection could be taken. It was exceedingly desirable, and very necessary, that the two great Acts regulating the education and labour of children in Scotland should work together in perfect harmony, and, wherever it could be shown that defect existed, it was of great importance that it should be remedied as early as possible. What he was particularly interested in was the question of insisting on an educational Standard for the employment of half-timers, and he was sure the House would excuse him if he entered somewhat into detail upon this matter, because the town he had the honour to represent was much more deeply interested in the question of half-timers and their relations than any other town in Scotland. From the nature of the staple industry of Dundee, it admitted of a very large proportion of unskilled child labour being employed. He believed the number of operatives engaged in the jute manufacture represented rather over than under 40,000; and when he mentioned that of those there were not less than 4,500 half-timers, hon. Members would at once perceive the importance of the subject to the constituency he represented. He believed that number represented more than were employed throughout the rest of Scotland. He understood that Glasgow with its varied industries, and with four times the population of Dundee, had less than 1,000 half-timers; and in Paisley there were less than 600; so that the House would at once perceive this was a matter of great importance to Dundee, and therefore any regulations made by any future legislation must be a matter in which Dundee must take a great interest. As early as possible after the passing of the Education Act of 1872, and after providing for the necessary school accommodation that was required, the School Board of Dundee had their attention directed to the question of the half-timers. He was a member of the School Board at that time, and of the sub-committee delegated to inquire into the matter. They were then under the impression, afterwards fully borne out by their investigations, that a very large number of the half-timers were educated at schools over which there was no inspection whatever, and that they were, in reality, getting no education at all. He had heard it often stated within the last few days that there was an impression that the manufacturers of Dundee were neglectful and remiss in their duty in sending the half-timers to school. He was very glad that he now had the opportunity of directly and emphatically denying that allegation, because nothing was more gratifying to the committee than to find that on every hand the employers of these children were anxious to find means to co-operate with the School Board, whereby they might be sure of the education of the half-timers. In consequence of the investigations of the committee, a half-time school was established by the Board in one of the districts of Dundee. That school still existed, and the employers of the neighbourhood most willingly contributed to the expense. He believed it was from the beginning a source of profit, and not of loss to the ratepayers. So successful was the experiment that the School Board had added two more schools, there being now three schools under the management of the School Board inspected by the Government Inspectors, and furnishing education to half-time children. There were also private schools connected with factories, and they found a great many of the employers of half-time children take a pride in the efficiency of their half-time schools. He would give them the Report of the Inspectors of one of the half-time factory schools, and one under the control of the Board. At the inspection of the one under the control of the Board in 1881 the Inspector said—

> "The work all over the school was remarkably well done, and the results are far beyond what could have been expected."

The note to that by the Chairman of the Board was that the school provided by the Board was a boon to the community. The Report from the half-time factory school, where 250 half-timers attended, was to the effect that the school had been remarkably successful, and in the Report for 1882 the Inspector said there was nothing new to report; all the arrangements were admirable, the teachers worked heartily and effectively, and the results were really astonishing, and much beyond the average of schools. He had read those Reports to the House, to show that in the large majority the education of half-timers was good and successful. As he understood the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cochran-Patrick), he did not pin himself to the 3rd Standard, but would allow discretion to be used in that respect, according to the varying circumstances in different localities. The school board officer reported that application of the test of the 3rd Standard disqualified more than one-half of the children now employed in Dundee, and would disqualify 99 per cent of the applicants. He (Mr. Henderson) had no doubt the question would be asked—"What are the causes which contributed to bring about this state of matters in Dundee?" Well, there was one cause which was quite apparent. There were in Dundee at present 2,068 children—and he believed these children were mostly under 10 years of age—because, if they were above that age, they would seek employment as half-timers—2,068 children now being educated in the ordinary day schools, which were not inspected. There were also 1,000 children, engaged as half-timers, being educated at schools which were not inspected; so that they had, in the first instance, 2,000 children growing up to half-time age, getting what might be called the name of education, and nothing more, at ordinary uninspected schools, to come up and swell the ranks of the ordinary half-timers; and then they had 1,000 half-timers also being educated at those uninspected schools. He believed a large number of those ordinary schools were held in rooms wholly unsuited for the purpose of education; and when the half-timers came in the afternoon, at 1 or half-past 1 o'clock, the practice was not to put them in the same room, but to turn the ordinary scholars out into the street to play, in order that the half-time children might get such education as was provided for them. So that these schools which were not inspected were one of the greatest difficulties with which the school board had to deal in these matters. They had no power to inspect them. [Mr. MUNDELLA dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head; but the school board, he knew, had no power to examine these schools, which were really doing a great injury to both classes of scholars. But they relieved the parents from any charge of wilfully neglecting the education of their children. It had been asked—"What has the school board been doing during the 10 years that the Education Act has been in operation, when such a state of things could exist?" He could speak very confidently of what the School Board of Dundee had done during those 10 years. Perhaps no board in Scotland had been constituted so favourably for carrying out the Education Act in its proper spirit as the School Board of Dundee. They had had the advantage of having on the Board the late Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and also, at the same time, the Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland. They had also had the Bishop of Brechin, who was distinguished for his efforts in promoting the social well-being of the people; and they had had the oldest Procurator Fiscal of Scotland, who had been deeply interested in the cause of education, and was one of the contributors of £50,000 for the establishment of a College in Dundee; so that every class of opinion was represented and combined in an object which was to carry out the Act of 1872 according to its spirit, and make it a success. Well, that Board spent about £1,000 a-year in enforcing the compulsory clause of the Act of 1872. Nearly one-fourth of the total fees contributed by the City of Dundee had been expended in enforcing attendance. In addition to that, the members of the Board had voluntarily subscribed to a fund to provide clothing for those children who were not so provided, in order that the parents might have no excuse. When the Act of 1878 was passed, he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman and many others thought a great step would be made, and that now no difficulty whatever would arise in enforcing the compulsory clauses. In Dundee, at least, these expectations had not been realized. At the commencement of the Session of 1879 there were 2,534 children on the default register, and the daily attendance was only 63 per cent. In 1880, there were 496 on the default register, and only 61 per cent in daily attendance. In 1881 there were 2,457, and a daily attendance of 65 per cent. In 1882 there were 2,929 on the default registers, and an attendance of only 61 per cent; and he noticed that, in the month of February this year, the officer reported that the daily attendance was still only 61 per cent. In reference to the particular Motion now before them, the School Board of Dundee had passed a resolution, dated last month, declaring that, "instead of advancing the cause of education, such a motion as this would seriously retard it." The short of the matter was that there were thousands of children at present in Dundee, educated in the half-time schools, who probably would not otherwise have got any other education at home; and the imposition of a hard-and-fast educational test would, on the authority he had stated, disqualify one-half at least of those who were at present working half-time, and disqualify 99 per cent of the children who applied when they were 10 years of age for admission as half-timers. They must have some regard to the special and exceptional position of Dundee. With regard to the children who were attending ordinary day schools undergoing inspection, he had his own favourite remedy, which he, of course, did not expect the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council to accept. That was to abolish the exaction of fees from the children attending schools, and open the school door to them. But that, he feared, was not to be thought of at present; but, at all events, in any new legislation, they ought to give power to the school board, or to the Government Inspector, to inspect those schools which were not under inspection, not to allow any school to be opened for the purpose of giving elementary education to children which would not be obliged to submit to the inspection of a qualified Inspector. With all deference to the right hon. Gentleman, he was still of opinion that school boards had no power whatever to enter these schools, or to insist upon their receiving the visits of the Inspector; but he was afraid that the right hon. Gentleman had had the power all those years, and had not exercised it. There was no doubt, he thought, that the Act of 1878 imposed a duty on the Inspector, to see that every child employed at half-time work should be, for a certain time, at an efficient school; and the same clause provided that the Education Department should declare and publish in the district what they certify to be an efficient elementary school. So far as he was aware, there had been no test applied by the Inspector to see whether the child had been at any school whatever. There had been no effort made, so far as he was aware, to ascertain whether the half-time schools which were not under the Inspector were efficient schools for the purposes of the Act. So that he did not think the Education Department could altogether absolve themselves from all share of the discredit which must attach to such a state of affairs. He readily admitted that some standard of education ought to be imposed as a test on half-time children. He believed it was impossible, in the face of what was being done in the manufacturing districts in England, to contend against such a proposition in Scotland. But what he would impress upon the House was that if the test were applied to Dundee, situated as Dundee was, it must be applied very gradually. As he had shown, many of the children who at present attended as half-timers were not able to pass any Standard at all; and he would suggest that, for a year after the passing of the Act, the 1st Standard should be the test for the education of these children. In the following year they might raise the Standard to the 2nd; and then after a couple of years they might pass on to insist on the 3rd. Unless they proceeded in some such method, he was perfectly convinced that the passing of the 3rd Standard as an educational test would result not merely in crippling a great industry, which provided sustenance for many thousands of people, who otherwise would have to be supported out of the poor rates, but would enormously increase the difficulties which the school board experienced in enforcing the compulsory clauses of the Education Act; and, at the same time, it would indefinitely prolong the period during which many thousands of poor children were kept in a state of poverty and ignorance, and in many cases, he was afraid, effectually prevent their ever escaping from it.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR: I will only say a few words on the question before the House, for I know how important it is that Supply should be reached. The subject is, however, of great importance to the welfare of Scotland, and we are much indebted to the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) for having introduced it to the attention of the House. The difficulties to which the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Henderson) alludes are, no doubt, formidable as regards that town, and have been clearly stated by him. But they are difficulties of the same kind as those which have been surmounted in a frank and manly spirit by all the factory towns in England, especially those of Lancashire and Yorkshire. These towns have adjusted themselves to the educational conditions imposed by this House, no doubt with some considerable inconvenience to themselves in the first instance, but with much ultimate benefit to the general population, and with positive industrial advantage, by disciplining and increasing the productive powers of the children engaged in the factories. The educational condition in itself is reasonable. No child can be employed before 10 years of age as a half-timer, as the object of the Factory Act is to insure that before they enter employment they should pass a Standard which can be readily attained by a child of nine. The purpose of this is very clear. If children came unprepared to the half-time schools at 10 years of age, these schools degenerate into giving the mere elements of education, while their object is to carry on children from Class III. to Class VI. before they reach 13 and become full-timers. The hon. Member for Dundee contends that the town of

Dundee, though it makes efforts for the education of its own population, cannot insure that of the Irish population, which comes in an uneducated state to seek for employment in that busy manufacturing town. No doubt that, to a certain extent, is true; and I pointed out that danger to Scotch towns when I addressed the House a few days ago on the need of compulsory education in Ireland. It is quite true that many Irish emigrants are thrown upon our large towns in a deplorable state of ignorance, without having learned to appreciate the benefits of education for their children. The difficulties in dealing with these Irish operatives are great, and have to be overcome. But I think that my hon. Friend the Member for Dundee throws upon the Irish much more responsibility for the result than he is justified in doing. He estimates, as I understand, the Irish population at 50,000—about one-third of the whole population of his town. If anything like this is truth, there must have been a startling change since 1871. In that Census—for, as yet, we have not the result of 1881—there were only 14,200 Irish born inhabitants in Dundee. If they have increased in proportion to the population, there should be 17,000. No doubt, the children born in Dundee of Irish parents give a much greater proportion of the Irish race in Dundee than that number; but for this the town of Dundee is responsible, and ought to provide for their education. As the whole school children represented by 17,000 would be less than 3,000, the actually imported Irish children of school age could scarcely reach 1,000, or, at most, 2,000. Now, there are about 5,000 half-timers in Dundee, three-fourths of whom, we are told, could not be employed if the low education test of Standard III. was shut in their faces, as a gate, before they could enter the factories. If this be true, it is a melancholy fact; but it is one for which the town of Dundee is responsible in the growth and care of its juvenile population. I do not believe, however, that any such numbers would be excluded. Even in 1871 there were 71 per cent of the children of school age in Dundee found in the schools, and the proportion must have much augmented since that time. If the Factory Acts of England and Scotland are assimilated, parents will very quickly learn to give their children that educational pass which is necessary for employment. If children do not pass Standard III. by 10 years of age, how is it possible to expect them to pass Standard V. or VI. by 13, when they may become full-timers? I have treated the question chiefly as limited to Dundee, because that seems to be the only town which exhibits a panic at the proposal to assimilate the law. No town in the Kingdom has been doing more for secondary and higher education than Dundee has in recent years. For primary education it has also made liberal, though not yet sufficient, provision. I am sure that a little reflection will induce the public-spirited citizens of Dundee to accept the educational test for labour which other factory towns have worked out in an energetic and patriotic spirit. The population of that town is, undoubtedly, a difficult one to educate from its mixture of races. But the children who go to the factories are chiefly born in the town itself, and their education will render them more orderly and law-abiding citizens. At all events, Dundee must see by the spirit in which this Resolution has been considered by this House that there are very few Scotch Members who are not ashamed that Scotland is not under as stringent a Factory Law as England, and that they will do their best to assimilate the laws in both countries, and thus procure for the factory population of every part of Scotland those educational blessings and productive advantages which have followed the application of laws regulating the employment of juvenile labour in the manufacturing towns of England.

Mr. MUNDELLA: I think the hon. Member for North Ayrshire is to be congratulated on the debate which has resulted from the sensible and admirable Motion which he has put on the Paper. The hon. Member never introduces an educational question to this House without speaking in the most useful and practical spirit; and I must recognize the very good service he has done before to the cause of Scotch education, whenever we have had this question under consideration. The Scotch Act of 1872, no doubt, made no provision whatever for half-timers. The 5th Standard provided for full time by the powers conferred by the Act of 1872 upon the Education Department; but in 1875 the

Board of Education in Scotland reported how important it was that some means should be found of dealing with the question of half-timers. In that Report, which we have had under consideration, I find that the question whether the Education or the Factory Acts were paramount had been frequently under the consideration of the Board; and they had come to the conclusion that in consequence of the indefinite wording of the Act of 1872, the Factory Acts were paramount, and, consequently, that children could enter on half-time labour in Scotland without passing any Standard; but they could not enter on full-time labour under 14 years of age unless they had passed the 5th Standard. They recommended a very strong measure indeed, and one very much beyond what the hon. Member for North Ayrshire has recommended—

> "We respectfully submit, in the interests of all classes of the community, that the Legislature will confer a great benefit on the country by providing that after, say, three years from this date no person under 14 years of age shall be employed either in factories or otherwise, or allowed to earn wages in any form, until they have obtained a certificate that they have passed a satisfactory examination in at least the 5th Standard of the Scotch Code."

That would, undoubtedly, be a very large step in advance, and one which I think, in the present state of employment in Scotland, would not be practicable. In 1878, in order to meet these difficulties, an amended Act was passed, providing the 4th Standard for half-time employment. In December of the same year the Education Department fixed Standard III. as the Standard of half-timers employed throughout Scotland. I cannot agree with the hon. Member opposite that Section 5 of the Act of 1878 leaves the matter at all in doubt as to whether the Factory or the Education Acts are paramount. I believe the hon. Gentleman opposite and Lord Watson inserted words expressly providing that the Factory Acts should be paramount for the employment of children in all the steam factories which came under the control of the Factory Inspectors; and, consequently, the position in which that left the factory children was something like this—that all the half-time children, except those employed in factories, were required to pass the 3rd Standard; but the children employed in factories might enter upon labour without passing any Standard at all. There are in Scotland some 35,000 half-time children. 27,000 of these children are employed in shops, or employed on errands, and must pass the 3rd Standard of the Scotch Education Code; but the 8,394 children employed in the mills of Scotland need pass no Standard at all. In certain places this is very unfair as against other kinds of employment, because it opens a gate whereby children who escape the Education Act will always find employment in the mills when they cannot find employment elsewhere. The number of half-time children in Scotland is, after all, very small compared to what it is in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and other parts of England. The number of children on the register in Scotland in September, 1881, was 544,982, and the whole number of half-timers was only 35,000. The effect of this in Dundee has been related very graphically by the junior Member for that important burgh. He has shown that large numbers of the half-time children in that burgh receive no education whatever, except the education they receive after they enter upon their labour. The result is, that you are passing into the population a very large number of children who are either very imperfectly educated or totally neglected.

Mr. HENDERSON: What I said was, not that there were a large number of children who got no education, but that they got no education worthy of the name. We have 2,000 educated in non-inspected day-schools there. I take it they do not receive a good education.

Mr. MUNDELLA: I take it in the sense that a large number of children receive no education worthy the name before they enter the factory, and then a considerable proportion of these children are not in attendance or inspected when they enter mills and factories, and, as a result, they pass into full-time labourers, and get no education worthy of the name. That is a very deplorable state of things. The hon. Member agreed that some measure should be taken to prevent the continuance of such a state of things; but the hon. Member seemed to think that the school boards had no power whatever under the Education Acts to put an end to these private adventure schools. Well, it is quite true that they cannot put an end to them, but they can enter and inspect them. They can inspect and examine the children in the schools. They can examine the register, and they can make application to the School Department, and declare them non-efficient. My hon. Friend seems to doubt; but if he reads the 30th section of the Act he will find it is the case. Any class of schools can be examined and inspected, and the scholars, too, can be inspected; and you may ascertain whether the school building is suitable, whether the teaching is efficient, whether the registers are properly kept—and, failing this, the school board has power to declare the schools inefficient. I am sorry to say the School Board of Dundee has been too content to allow these private adventure schools to go on in a non-efficient state, and I hope that this will no longer continue. The hon. Member for Fifeshire (Mr. Preston Bruce) pointed out the evils which exist in respect to the children of 13 and 14 years not being under compulsion either to work or attend school. I think that is a great evil. If children of 13 can pass the full-time Standard they ought to be free to go to work. If children of 13 or 14 are not going to work, then they ought to be compelled to attend school. But there is another point to which he referred, which cannot be dealt with under any amendment of the Education Act, and that is the Inspectors' certificates. That is a matter that must be dealt with by the Factory Acts. I was very glad to hear the hon. Member (Mr. Henderson) say, on the conclusion of his speech, that he admitted that some Standard, after all, ought to be set up. Now, I should like to explain what was the position in England and Wales before the Act of 1880. We had a similar state of things in this country to that which now exists in Scotland. There were conflicts of opinion on the Acts between Factory Inspectors and Inspectors of Schools as to which Act was paramount with regard to half-time children. To put an end to that doubt, in 1880 we made the bye-laws paramount. There were the same difficulties to encounter as those referred to by the hon. Member. No doubt, in Liverpool, Manchester, and Salford, and all over the Lancashire and Yorkshire towns, there is a large Irish immigration, and we had to meet the difficulties of children coming from Ireland, not being properly instructed, and not being qualified immediately to enter upon labour. In England the bye-laws are fixed by the school board, or the school attendance committee, with the consent of the Education Department; but they are not fixed by the Education Department itself. If they were, I think we should fix one uniform Standard for every class of labour throughout the country. In nearly all the flourishing towns of England, Standard III. has been thought far enough; in some Standard IV. has been adopted, and I am assured that where Standard IV. has been adopted it has worked admirably. Huddersfield is a case in point. It has Standard IV. for half-timers, and Standard VI. for full-timers, and the Act is carried out with the strictest impartiality. Liverpool, Manchester, and Salford have Standard III. In 1,500 school board districts in England, Standards III. and IV. are Standards for half-timers, and in only 175 districts has Standard II. been adopted—What is the effect of this in England? We hear every day reports from our Inspectors—the most gratifying reports—of having a Standard of education for half-time employment. Here is a typical report of a factory district in England. The town of Stockport had its school board four years ago. Stockport has no board school, and pays the highest fees of any town in England. The 2nd Standard is adopted for half-time, and this is the result. In the last Report, September 29, 1882, they say—

> "We have now 60 half-timers who are still working in Standards I. and II., a considerable proportion of these were working previously to August, 1880, and therefore could not be interfered with."

That is explained in this way. When we passed the Act of 1880, naturally we did not make it retrospective, so as to include those children who were already at work. We said the children must go on and complete their work. We could not turn out all the children in Dundee. In October, 1874, there were 2,856 children working half-time in the mills of Stockton. Of these, 145 children were under Standard I.; 824 in Standard I.; 661 in Standard II.; 669 in Standard III.; 383 in Standard IV.; 146 in Standard V.; 28 in Standard VI.; and none over that Standard. Now, we come to

September, 1882, after having applied the half-time test, and the parents having been educated. Now they must educate them before they bring them to labour, and they must not neglect them afterwards. There were no children under Standard I. in 1882; in Standard I. there were 11; Standard II. there were 49; Standard III. there were 460; Standard IV. there were 691; Standard V. there were 615; and in Standard VI. there were 322, against 28 in 1874. Now, do we want a better illustration of what comes of having a test Standard, which every child shall be required to pass before he enters on the half-time movement? If the parent knows he cannot bring his children to the workshop or factory until they have passed some Standard of education, that parent will begin to educate his children at five years of age. But when the parent knows that there is no test, what is the result? He sends his children to those miserable adventure schools to which my hon. Friend has referred. I have some account of these private adventure schools in Dundee. There are such schools, holding from 40 to 200 children, carried on in kitchens, and taught by persons having no kind of education or qualification for teaching. They are simply schools to evade the Education Act and the Factory Acts. This is only branch of a very important question. A question was brought before us early last Session by an hon. Member in respect to the difficulty of enforcing compulsion. No doubt, the term "gross neglect," which requires to be proved against the parent, is exceedingly ambiguous, loose, and indefinite; and, as a result, the magistrates do not sometimes enforce attendance. We propose to amend those words, and amend that part of the Act. It is quite certain we ought to amend this part of the Act. Having had proof, having tested what can be done in England, having satisfied ourselves what can be done without imposing hardships on the children or employers, we ought to amend the Act so as to put the Scotch Act on all fours with the English Act in that respect. We ought also to amend it in the direction indicated by the hon. Member for Fifeshire with respect to children from 13 to 14. Having said this much, I have said everything I can. The Government is fully alive to the spirit of the Resolution which the hon. Member has presented; but if I say to him that I should prefer that we should at once vote that the Speaker leave the Chair in order to get into Committee of Supply, I hope he will not take that as an unfriendly act towards his Resolution. I can promise the hon. Member that at the very earliest opportunity—and I hope it will be this Session—I will endeavour to amend the Scotch Education Acts of 1872 and 1878, both in respect to the defects pointed out by the hon. Member for North Ayrshire and the hon. Member for Fifeshire.

LORD JOHN MANNERS thanked the right hon. Gentleman for the way in which he had met the Motion of the hon. Member for North Ayrshire; and hoped that the hon. Member would now be disposed to withdraw his Motion, and allow the House to get into Committee of Supply.

MR. BROADHURST said, that the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Ayrshire was one in which they could all agree; but there was something in his speech which he certainly hoped the Education Department would not agree to. It was where the hon. Member referred to boys having passed Standard VI. before they were 13 years of age, and suggested that they might then commence work. [MR. MUNDELLA: No; we cannot have that.] He sincerely hoped that no permission of the kind would ever be granted.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he sincerely hoped that in any change which would be made in the Factory Acts, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Education Department would take care to provide means by which half-time schools might come to be as much used in Scotland as in England. It appeared to him these were the best means of education, and that opinion was held by many of the most eminent educationalists, especially by the veteran authority, Mr. Chadwick. There was very great reason to believe that children were not benefited by being kept too long at school, and that at half-time schools they could get almost as much and as good education as in full-time schools. From a moral and educational and a physical point of view, there were great advantages in a system under which a child was half the day at industrial work and the other half at school improving his education; and he hoped other manufacturing towns in Scotland would endeavour to follow the example set by Dundee, and increase these half-time schools.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that before they passed from that subject, he had an appeal to make to his hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Collings), with reference to a Notice which stood in his name on the subject of peasant proprietorship. The convenience of the House, and almost the necessity of the case, warranted him in making an appeal that the hon. Member should be satisfied to postpone the discussion he proposed to raise to another day. That course would certainly be of great advantage to the House in enabling them to proceed promptly with the Business of Supply. In Committee of Supply there were various subjects that would be discussed, and which the Government must frankly admit ought to be discussed. It was not because the Government gave the Motion an unkind reception that he made the appeal; but he did it simply with a practical object, which he felt sure the hon. Member would appreciate.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS said, it was impossible to resist the urgent appeal of the Prime Minister in this matter. He had been very anxious to bring on this Motion, for the reason that there were so many of the labouring classes especially who were most anxious to see his Motion discussed. But he thought he should not be acting for the best, even on their behalf, if he were to bring it on now, as it could not possibly receive the full and fair consideration which it deserved.

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK observed, that, after what had fallen from the Vice President of the Council, he considered he had really gained all he desired by the Resolution. He had asked the attention of the Government to the subject, and they had promised to take an early opportunity of remedying the defect in the law. On that assurance he was willing to withdraw his Amendment if the Government wished. ["No!"]

Question put, and *agreed to.*

LAW AND JUSTICE—DORMANT FUNDS IN CHANCERY.

OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON, in rising to call attention to the defective manner in which the Law requiring the publication of the lists of Dormant Funds in Chancery is carried out, found grave fault with the manner in which the Chancery Office furnished, or rather failed to furnish, the particulars of sums of money in their possession. The law required lists to be made public every three years, and to be issued in alphabetical order—neither of those directions were attended to. Human ingenuity could hardly have devised a method of publication more adapted to conceal the information which was in the possession of the office than the authorized version of dormant claims put forth by the Paymaster in Chancery. In the meantime, the money of the suitors was being used for purposes from which they derived no benefit. The Court of Chancery did sometimes, in cynical language, decide how some of this money, which did not belong to it, was to be used; for instance, the language used when it handed over £1,000,000 belonging to suitors to be expended on the Palace of Justice—

> "A million of money standing to the account of securities purchased with the surplus of the interest arising from securities carried to the account of moneys placed out for the benefit and better security of the suitors of the Court of Chancery!"

If it was only mismanagement in high places that had to be complained of, he should not have interested himself in the matter; but the effect of the system of concealment was that it awakened false hopes among numbers of people who thought they might be claimants. The system prepared the ground for gigantic frauds, such as the famous next-of-kin frauds last year in Birmingham. A Society was established under the name of the Law Agency for the Recovery of Sums in Chancery; more than 200 persons were victimized. The fraud was founded on delusions which such publications as the Chancery Paymaster issued helped to keep up. Information was only given to claimants at the Chancery Office through solicitors. Agencies for the assistance of claimants were, consequently, perfectly legitimate in themselves; but it was a serious grievance to the public that funds could only be rescued from the grip of Chancery at enormous cost. Other public offices gave information of the private property in their possession, and endeavoured to discover the owners, by publishing the dates, the amounts, the addresses, and every other particular which was within their knowledge. This was the practice of the Indian Government, the War Office, and the Bank of England. The Chancery Office was the only exception. The Master of the Rolls in Ireland had spoken in no measured terms of this system. He said—"The Government ought to be compelled to publish the accounts." His hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General had not attempted to improve the system. For three years in succession he had called attention to the subject, and had met with evasive answers. He trusted that both sides of the House would now affirm that they would not allow the standard of public morality in Government Offices to sink below the level of common honesty.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, they had had a very amusing speech from his hon. Friend on this subject, which he had also brought forward on the 10th of March last year, and he had not much varied his description on the present occasion. The accounts referred to had to be published every three years, and the last publication had taken place on June 25, 1881; and, therefore, the next publication would be immediately after September 30, 1883. When the debate took place last year, he had to admit that there had, no doubt, been neglect in not publishing those accounts in proper time, and the course the debate took was that he promised then that there should be perfect accuracy, and that every despatch should be made. No publication had taken place since the Motion of last year. It was impossible to give all the details asked; but sufficient details would be given for all practical purposes, and any respectable person making a claim to funds in Chancery would get every facility for establishing his right. Since 1852 one-half of the claims had been made by three firms of solicitors alone, and he expected this was a scheme of certain persons who wanted to know too much, in order to base their claims upon information furnished. He would renew the promise previously made that everything would be done within reasonable prudence to give all the information required.

MR. GREGORY said, that he believed the regulations already made afforded such information as the public could fairly demand; and there could be no doubt that a trade was carried on by certain persons in regard to these funds in the Court of Chancery against which some protection should be afforded.

MR. DONALDSON-HUDSON said, he thought the Attorney General had rather evaded the question raised by the hon. Member for North Shropshire, which was not as to the frequency with which the lists were made out, but rather that, when they were made out, they were useless. At present only experts could understand them; whereas if clear and proper lists were provided much trouble and expense would be saved to suitors, and this should be done, notwithstanding that a readier means of obtaining access to funds would diminish those means which might be devoted to the provision or accommodation of future Law Courts. It was only fair, however, that for the large number of suitors interested in this question more ready means of obtaining information about those funds should be provided.

THE BRITISH COLONIES—GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

MR. R. N. FOWLER rose to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government are aware that, in August last, Mr. Watermeyer, Chief Magistrate of Griqualand East, acting as Commissioner for the Cape Government, formally annexed the Amaxesibe Country, a portion of Pondoland, to the Cape Colony; whether, notwithstanding the protest of Umquikela, the lawful Chief of Pondoland, the annexation of this territory was preceded by the introduction of Cape Colonial Troops; and, whether the hostilities that have now broken out are not the result of these acts of aggression? In putting the Question, the hon. Member explained that Pondoland stood in the same relative position to the Imperial Government as Zululand, and its paramount Chief Umquikela stood in the same position as Cetewayo stood a few years ago. Our first connection with that country was in 1844, when the Governor of the Cape, Sir Peregrine Maitland, made a Treaty with the then paramount Chief of the country on behalf of the Imperial Government. Under that Treaty the Governor undertook to recognize the rights of the Chief to certain territory, the boundaries of which were fixed. This Treaty continued in force from 1844 till 1878, when they came to the memorable administration of Sir Bartle Frere in South Africa. Complaint was then made that the Native Chief had failed to observe the conditions of the Treaty by not carrying out the Extradition Clause, and on that pretext the representatives of the High Commissioner took forcible possession of the territory of Pondoland, erected a fort on the coast, and sent Colonial troops there. Now, it might be very desirable that we should have a fort on that part of the coast, and he had no complaint to make of that action if it was done with due consideration to the just rights of the Natives. But what Umquikela, in a protest he had made against these acts of aggression, complained of was that we dealt with an inferior Chief, passing over his rights as superior Chief, although hitherto we had always professedly been on amicable terms with him. The result was, as we now saw, a small Native War going on in that portion of South Africa. He was very much surprised at the course which the Government at the Cape had taken in Pondoland, because it seemed diametrically opposed to that which they wished to take in other quarters of their Borders. He hoped the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies would be able to give the House some information on the questions which he had raised.

WEST INDIES (JAMAICA)—SEIZURE OF THE "FLORENCE."—OBSERVATIONS.

Mr. GORST said, that, before the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies answered his hon. Friend, he should like to call attention to a very grave scandal in connection with the administration of their Colonial Empire. In 1877 a ship called the *Florence* arrived at Jamaica in distress, with a quantity of arms and ammunition on board. She landed her ammunition and proceeded into harbour with the arms on board, when the Governor of the Colony, acting upon the advice of the Attorney General, interfered and refused to allow the re-export of the ammunition, or to permit the vessel to sail with the arms on board, until the captain entered into a bond of £1,000. The words of the Opinion of the Attorney General of Jamaica were—

> "I ought to point out that in the application of the law it must be remembered that it is one for the effectual administration of which the Imperial Government would, as I apprehend, be held responsible."

When the action of the Governor was reported to the Colonial Office at home, they immediately sought the advice of the Foreign Office; and the latter, not the former, took upon itself the responsibility of approving of the advice of the Attorney General, and the action of the Governor. This, again, showed that by the Government at home the matter was treated as one appertaining to Imperial as distinguished from Colonial interest. An action was brought by the owners of the vessel against the Governor for detaining the vessel and ammunition, and in answer to that action the Governor pleaded that it was an act of State. This plea was, however, overruled by the Courts in Jamaica; and, on the advice of the Colonial Office, the Governor appealed, in order to obtain the decision of the Privy Council on that important question. An appeal made to the Privy Council in 1880 was rejected, and the Governor, by order of the Colonial Office, again tried to settle the claim against him. He failed in his attempt, however; and in 1881 judgment was finally given against him in both actions, the damages and costs amounting altogether to £8,000. Thereupon the Colonial Office directed that application should be made to the Legislative Council of Jamaica, for a Vote for the amount of the damages and costs. The matter having commenced in 1877, it was not until the 27th of August, 1881, that a single word was uttered by the Colonial Office, or by the Government at home, indicating that there was any idea that this sum could be charged on the Revenue of the Colony. The Colony had never been consulted from one end of the proceedings to the other. The Legislative Council of Jamaica, during the whole of those four years, never had any voice in the proceeding, and it was not until it had closed for the first time that the demand was made that the Colony should pay the whole amount. The Legislative Council nominated a Select Committee on the 5th of September, and while the Papers were under the consideration of the Council and of the Select Committee, there came to the Colony a despatch from the Colonial Office, dated the 15th of November, which was not to be found in the printed Papers, but which must be a most extraordinary production. Although, however, the despatch itself had not been printed, there was a sample or specimen of its contents to which he would invite the attention of the House. One despatch contained the following passage:—

> "I am surprised and regret to learn from the first of your despatches under acknowledgment that there is a probability that the unofficial Members of the Legislative Council may object to the Vote; but the official Members must, of course, be required to support it."

Why did not the Secretary of State for the Colonies, before he wrote that foolish despatch, take counsel with the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor)? In Jamaica one could see the system of government in its crude and naked simplicity, and could ascertain the regard which a Liberal Government had for the judgment of their supporters. The effect of this peremptory despatch was that Mr. Burke, a coloured gentleman of high talents, who filled the post of Crown Solicitor, resigned—

> "Because," he said, "I could not conscientiously vote for the payment of the money out of the Colonial Revenue;"

and Mr. Mackglashan, the Auditor General, also resigned on the same ground. On the following day the Committee came to the conclusion that the detention was made entirely to protect Imperial interests, and that the Island would in no way derive benefit therefrom. On the matter being referred to the Legislative Council itself the Report of the Committee was rejected, five official Members voting against it, and four unofficial Members in its favour. On the 9th of December, when he was in a majority of one, the Governor foolishly allowed the matter to be adjourned till the 10th of January. Petitions, numerously and influentially signed, from nearly all the parishes in the Island, were then presented against the proceedings of the Legislative Council, and a Resolution was carried which was equivalent to the rejection of the Vote. There were seven unofficial Members who all voted against the grant, and five official Members who voted in favour of it. But the Governor stifled the further discussion of the matter by refusing to allow any Motion to be put. The Colonial Office next applied to the Treasury to vote one-half of the costs, and it was this moiety which the House would be asked to vote when they had resolved themselves into Committee of Supply. In an application made on the 25th of February, 1882, it was stated that—

> "His Lordship (Lord Kimberley) would therefore propose for the favourable consideration of the Lords Commissioners that half the amount of the costs in question should be met by a grant from Imperial funds; and if they assent to this he will take such steps as will insure payment by the Colonial Legislature of the remaining half of the costs."

There was an example of Constitutional government. The answer of the Treasury was also a most remarkable document. The fact was that the Government dared not adopt the same course with respect to Canada, Australia, or any large Colony, which they had adopted towards Jamaica. The result of such a policy would be disruption of our Colonial Empire. He would go on with the history of the manner in which the Vote had been obtained to which he had referred. Private letters were sent by the Governor to two gentlemen—Mr. Alexander, Inspector of Immigrants, and Mr. Capper, Inspector of Schools. They were asked to accept seats at the Legislative Council on the express understanding that they would vote in favour of the Government, not only on the question of the *Florence*, but on all questions which might be submitted to them. Both these gentleman accepted the office offered to them and the conditions imposed. That was the way in which a Liberal Government managed the affairs of our Colonies. In the Council these nominees of the Government were called "creatures"—a term of Party warfare not yet introduced into that House, but warranted by the circumstances of the case. But how did Sir Anthony Musgrave, the Governor, defend the course taken by the Government? He said that at home Members sitting on the Liberal Benches were bound to vote as they were told by the Birmingham Caucus. He would be much interested to know whether the illustration was dictated from the Colonial Office, or was acceptable there, and also how hon. Gentlemen opposite liked it? Mr. Gordon Sewell, a coloured Member of the Council, resigned, and his resignation was accepted. There were in all 20 Members, 10 official and 10 unofficial. But of the unofficial Members one was dead, and one or two others were absent from various causes. Thus the Government was able to carry its proposal. Sir Anthony Musgrave had intimated, as far as he could venture to do so, his concurrence with the views of the non-official Members. But it was to no purpose. The consequence was that all the non-official Members resigned—a course which could hardly be wondered at, and was worthy of commendation. The opinion was expressed on page 94 of the Blue Book by one of the unofficial Members of the Council, that from that time it would be a degradation for unofficial Members to take part in the formal mockery of legislation that would henceforward take place. The question whether this was a Colonial, and not an Imperial, expenditure, was one he did not wish to press upon the House; but he did urge that Her Majesty's Government had no right, and were extremely foolish, to crush every appearance of Constitutional government in Jamaica, in order to screw a miserable £4,000 out of it. That object might have been accomplished without outraging the feelings—not only the feelings of the Colonists, but the feelings of all right-minded and just men. He did not believe that the most arbitrary Government in the world would have been a party to treating the most insignificant country in the way in which a Government which professed to be Liberal, and to regard liberty and to be supported by men who cherished freedom and independence, had treated the unhappy Jamaica Colonists. The language they had used, the letters they had written, the speeches made by the Governor to the Colonial Legislature, had reduced even the appearance of Constitutional government in Jamaica to a perfect mockery and sham. When it was remembered that up to 1869 Jamaica enjoyed a real Constitution, in which the people really had the power of controlling the expenditure of their money, and that the Constitution was surrendered in the alarm of a negro outbreak, on the understanding that another free Constitution should be granted by Order of the Queen in Council—when those facts were remembered the House would understand the indignation with which the whole of the people of Jamaica regarded the continuance of this wretched Legislative Council, and their desire for the restoration to them of a Constitution by which those who were in the Council as Representatives of the people might be allowed to vote according to their consciences for what they regarded as right.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, the first thing that struck him was that the hon. and learned Member, in his great anxiety to bring forward a Motion in the discussion of which he could utter a few amusing and telling sentences about the Birmingham Caucus, had shown his entire ignorance of the manner in which the numerous Colonies called Crown Colonies had been administered, were administered, and must be administered for a considerable time to come. The hon. and learned Member talked about the Government having crushed out Constitutional liberty in Jamaica by their action with reference to the ship *Florence;* but how could they crush out what did not exist? He hoped that some day a Constitution might be restored to Jamaica; but at present it did not exist, having been surrendered in 1869 by the unanimous vote of the Legislature. As he was informed, they did not surrender it on the understanding that another Constitution should be given to them; but on the understanding that it would be for the good of the Island, under the difficult circumstances in which it was placed, that it should accept the position of a Crown Colony, which, he might remind the House, had for its basis the absolute supremacy and predominancy of the official element. In August, 1868, a Circular was issued by the Duke of Buckingham, the then Conservative Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which he described what, in the view of the Colonial Office of the day, were the relations between official Members and other Members of Council in Crown Colonies. The West India Islands at that time, following the example of Jamaica, had all surrendered their *simulacra* of Constitutions, and accepted the position of Crown Colonies. The Duke of Buckingham laid it down that there was one feature in common among the Legislatures of Crown Colonies—that the power of the Crown, if pressed to its extreme limit, was sufficient to overcome every resistance that might be made to it. The reason for vesting this ultimate power in the Crown was that it had been proved that the elective form of Representative Assembly, based upon the model of Elective Assemblies in this country and elsewhere, only brought about confusion, and did not contribute to the benefit of the Colony, and that it was necessary that the Colony should be governed by an Assembly where the Executive Government had a majority. He wished to know what was the use of a majority if it did not exercise its power? The doctrine in fashion on the other side of the House seemed to be that the minority should rule. They had been taunted on the Government side of the House with fidelity to Party. Well, that was not a taunt he could throw out to the hon. and learned Gentleman and his Friends. If the hon. and learned Gentleman ever became a Member of a Cabinet—as he hoped he would some day—and he carried out the doctrine laid down by him that night, he would be a very troublesome Colleague to work with. As to the duty of official Members of Council, it was obvious that when persons accepted Office as Members of an Executive they were distinctly and rightly called upon to vote with the Government of which they were Members. Allusion was made in Lord Kimberley's despatch to a paragraph of the Duke of Buckingham's Circular, to which he had already referred, in which it was said that in the case of a nominee Member of the Legislature who was a salaried servant of the Crown, it would be highly expedient that he should give a general support to the Governor in the Legislature; and that if not disposed to do so on special occasions when the Governor required it he might be allowed to retire from the Legislature, but the Governor would be entitled to object to his continuance in his office or seat. The Earl of Kimberley, in his despatch, called upon officials who, under such circumstances, had refused to support the Governor, to resign their offices, and said that he wished it to be distinctly understood that, in the future, refusal to vote involved the resignation of the offices held. In the Constitution of Jamaica there were five seats which entitled the holders *ex officio* to be Members of Council; the remaining official Members were salaried officers appointed by name, and not by virtue of some office held. The Earl of Kimberley said that the whole of the official Members were bound, in the manner in which all Members of an Executive Government were bound, to support the Government of which they were Members, or otherwise the affairs of Government could not be carried on. That was a principle which existed in numerous Colonies, and which up to this time had occasioned no difficulty. No doubt in Jamaica there was a very strong desire to avoid the payment of this money, and there was a strong belief that by united action they could escape from payment of it. The precedent of the *Have* had been brought forward; but the fact that there was such a precedent constituted a greater reason why the Governor of the Colony should not sanction a second, which would inevitably be construed in Jamaica and in other Crown Colonies into the accepted doctrine that they were not to share in Imperial expenses. He would point out, however, with regard to the *Have* precedent, that in that case the Jamaica Legislature voted the money, and then appealed *in misericordiam* to the Imperial Exchequer for the money it had disbursed. As regarded the case of the *Atalaya*, referred to by the hon. and learned Member, that case was not in point at all. The *Atalaya* was arrested under the Foreign Enlistment Act, which was an Imperial Act. The arrest was made by the direct act of the Governor General, without any intervention on the part of the local authorities. This matter, on the contrary, arose under a local Statute, and the initiative was not taken by the Governor. But although it might be pleasant to deal liberally with the Colony of Jamaica, particularly as her revenues were not so flourishing as they could desire, he submitted that there was a very important principle involved in the question. If the Colonies were to be exempted from any liability on account of mistakes made by their own recognized officials, then the Imperial Government might find themselves exposed to demands on their purse which might be very large. In his opinion, nothing would tend so much to break up the idea of unity which had always existed throughout the Colonial Empire, and was still growing, than the notion that the Colonies were perfectly free from any share in our Imperial risks and responsibilities. When the hon. and learned Member said that they would not have dared to send such instructions to a large Colony, he begged to remind him that in such a case it would be a *reductio ad absurdum.* It must be borne in mind that Canada very largely provided its own defence; while Jamaica did not contribute one farthing to our military expenditure, although it was guaranteed protection. With regard to the Petitions alluded to by the hon. and learned Member, there could be no doubt that there were some who were anxious to return to a former state of things and possess a more free representation. A Commission of Inquiry was examining into these matters, and he hoped that before long they would be able to grant some sort of a return in a modified form to elective representation. But as long as the Colony remained a Crown one, he maintained that the Earl of Kimberley was right, and acted according to precedent in taking the steps he did. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that the Legislative Council was not consulted in the different steps and legal proceedings. But did he wish them to possess greater powers than the House of Commons would under similar circumstances? Such steps were left to the Executive. In short, the case came under two heads—first, whether it was right to make the Colony pay some portion of those damages; and, secondly, whether, if so, the means adopted to make it do so were also right. The hon. and learned Gentleman did not venture to say that they were not right as to the first head; and, if that were admitted, the other followed as a matter of course. Otherwise, how was the payment to be made? As to the question with regard to Pondoland which was put to him by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. R. N. Fowler), the Government had no detailed information as to what was going on there beyond that which had been already laid before the House. The Cape Government was a self-governing Colony, and had a right to settle this matter for itself. The present difficulty had arisen from the fact that the Cape Colony took over, in 1878, the Protectorate of a small tribe—namely, the Amaxesibes—living to the north-west of Pondoland. This led to loss and discontent on the part of the Pondos. The matter was submitted to Sir Bartle Frere, then High Commissioner, who seemed to approve of it, and from despatches of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) it appeared that the late Government approved of it also. As to what was going on at present, he might say that the Cape Government found themselves unable to retire from the position they had taken up; and it had been suggested to them that the best solution of the matter would be to send a cheque for £10,000 to the Chief of the Pondos, in order to compensate him for the loss of the territory. He hoped that the Cape Government would shortly be able to make some arrangement of that kind. The Correspondence on the matter was to be found in a Blue Book, and also in a despatch of 1882 from the Earl of Kimberley, in which he said he was glad to find that the Cape Ministers were directing their attention to the subject. They had heard nothing more since then; but he hoped they would soon learn that peace was restored. The Secretary of State would instruct Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner at the Cape, to offer his mediation if he saw any prospect of its being accepted, or being likely to effect any good.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. O'DONNELL said, that, in view of the transformation of Ireland into a Crown Colony, the Irish Members naturally took a great interest in the revelations that had been made. The despatch of the Duke of Buckingham laid down the doctrine that, in a Crown Colony, the power of the Crown, if pressed to its extreme limits, must overbear all opposition; but that suggested the question, in what circumstances should that power be pushed to its extreme limits, and was the case now before the House one in which all opposition ought to be overborne? It was admitted that the detention of the vessel showed a complete want of legal knowledge on the part of the Colonial jurists, and that the inhabitants of the Colony strongly objected to pay for the blunder But for the impolicy of the Government a compromise might have been satisfactorily arranged; whereas, whatever had been left undone in the way of affronting the feelings of the Colonists of Jamaica, was completed by the extraordinary instructions from the Colonial Office on the 25th of February, when that Department formally gave notice that such steps would be taken as would insure the ratification of the Government proposal by the Legislative Council. In every stage of the proceedings the Government seemed to have taken a sort of delight in affronting the feelings of the Colonists, already excited in reference to the *Florence* case. If there was any disaffection in Jamaica, he considered that this action of the Colonial Office was calculated to increase it. The Government had acted in the most unfortunate manner all throughout the affair, and without reflecting that the violent enforcement of the rights of the Crown was calculated to weaken the loyalty of the Colonists. He thought the Government recognized that their conduct had had that effect, because their Representative in the House now stated that, in all probability, the pending inquiry would have the result of restoring to Jamaica, in some effective degree, Constitutional government. He therefore regretted very much that, on the eve of our giving up the government of Jamaica as a Crown Colony, the Representatives of the Crown should have seized the opportunity to leave such an unfavourable impression of Crown government on the inhabitants of Jamaica.

Mr. WODEHOUSE said, he must contend that not merely one-half, but that the whole of the sum required for the payment of damages in the case of the *Florence* should be found by the Colony of Jamaica. The facts of the case were very simple. The damages had been incurred by the Governor of Jamaica, acting in his public capacity, to the best of his judgment—or, rather, to be quite accurate, to the best of his proper legal adviser's judgment. The character of the vessel detained was suspicious, and nobody, even in Jamaica, asserted for a moment that the action of the Government was prompted by anything but a desire to vindicate Colonial law, and insure the fulfilment of international obligations. An error of judgment was committed, but committed with absolute *bona fides;* and, in such circumstances, the damages should be paid out of the public revenues of the Colony in which the transaction took place. But the unofficial Members of the Legislative Council had protested against the payment by the Colony of even a moiety of the damages; and upon what grounds did they rest their protest? They claimed exemption from all liability because the *Florence* had been detained for the protection of Imperial interests, without any benefit to Jamaica. In other words, they declared that the fulfilment of international obligations by the Empire to which they belonged was no concern of theirs, and of no advantage to them. But that doctrine of Colonial irresponsibility for international obligations should never be accepted or countenanced on this side of the water. The House must remember that international complications might at any time easily arise in their West Indian Dependencies. They lay, as it were, in the shadow of the United States; Cuba was in the midst of them; and near them, on the mainland of Central and South America, were a cluster of States subject to periodical disturbances and revolutions. In those States power and authority passed from hand to hand, and from party to party, in constant fluctuations, and thus the West Indies and the Spanish Main generally swarmed with adventurers and conspirators. These men organized raids and revolutions, and Jamaica might be for them a convenient base of operations. Preparations for their enterprizes —clandestine armaments and so forth— might be good for trade in Jamaica; but they were not at all good for the peace and quiet of the British Empire. And when men holding a responsible position in a Colony, like these Jamaica Councillors, talked of Imperial interests and international obligations as no affair of theirs, it was about time to remind them that, if the several advantages to England and Jamaica of the connection between them were weighed in the balance, it was not England that would be found to be the principal gainer. And they should be reminded that the entire expense of the military protection of the Island was borne by Imperial Revenues. Ceylon — another Crown Colony which, like Jamaica, had been passing through a period of depression—repaid to the Imperial Government every penny of military expenditure there, but Jamaica repaid nothing; and yet this was the Colony which disclaimed all interest in proceedings of a kind that might embroil the foreign relations of England, and possibly involve an issue of Imperial peace or war. It had been said that it was hard to make a Colony pay for the mistakes of Governors and other officers selected and appointed by the Imperial Government; but, if the principle were accepted that British taxpayers ought to pay for all the errors of Colonial Governors, honest errors of judgment in the discharge of difficult duties, we should be carried very far indeed. There was really no hardship upon the Colony. Appointments of Governors and other officers from home were of great advantage to small Colonial communities; and if these officers, like other fallible mortals, sometimes made mistakes, the Colonies must take the rough with the smooth. Much had been said about the position of the official Members of Council, and about the inadequacy of the representative element in the existing Constitution of Jamaica. As to the official Members of Council, if we were to have a Crown Colony at all, it was absolutely necessary that they should vote as required by the Government, or resign their offices. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!] The noble Lord cheered ironically; but he (Mr. Wodehouse) repeated that, without the enforcement of that condition upon the official Members, the very essence of a Crown Colony would vanish, and the name become a mockery and an illusion. Whether Jamaica should continue to be a Crown Colony pure and simple, or whether it should have a Constitution on a more popular basis, was another question altogether, and it was too large a question to discuss on the present occasion. He would only remind the House that the old House of Assembly in Jamaica, which happily disappeared from the world about 16 years ago, was a scandal and a by-word throughout the West Indies. It was little better than a bear garden of shouting and screaming negroes and mulattoes, with a sprinkling of Jews. He would not longer detain the House; he had only risen to express the strong feeling with which he regarded a repudiation on the part of Jamaica of her legitimate liabilities in this transaction.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he was rather sorry the question had not come before a fuller House, because, as brought forward by his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst), it was an appeal to the House of Commons of the absolutely unrepresented inhabitants of Jamaica from the representatives of the Government. He would therefore entreat the attention of hon. Members to the question, on account of the peculiarly unprotected character of the 600,000 blacks, who formed the bulk of the population of the Island. They were unprotected—desperately unprotected—as was shown by the speech of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley), and by the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Wodehouse), in addition to the despatches laid before the House. The Under Secretary of State evidently thought he could make short work of the question; for he devoted less than a quarter of an hour to a very complicated case that was brought forward by his hon. and learned Friend. He said the hon. and learned Gentleman had shown but little knowledge of Colonial matters; but the taunt was very ill-timed, as his hon. and learned Friend was in the Colonies before the Under Secretary of State had commenced his official career. Throughout his entire speech the Under Secretary of State had manifested an utter ignorance of the case. He stated that the arrest of the *Florence* took place under a local Act, when it did nothing of the kind; and tried to make out that, because it occurred through the action of the collector of Customs, it did not occur through the Government—a proposition he would never have made if there had been more than six hon. Members in the House. The arrest of the *Florence* was made under a Proclamation issued in 1869 by the then Governor, for the purpose of prohibiting the exportation of arms or ammunition from the Island under the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The case of the *Florence* was on all fours with that of the *Atalaya*, which was similarly detained, and for whose detention the Imperial Government had to pay damages that were to be voted that night. Yet because, in this case, it was the wretched Colony of Jamaica, peopled mainly by 600,000 blacks, and not one of the powerful Colonies of Australia, they sought to saddle it with a half.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that if the noble Lord would refer to the first page of the Blue Book, he would find that the Act was a local one.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he was aware of the contention of the Jamaica Attorney General, who, when he first pleaded the case before the Courts, urged that it was an Imperial Act. But the moment the Government at home wished to make the Colony pay the whole of the damages, round went the Attorney General, and argued that the Act was a local one. Consequently, the opinion of the Attorney General was worthless.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY pointed out that it was the statement of the Governor.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL retorted that the Governor acted on the advice of the Attorney General. He had shown that the present contention of the Government, that the arrest took place for local purposes, was upset by the Minute of the Hon. Constantine Burke, the Crown Solicitor, who quoted the Proclamation under which the act was done. In order to prove to the House the Imperial character of the whole transaction, and how little Colonial interests entered into it at all, he had only to remind them that the Governor acted throughout under the direction of the Foreign Office. What had the Foreign Office to do with purely Colonial matters? When this affair arose, in 1877, the Governor applied to Lord Carnarvon to know what he was to do, and his Lordship immediately applied to the Foreign Office, which gave directions to Lord Carnarvon. The Government thought that they would be successful before the Courts, and that they would not have to pay; but when they were unsuccessful, they tried to make the wretched Colony pay the money. The Governor knew that he was acting in Imperial interests; for, in these Papers, he said over and over again that he concurred in the views of the official Members of the Legislative Council as to their immunity from liability in the matter, who resigned rather than consent to the Vote. There were two points which the House ought to consider—firstly, should the Colony pay? and, secondly, what was the attitude of the Colonial Office towards the Colony? If the contention were correct that the Colony ought to pay, and that this was purely a local matter, on what grounds could the Government demand from the House of Commons £4,000 odd? Compromises were absolutely fatal. Either it was an Imperial matter, in which case we ought to pay all; or it was a Colonial matter, in which case the Colony ought to pay all. There was no escape from that dilemma. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made one or two most amusing remarks. He said, for instance, that the precedent of the *Have* case ought not to become a precedent. His (Lord Randolph Churchill's) own contention was that that case, which occurred when the present Prime Minister was in Office, in 1868, was an exact precedent for our guidance. In an extraordinary despatch, the Secretary to the Treasury, who evidently considered himself an authority on the subject, laid down the principles which should regulate the intercourse between the Colonies and the Crown. The hon. Gentleman said—

> "My Lords"—namely, Sir Ralph Lingen and himself—"cannot allow the case of the *Have* to be quoted as a precedent, binding the Imperial Government to take upon itself liabilities of this nature."

Why not? It was a precedent set by the right hon. Gentleman who was at the present moment Prime Minister. While on the subject of that despatch, he would ask the hon. Gentleman to give the House a few explanations of it. The hon. Gentleman said—

> "My Lords think that it is, *primâ facie*, the duty of a Colony to bear its share of the international obligations of the Empire."

He (Lord Randolph Churchill) had no hesitation in saying that it was the principle laid down in that naked form, which brought about the revolt of our American Colonies. The hon. Gentleman then went on to speak of Colonial responsibility and partnership arrangements. Let him give the House his ideas of Colonial responsibility and partnership arrangements as between Jamaica, which was despotically governed, and Great Britain. Then, after stating that he was going to refund one-half, the hon. Gentleman said that was a concession justified by peculiar circumstances, and that Her Majesty's Government held it to be the rule that the obligations of neutrality should be discharged in the territory where the necessity for those obligations existed. Was Jamaica to be liable for any international engagements that this country might enter into? The Government apparently thought it was the duty of a Colony to bear its share of Imperial engagements. Upon that principle Jamaica ought to bear a share of the cost of the Egyptian Expedition. Would any hon. Member opposite or any Member of the Government get up and say so? In the interests of the Colonies, which possessed no representation, he would ask, did they agree in the doctrine laid down by the laws of the Treasury, that they, the Colonies, were to bear a share of Imperial responsibilities? Sir Anthony Musgrave, in his speech to the Council, stated that the claim made on the Island was not a claim of the Secretary of State, but was based upon a particular principle approved by Parliament. That was not so, and he (Lord Randolph Churchill) was perfectly certain that the Government would not dare to write such a letter to Australia, or any of the larger Crown Colonies. There was another point. The Secretary of State had shown great ignorance respecting the Constitution of Jamaica; for he had said that the Island had no Constitution, whereas, in fact, it had a Constitution. What was this Legislative Council, which was to vote automatically at the bidding of the Government? Was it a mere phantom, a *simulacrum*, and not a consultative Body? Was it to be a check on the Governor, or merely a Body for registering decrees? It was established in order that Jamaica might have a representation; but if it was a Council, such as it was stated to be in the Government despatches, then Jamaica had no representation at all. It stood in the same position as the Legislative Council of India. Would anyone venture to say that it was the duty of the Council of India to vote just as the Governor directed them? There was one other point on which he desired an explanation. What happened when the Governor was cast in damages for £8,000? He went to the Colonial Treasury, and on his own account took, without any authority whatever, £8,000 from the Treasury Chest, and with that sum he paid the damages. Was that one of the new principles of Colonial Government? Did the Lords of the Treasury approve a Colonial Governor, when embarrassed by pecuniary demands, going to the local Treasury and helping himself to money in order to free himself from those demands? Was there any precedent for such a course of conduct? He believed that Sir Charles Darling was dismissed from his office for an analogous act. Some of the remarks made during the debate in the Legislative Council were worth reading. Mr. Henderson, an aged Member of the Council, who refused to vote this money, was very outspoken. He said that if the British Colonial Minister expected to rule Jamaica as with a rod of iron, he made a great mistake, and he went on to speak of the "iron hand" and "thoughtless head" of the British Minister. When this old Member talked of the "iron hand" of Lord Kimberley, he was, of course, only using a metaphor; but when he talked of the "thoughtless head," he was very near the truth. He concluded by professing himself ready to fight to the death for Jamaica's rights and liberties; so that it seemed Jamaica had a "Grand Old Man." He really hoped that the Government would condescend to offer some fuller explanation of their action in that matter than had been given by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies; but if they did not choose to do so, he could not help thinking that the country would conclude that the reason why they made no answer to the strong charges brought against them was that there was no satisfactory answer to make.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that although the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) had complained of the brevity of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, he (Mr. Courtney) must follow the example of his hon. Friend in that respect—first, because the House had plenty of work to do to get through the Supplementary Estimates; and next, because the noble Lord, although speaking for nearly an hour, had really added nothing to the able statement of facts and arguments made by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). Personally, he (Mr. Courtney) would defend and endorse every word of the despatches which defined the local responsibilities of the Colony. There were two questions of considerable interest involved in that discussion. The first was the measure and limit of Colonial responsibility in observing the duties of neutrality, on which there was a difference of opinion between the noble Lord and himself. The Government had laid down the principle, that *primâ facie* it was the duty of the Colony to bear its share of responsibility in connection with transactions which took place within its own boundaries; and, further, that the obligations of neutrality should be discharged by the local resources of the territory within which those obligations had arisen. The adoption of the contrary rule would, he maintained, lead to the terrible consequences which had been indicated in the able speech of the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse). The noble Lord had suggested that that case was on all fours with that of the American Colonies and the imposition of a duty on tea at Boston; but the two cases were entirely different. They were not forcing upon Jamaica the responsibility for action, or any share of action taken by England; but they placed on Jamaica, as they would place on any other Colony, the *primâ facie* responsibility for action taken in the Colony itself. The duty of international neutrality within a Colony must be observed and maintained in that Colony. That rested on the simple rule of expediency that those who had the control of their own action should be responsible for the consequences of their own action. There were, he admitted, cases in which it would be manifestly unfair that the whole weight of the responsibility should be thrown upon the Colony; but, on the other hand, it would be a most dangerous principle to lay down that the British taxpayer should pay the entire cost of any infraction of neutrality by any British Colony. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham asked whether they would apply their doctrine to great Colonies like those of Australia, for example? But in Australia the question would never arise. Whatever was done in a self-governing Colony, the action of the Ministry was brought before the Colonial Parliament and was settled by the Colonial Parliament. But in Jamaica, on the other hand, if the noble Lord's doctrine was to prevail, anything might be done within the Colony that would imperil our relations with friendly Powers, and we were to bear all the consequences. That principle was to be carried all over the world, and the taxpayers at home were to pay every fraction of any sum required to meet the consequences of action taken within the Colony, without the Colony itself being under any responsibility whatever to bear any of the burden! The noble Lord said that the action of Jamaica was taken under an Imperial Statute; but the Governor, writing to Lord Carnarvon, stated that it was taken under a local Statute. The noble Lord was misled by the use of the words "Imperial interests." The interests of the peace of the British Empire were certainly Imperial interests; but the duty of maintaining that peace, by observing the obligations of neutrality, was a local one. Wherever the matter was mentioned in the Blue Books, it was stated that the action was taken under a local Statute. It was, however, suggested that the responsibility rested on us in some degree, because Jamaica was a Crown Colony. Well, it was partly on that ground that the Government recommended the House to pay one-half of these charges. [An hon. MEMBER: It rests on us wholly.] The hon. Member then seemed to hold, because it was a Crown Colony, that the responsibility for the acts of the officers in that Colony was to be borne entirely by the Imperial Government. [An hon. MEMBER: They are appointed from home.] If they rested the responsibility of the Mother Country to pay those charges on the fact that the Governor and other officials of Jamaica were appointed from home, they might as well argue that the whole cost of the government of Jamaica should be borne by England, because there was not a person engaged in the administration of the Colony who did not either directly or indirectly derive his authority from the Home Government. If this case of the Crown Colonies was to be raised at all, it was most unfortunate that it should be raised in this fashion. The duty of the Government at home in regard to Crown Colonies was to select the best persons it could find for discharging the duties to be performed on the spot; and, having done that, the Colony took those gentlemen with all their defects and their merits. The noble Lord dwelt on the pressure put upon the Council; but he (Mr. Courtney) feared that he had confused the official and non-official Members. The latter were free to vote as they pleased; while the former must, like the Members of the Government at home, either vote with the Government or resign. As to the payment of the Governor's expenses, that was approved because it stopped the payment of interest at 6 per cent.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he felt bound to take exception to one remark which fell from the hon. Gentleman the Fnancial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney)—namely, that there was very important Business before the House, and, therefore, his remarks on this subject must be very brief. He could not conceive of a more important matter than the relation of the Country to the Colonies, and he was accordingly entirely at variance with the hon. Gentleman; for there could not be any subject which it was more important to discuss. His hon. Friends were, therefore, justified in bringing forward this Motion and insisting on having it thoroughly discussed. There were two questions involved in this discussion—first, whether the doctrines that the Government followed were right? and, secondly, whether the application of them was right? The doctrine might be right *primâ facie*, but its application was a totally different matter. It must be remembered that Jamaica not long ago had a Constitution of its own, and after that was taken away for reasons of State—[Mr. Courtney: No; surrendered.] He maintained that it was taken away for reasons of State and reduced to the position of a Crown Colony. Under those circumstances, the Government ought to have been very tender in their treatment of the Colony; but, on the contrary, they had replied in this matter in the baldest, crudest, and harshest manner. Moreover, the Statute under which the proceedings were taken was passed under the old Constitution, and, therefore, hardly applied to the existing circumstances. The Government had acted through the advice of the Law Adviser, appointed by the Government of this country; and he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) should have thought that, considering the peculiar circumstances of the Colony of Jamaica, whatever the general principles laid down in such cases might be, the proper, the generous, and the right thing to have done would have been to have paid the whole of this money out of the Imperial Treasury, and have accepted the whole of the responsibility. Then, again, after writing to the Government of Jamaica, saying they would pay nothing at all, the Government now came forward and said they would split the difference. He could not conceive a more undignified course to pursue. They should either hold by the principle they laid down in the first instance, throwing the entire responsibility on the Colony and paying nothing at all, or they ought to discharge the entire obligation. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury had compared the matter to the ordinary expenses of the Colony; but there was no analogy whatever between these cases. The Government had taken the worst course they possibly could take by agreeing to pay half the cost, in order to avoid further complications; and the effect of this action of the Government was that the whole of the official Members of the Council had resigned, and a very strong feeling was excited against the Mother Country. The object of the Government ought to be to knit the Colonies to the Mother Country as much as possible; but they had chosen to disregard the inhabitants of Jamaica, and instead of uniting to disunite the Empire.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON said, that, as a supporter of the Government, it was not an agreeable thing to find himself opposed to them; but, on that occasion, he differed entirely from the policy which they had laid down. His personal acquaintance with Jamaica enabled him to judge, better perhaps than any Member of the House, of the feelings of that Colony. For over two centuries Jamaica had enjoyed the privilege of free representative institutions; but in 1866, at the suggestion of Governor Eyre, the House of Assembly, in a moment of panic, gave up its Constitutional rights to the Crown. At that time, however, it asked for a simpler form of Constitutional government; but that request was ignored by the Imperial Government, and Jamaica was placed in the position of a Crown Colony, against the wishes and the protests of the people. The House must not forget that the Island was one of the most ancient of our possessions, for it had received a Charter from Charles II., and had been peopled almost entirely by the English, the Spaniards having for the most part retired from the country soon after its conquest by Cromwell. He quite admitted the general principle that, when a Colony received the benefit of the Imperial connection and protection, it was bound to share in the obligations which that protection necessitated; but this was a case of a Crown Colony, administered directly from Downing Street, called upon to pay for the mistakes of officials in whose appointment it had no voice, and over whom it had no control whatever. A most egregious blunder had been committed by the Attorney General for Jamaica in the matter. It was not a question of £8,000 or so; it involved the far higher principle as to the administration of Crown Colonies generally. It could not, therefore, be regarded as surprising that the inhabitants of Jamaica resented this treatment. They resented it deeply, and certainly never contemplated such usage by this country, when they were persuaded to divest themselves of their long-enjoyed rights of representative government.

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. and learned Member that he has a Notice on the Paper upon this subject, and that it is out of Order for him to discuss the subject-matter of that Notice.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON: With all deference to you, Sir, I postponed my Notice, in consequence of an answer which I received from the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member is mistaken. The Motion still stands upon the Order Book.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON: I shall be very glad, Sir, if you will call my attention to it.

[Mr. DODDS handed a copy of the Order Book to the hon. and learned Member.]

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he saw that the right hon. Gentleman was correct, and he was glad that he had called his (Mr. Serjeant Simon's) attention to the fact. He gave Notice of the Motion; but he postponed it, and that was the cause of his error. Of course, he would not pursue the matter further. There were questions involved that went beyond the payment of money. Were they going to carry on a system of government in complete antagonism to the feelings of the people of the country? Two of the official Members of the Government had resigned rather than vote for that payment, and we had filled up their places by appointing two subordinates of inferior position, who never would have dreamt of belonging to the Council, on condition that they would vote for the payment. There was no analogy whatever between this transaction and the selection by our Prime Minister of Colleagues who would support his policy. [*Interruption.*] He appealed to the Liberal Members below the Gangway, as the friends of free institutions, to listen to what he had to say. But there were unofficial Members of the Council not appointed by the Crown.

MR. SPEAKER: the remarks of the hon. and learned Member are entirely out of Order in discussing the system of government in Jamaica.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he was only about to refer to a fact which was on record in the Blue Books, that the unofficial Members of the Council all resigned their seats rather than Vote for this payment. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name!"]

MR. SPEAKER: the hon. and learned Gentleman is still discussing the question of the system of government in Jamaica, in reference to which he has placed a Notice upon the Paper. His observations, therefore, are quite out of Order.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he bowed to the ruling of the Chair, and he was only sorry that he had unintentionally trespassed upon the Rules of the House. He had no desire to do so, and, after the ruling just given by Mr. Speaker, he would say no more upon the subject, except that there was a strong feeling entertained on the part of the people of Jamaica in reference to the payment of this money. He therefore hoped the Government would take into consideration the circumstances of the case, and would not press the Vote.

MR. SPEAKER: the hon. and learned Gentleman seems to find it impossible to avoid the question of the Crown government of Jamaica, and I really must call upon him to desist.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was not sure whether he understood rightly one of the closing sentences of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Serjeant Simon), or whether if he understood it rightly, it expressed his hon. and learned Friend's real meaning. His hon. and learned Friend fervently urged Her Majesty's Government to withdraw the Vote which they intended to ask the House of Commons to concur in; but the effect of withdrawing that Vote would be to leave the Colony of Jamaica the whole burden, whereas the Government proposed that it should be relieved as far, at least, as the moiety of the sum was concerned, if the Vote were agreed to. The opinion that the Vote should be withdrawn could not be reconciled with other parts of his speech. He would not enter upon a discussion of the very glowing eulogy which his hon. and learned Friend had bestowed upon the Colony of Jamaica in its past history, as a notable and praiseworthy example of free institutions and of the spirit of liberty, because it would be unwise and likewise ungenerous, at a period when the Colony had been deprived of its legislative institutions, that any criticism should be opened upon the principle of those institutions when they were in action. But of one thing he must remind his hon. and learned Friend. He said that an influence from Downing Street deprived the Colony of those institutions; and that while it was the intention of the Legislature that, in surrendering its own powers, some other and simpler form of popular government should be substituted, the will of the Executive Government at home defeated that purpose, and caused the existence of the present state of things. Now his hon. and learned Friend was in material error in his reference to what took place. He (Mr. Gladstone) was a Member of the Cabinet at the time; and he most deeply and profoundly regretted the imperative necessity under which they lay, after the painful and horrible circumstances of the rebellion then existing in Jamaica, of suspending the legislative or representative institution in that Island. But the desire and proposal of the Government were not what his hon. and learned Friend supposed. They felt so much the gravity of the proposal they were making, and the anomalous character of any suggestion to withdraw representative institutions where they had once been given, that they proposed to Parliament that the suspension should take place for a very limited period of time. He would not trust his memory absolutely as to the terms of years; but he thought the proposal was for a suspension of three years. At any rate, he was quite certain of this—that the proposal was for a short term of years in order that the attention of Parliament might then be again called to the subject. It was the unanimous feeling of that House—of every portion of the House—that compelled the Government to exchange this proposal into a permanent suspension of those institutions, and to remove the limit of time which they had introduced into the Act. He did not deny that among the White population of Jamaica a portion—and perhaps a considerable portion—had shown a great deal of dissatisfaction, in consequence of the course that had been pursued in this matter by Her Majesty's Government, and he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) in admitting that this was a question of very great importance. It was also, in his opinion, a question of very great simplicity; and, notwithstanding the vigour with which the right hon. Gentleman delivered himself against the offence of brevity in the House, and the indignation which he had bestowed so freely on the offences of his (Mr. Gladstone's) hon. Friend the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) in that respect, he should endeavour to pursue the course recommended by his hon. Friend, though under some fear of the displeasure which might be drawn upon him from another quarter. Now, the contention of the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) was really this—that because Jamaica was a Crown Colony, or was in the condition of a Crown Colony, the charge ought to have been borne entirely by the people of the United Kingdom. Now, the right hon. Gentleman opposite had made an accusation against the Government, which was the very last that he (Mr. Gladstone) should have expected to hear; and, in fact, he was bound to admit that the right hon. Gentleman effectually contradicted it himself in the later portions of his speech. For, in the earlier portions of his speech, he said the head and front of the offence of the Government was that they had applied a principle, to quote his own words, in the baldest, crudest, and harshest manner possible; while, in the later portions of his speech, he proceeded to censure them for having compromised the principle upon which they stood by the arrangement they had adopted of charging only one-half of the charge on the Colony. The question whether a compromise was just or judicious in this matter might be a very serious question. He thought it was a very disputable one; but, at the same time, it was a pretty effectual answer to those who contended that the principle had been applied in the "baldest, crudest, and harshest manner possible." It had been applied, however, in a manner in which the offence was—if it was an offence at all—that there had been an express desire to spare the people of the Colony, even in refusing to place upon the shoulders of the people of that country a burden which, in the opinion of the Government, did not belong to them. The case had been felt to be one of very considerable difficulty. He perfectly understood that there might be differences of opinion about it; but he must confess for his own part that he was more inclined to believe that, if there had been an error at all, it had been in asking the people of England to bear one-half of the charge. In point of fact, more than one-half would be borne by the people of this country, according to the proposal of the Government, because the legal expenses of the appeal in this country had been borne out of the Consolidated Fund. He was quite ready to admit, therefore, that there might be force in the argument of those who said that the Government had no right to impose this charge on the people of the United Kingdom, and who had said that, if the Government had stood upon their principle, and had required the whole charge to be borne by Jamaica, where the acts occurred that brought about the charge, the dissatisfaction in the Colony would not have been greater than it was at this moment. He would not enter into that point; the Government had taken their course, and were bound to abide by it. The right hon. Gentleman opposite and those who supported him should consider what was involved in their contention; and in opposition to the right hon. Gentleman, he affirmed that the argument of his hon. Friend the Secretary of the Treasury was strictly correct, and that they could not distinguish in principle between this charge and the other legitimate expenses of government in Jamaica. But the miscarriages of a Government were among the legitimate expenses of a Government, if they were miscarriages of such a nature as were ordinarily incidental to it—tha twas to say, where everyone acted in good faith, and where there was neither corruption nor incompetency, but only that kind of error in the interpretation of law which would insinuate itself here and there in the proceedings even of the best and the ablest men. Charges arising out of such a case must be considered as among the legitimate exigencies of government. Now, he wanted to know why the people of England should bear a charge for the people of Jamaica because it was a Crown Colony? Hon. Gentlemen opposite replied because the people of Jamaica had no control in the matter, and because they did not appoint the Attorney General. Did they appoint the Governor? Did they appoint any one who held office in the Colony? Had they any control over any act of the Governor? None whatever. They were entirely deprived of Constitutional privileges. Then, if they said this charge ought not to be borne by them on that account, then every charge ought not to be borne by them on the same reasoning—or, in other words, because Jamaica was a Crown Colony, therefore the taxpayers of this country ought to bear the whole charge of the administration of the Island. Now, that was a proposition which, in his opinion, was totally untenable. If the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury said the time had now come when we ought to think of restoring representative institutions in Jamaica, he (Mr. Gladstone) could only say that when the hon. and learned Member made his argument upon that subject, he would find in him (Mr. Gladstone) a willing hearer, and one with every predisposition to adopt his conclusions. But, for the time, they must assume that Parliament was right in saying that, for the benefit of Jamaica itself, it was necessary that these representative institutions should be suspended. If they were rightly suspended, which he must assume to be the case, then the necessary expenses of governing that Colony were still a legitimate charge upon the Colony itself. And although it was very well to come there and talk of pursuing a generous and a high-minded course, what did all that come to? It did not mean making any sacrifice on their own behalf. It did not mean a Parliamentary subscription, or that Members should be invited to subscribe to reduce the charge against the Colony. No; it simply meant that they would make this addition to the vast expenditure of the United Kingdom and lay the burden on the shoulders of their own constituents. Now, that was simply their contention. Let it be judged of by the country and by that House. That contention consisted of these two points—that the argument adverse to the course they had taken of imposing a certain charge on the Colony involved nothing less than the proposition that the people of England were liable for the expenses of the government of Jamaica. That was a proposition which the Government could not admit, because, if they did admit it, they must extend it to every Crown Colony in the Empire, and if they did adopt it, they should be guilty, in their opinion, alike of an absurdity and an injustice.

Mr. SALT said, he wished to say that he reserved to himself the right, if any proper occasion arose at any future time, to raise this important question again. In some respects, he believed the Government might have acted rightly; but, after all, this was neither a question for an attack on, nor a defence of, the Government, but one for the House and the country. It was a question of great Imperial policy, which ought to be considered solely in the direction of attaining that which was best, not for the Government or the Opposition, but for the country at large.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1882-3).

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(1.) Question again proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £40,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."

Whereupon Question again proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £10,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland, including certain Allowances under the Act 15 and 16 Vic. c. 83."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Mr. MONK said, he rose with considerable reluctance to trespass for a few moments on the attention of the Committee. There was no one more regular than he was in attendance upon Committee of Supply, and he was always anxious to take part in the discussion of the Estimates. But when he and his Friends sitting below the Gangway on that side of the House found hon. Members below the Gangway on the opposite side of the House taking every occasion to prolong discussion upon the Estimates, and making no secret that their object in discussing each separate item referring to Ireland was not so much to criticize the Estimates as to cast obloquy upon Her Majesty's Government, and especially upon his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, then he confessed that they felt considerable difficulty in taking their proper part in the discussion of the Estimates. At the same time, he thought it was only fair towards the Government that they who had hitherto been silent in discussing the Estimates should warn the Government in a friendly manner that there was a considerable feeling of discontent and dismay in the country at the large increase of the Estimates year after year since the present Government came into Office. Perhaps it would not be out of place for him to allude to the coming Estimates, for he feared very much that they would find there was also an increase for the year 1883-4. He was afraid that the Government would find, when the next General Election took place, that one of the greatest dangers they would have to contend against would be the cry that they had not observed economy with regard to the expenditure in the different Services of the country. In reference to the Vote which was now before the Committee, there was no doubt that a Supplementary Vote of £40,000 for the cost of Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Charges in Ireland did require more explanation than had been given to the House the other day by his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland. He thought that the House ought to have laid before it some Paper or explanation as to whom the enormous additional sum of £15,000 in the shape of fees to counsel had been given. He believed that in Ireland, as well as in England, there was a large legal staff which was regularly provided for in the Estimates, and he should like to know to whom these fees went? It was stated, he thought by his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), that perhaps there might have been an additional 100 cases; but in the event of there having been 100 additional cases for which this additional £15,000 was charged, it would appear that a fee of £150 had been paid in each case to the legal gentlemen employed. What he wanted to know was whether these fees went to the present staff? At all events, he thought they ought to have some explanation of the matter, because they all knew there was always a tendency of fees to counsel increasing to an enormous extent. He had not risen with any desire to prolong the discussion; but he thought that the Committee was entitled, and especially that the Liberal Members who sat below the Gangway were entitled, to some explanation of the large increase which appeared in the Supplementary Estimates. He had therefore risen to call attention to this matter, and he could assure the Government he did so in the most friendly spirit towards them, because he believed that if they did not check this enormously increasing expenditure, they would have to answer for it before the country before very long.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, there was one item in the Estimate in regard to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had omitted to give the Committee any information. He referred to the item of £15,000 in regard to "Prosecutors, &c." He should like to know what "Prosecutors," and especially "&c.," meant? It would be interesting, he thought, to know what that amount included, and whether any portion of the remuneration went to informers and Crown witnesses; and the reply of the right hon. and learned Gentleman might perhaps throw some light on very important matters, especially the manner in which the services of these persons had been made available in some of the recent prosecutions in Ireland. He invited the attention of the Committee also to the description of evidence that had been resorted to in reference to prosecutions such as those of Mr. Harrington, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. Healy. It was bad enough for a man to have to defend his words in a Criminal Court; but in Ireland a man had sometimes to defend himself against words that belonged not to him but to some police reporter. He thought there was nothing that indicated better the odious character of the system of espionage that was practised against public speakers in Ireland than the fact that, although he believed no Press man had ever been injured in Ireland in the discharge of his duty except by the police, no professional shorthand writer could be got for love or money to undertake this duty. The duty was discharged by policemen who had dabbled a little in Pitman's shorthand. They managed to take down about every third word a man uttered, and then they strung them together with words the man never used at all. The policeman in Mr. Healy's case swore to the report in *The Freeman's Journal* being a full and exhaustive report of all that the hon. Member said in his speech; but Mr. Healy exhibited in Court a copy of *The Leinster Leader*, containing a really full report of his speech, which covered three columns in that paper as contrasted with one column and a half of *The Freeman's Journal*. In Mr. Harrington's case, the police reporter broke down so calamitously that the County Court Judge who confirmed the sentence was actually obliged to base his decision not upon the evidence for the Crown, but upon the evidence of a gentleman who was called for the defence, and who proved that the report of the police reporter was a tissue of falsehoods from beginning to end. That was the sort of fair play that the political opponents of the Government received in Ireland just now—a sort of fair play from which he had to some extent suffered himself. When the right hon. Gentleman opposite made some strong references to him (Mr. O'Brien) last night, he could not, of course, on the spur of the moment answer for everything that might have appeared in the newspaper with which he was connected; but that day he had had an opportunity of glancing through a file of the paper, and if the House would bear with him for a moment—although it might be a little irrelevant—he thought he should be able to show, confining himself to mere matters of fact, that the right hon. Gentleman had not been quite as just to him as he expected others to be towards himself. The right hon. Gentleman stated that he (Mr. O'Brien) had held up to execration four persons, three of whom were afterwards killed or murderously assaulted. The inference was one which he disdained to notice further. As to Mr. Burke, the first of the gentlemen mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, as far as he could recollect, and as far as he had been able to search through the files of *United Ireland*—and, of course, he had not been able to do so very exhaustively—his name was never mentioned in *United Ireland* until after his death; nor was there the most remote personal allusion to him, unless the paragraph about "rats in the Castle cellars" might be supposed to point to him in particular. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] He heard some murmurs in reference to that article. It had been admitted in that House by the late, and, indeed, he believed by the present, Attorney General for Ireland, that that paragraph was simply a rough comment upon a declaration made in that House by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, that "until the Irish Government was re-organized"—he thought he was quoting almost the exact words of the right hon. Gentleman—"there could be no hope of permanent tranquillity in Ireland."

Mr. TREVELYAN: I must interrupt the hon. Member to say that, in the remarks I made in my speech a week ago, I especially omitted that passage.

Mr. GLADSTONE: If the hon. Gentleman refers to me, will he kindly give me the means of verifying what he means, because I do not admit the words he has quoted?

Mr. O'BRIEN said, that at that moment he had not time to lay his hands on the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman. He was quoting from a report of the right hon. Gentleman's reply to a question of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy); but he would say nothing further in reference to Mr. Burke. As to the reference to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), he fought him fairly—more fairly than the right hon. Gentleman had fought him. He (Mr. O'Brien) had never struck a foul blow at any man. As to Mr. Field, the only allusion that was ever made to him in *United Ireland* was in one paragraph, not so much blaming Mr. Field as asking what would have been thought of a Catholic juror who handed down from the jury-box a note to Mr. Michael Davitt, instead of a Protestant juror handing down a note to Mr. Norris Goddard? If that was ferocity, he was at a loss for a term to characterize the frame of mind of the right hon. Gentleman last night. As to the right hon. Gentleman himself, he thought that in a less hasty moment the right hon. Gentleman would admit that any allusion that was ever made to him was a not unkindly one, until, in his speech at Hawick, he threw in his lot once for all with the enemies of Ireland, and until he held up newspapers and speeches of persons who, perhaps, had feelings as well as he had, to execration as part of the machinery of murder—as moral murderers. He was willing to let his countrymen judge, and they were the only judges, as to the description of speaking or writing which came nearest the description of moral murder. So far from his having any personal animosity to the right hon. Gentleman, he was amazed that such an idea should have entered the right hon. Gentleman's head. He had never seen the right hon. Gentleman, to his knowledge, until he saw him a fortnight ago in that House, and the only feeling that he entertained towards him was admiration for him as a literary man, and a sincere hope that he would bring into practice, as a Minister, the principles of freedom that he had so eloquently defended in his books. He was obliged to the House for having permitted him to make this statement. He had only to add that, in the discharge of what he deemed to be his duty to those who sent him there, he should never be irritated into saying—he hoped consciously, at all events—anything unjust to any man; nor would he be intimidated from saying whatever the interests of Ireland, which with him were supreme interests, demanded, not against an individual, for he had no grudge against particular men, but against the system which individuals from time to time administered in Ireland. He turned from that subject now to the case of Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy. Those gentlemen, he believed it was admitted, had committed no offence that could be brought within the comprehensive scope of the Crimes Act, which was a sort of omnibus Act of all the crimes in the calendar. They had done nothing that any man more modern or more respectable than the Judges of Charles I.'s time would ever have ventured to pronounce an offence. They were punished, not because of anything they said or did themselves, but because, although they had not even heard of it, Policeman Cox was shot in Abbey Street, Dublin, the night before their speeches were delivered in Carlow and Navan, and also because Mr. Field was stabbed in Dublin a few nights after. The Chief Secretary himself—he happened to have that reference—immediately after these occurrences, admitted that the outrages in Dublin were not of an agrarian character. The right hon. Gentleman, in reply to a Question put to him, said—

> "I must ask hon. Members to consider that it is important to bear in mind a distinction between the general state of Ireland and the special question of violent organized crime in Dublin."

It was evident, then, that the crimes in Dublin had nothing to do with the speeches in the country, either at Carlow or Navan, and those places ought to have been quite as safe places for making a strongly-worded speech as Leeds or Woodstock. But the Castle officials, with their usual talent for making bad worse, induced the Government to commit in this case the very blunder they committed after the Phœnix Park assassinations. Instead of encouraging people to speak boldly and openly, and as of right to speak what was in their minds, they suppressed open speaking. They confounded the criminal and the politician in the same category, and they very naturally confounded the sympathies of the people as well. Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy were punished because of crimes with which nobody dared to accuse them of sympathy, as the Irish people were punished because of the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish, which they deplored quite as heartily as the English people. This policy might be wise and cunning enough from the point of view of the Castle officials, for it was part of their purpose to keep the two countries at cross purposes and at daggers drawn, for fear it should ever occur to the people of England to try how the people of Ireland would get on at ruling themselves. He did not know whether the eyes of the people of England would ever be opened to the effect of this. People would say to themselves that Mr. Davitt, in his speech at Navan, called attention with desperate emphasis to the distress in Ireland; and a few days afterwards it happened that there was a paragraph in the Queen's Speech which suggested the propriety of considering that distress. Now that Mr. Davitt was in prison, now that all agitation was suppressed, now that the country was supposed to be quiet and tame, and kissing the rod, the only word the Government had for the starving peasants of Ireland was that, for the comfort of British taxpayers, it was necessary to ship them out of the country, no matter when, or how, or where; and that the best plan to get them away was to starve them out. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Hon. Members might murmur, but he was telling them what would be thought in Ireland, and what he thought. Then, as to Mr. Healy. The farmers of Ulster, who had reason to know something of Mr. Healy, what did the House think would be their reflections, when they said to themselves—"Mr. Healy's speech at St. Mullins was a bold exposure of the defects of the Land Act—defects which these same Northerners pointed out in their conference at Belfast the other day; defects which one of their own Commissioners showed the Government a short time ago, and which would perhaps remain and unsettle the whole question of rent in Ireland if the present mode of fixing it was not amended. Now that Mr. Healy was chained up, where was the proposed amendment of the Land Act, and who was most likely to wring an amendment from the Government? Was it the mild-spoken Gentlemen who spoke in whispers from the Back Benches of the Government, or was it the outspoken author of the Healy Clause, whom the Government thought it politic or right to detain in Richmond Prison during the Session?" Possibly the aberration of the farmers of Ulster would be a rather dear price to pay for the detention of Mr. Healy. Then he (Mr. O'Brien) said that in this, as in every other act of Lord Spencer's Administration—in these prosecutions, for which they were now asked to pay

£40,000, they were rejoicing and gratifying those who lived and flourished on the enmity which existed between this country and Ireland, and were laying up for themselves among the people of Ireland a store of bitterness and resentment, the consequences of which he did not care to anticipate. At all events, he believed that it was the duty of the Irish Members, by every means in their power, to oppose this Vote, and all other Votes of money which they believed were spent in fomenting discontent in Ireland and in thwarting the aspirations of the Irish people.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the hon. Gentleman has made an explanation, and it is upon that part of his speech that I rise to comment. I propose to make a counter explanation in answer to the hon. Member; and I trust, for the sake of the public time, that no one will think it worth while to carry on that part of the controversy. The statement made by me last night was that the editor of *United Ireland* had been reckless in not observing the effect of certain articles—in not discontinuing those articles. The hon. Gentleman has challenged me to produce the substance of those articles. I will produce them in the shape of a few short passages.

MR. O'BRIEN: What I have referred to to-night was the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman last night, that I had held up to execration, and put their lives in danger, four persons in Ireland.

MR. TREVELYAN: I have not the materials, I admit at once, that will enable me to go into the attacks of *United Ireland* upon my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). All I can say is, that when my right hon. Friend was being exposed to the hourly danger of assassination, leaders were constantly appearing in *United Ireland* taunting him with gross cowardice for surrounding himself with policemen, and sitting armed in his study. That formed a particular class of article which this paper published, and the passages themselves are so numerous that if I were asked to supply the House with the whole of them it would require a copious Blue Book to contain them. I now pass on to the case of Mr. Burke. I did not refer to the celebrated passage about "Castle rats." The first passage I referred to

was one which began with "Down with the Bastiles." Then came a most objectionable article in *United Ireland,* issued on the 4th of May, but bearing the date of May the 6th, under the heading "Disestablishing the Castle," which contained this passage—

> "But the money it spends, and the favours it distributes, and the foul toads who use it as a cistern to knot and gender in, are just the things which make the harmless travesty of Viceroyalty an offence and scorn in the eyes of Irishmen. The money is the wages which the tribe of Castle shopkeepers take for smearing over their shop fronts and their souls with announcements of their shame."

And, again, the article went on to say—

> "The toads are the gang of alien officials who nestle in the snuggeries of the Castle like so many asps in the bosom of the country. Down with the whole bundle of rottenness and imposture."

That is a specimen from an article which preceded the death of Mr. Burke; and my statement was that if I had been the writer of that article I should have thought twice before I wrote an article in the same style against any other public man who, at that moment, was the mark of popular depreciation in Ireland. Now, the next person to whom I referred on the occasion was Judge Lawson. Here are some of the passages referring to Judge Lawson—

> "Silence and veneration is demanded by the religion of English rule, and we bow before its sacred symbol—the gallows. Not often, even in the bloodstained records of Ireland, has there been a tragedy more pitiful, more horrible, than that of which Francey Hynes was the victim. . . . . A jury presided over by a Judge who from the commencement of the trial to its close did not even attempt to conceal his indecent longing for a conviction. It was not enough that his charge should be a speech for the prosecution. By nod and smile throughout the trial he emphasized each scrap of evidence that seemed to tell against the prisoner; by shrugs and deprecatory gestures he made light of the defence. Such things are good for a Judge to do; they are dangerous for a journalist to mention—a journalist who has but the one poor excuse of truth. Need we speak of the 'terrible' exposure that followed? Judge Lawson, in a tempest of virtuous indignation, decided that jury-packing and jury orgies were subjects too sacred for public comment."

And then, again—

> "The fabrication of the jury, the indecencies which preceded the verdict, and the even grosser judicial indecency which succeeded it, wrought up public indignation against the whole iniquitous proceedings to an unparalleled pitch. The foulness of the trial, too, set people

examining the evidence, the vital point of which was the disconnected ejaculations of an almost speechless man in the throes of death. The result was a perfect agony of belief that a boy in the blossom of youth was being done to death, not only by foul means, but in utter innocence."

And after that sort of writing, calculated in the highest degree to excite an imaginative people, comes this—

> "So Marwood got his orders, and on Monday morning executed them—with more credit and humanity than functionaries higher up in the hierarchy of Government—by the rope. The poor youth who, at 23, was called out to die for Judge Lawson's dyspepsia and his jurors' headaches, died firmly and tranquilly."

From first to last there was set forth an absolutely unfounded charge against the jury. The proof that this charge is unfounded I take to be this. When it was the duty of the Irish Government to examine into the charge, they took affidavits from all the jurors, and these affidavits were of a nature, as compared with the affidavits on the other side, to satisfy them. But, having come to that point, it was necessary to go a step further, and they went to the agents of the High Sheriff—the Under Sheriff, the bailiffs, and constables, who represented him—in other words, to the High Sheriff himself—who had to take charge of the jury, and see that they did their duty; and all of these made affidavits that the jury were in no sense under the influence of liquor, and that they did not speak to anyone concerning the trial. That evidence, as I say, comes as far as possible from the High Sheriff himself. With regard to Judge Lawson, I have read enough to show that he was attacked with what I called "ferocity," and we know what happened to Judge Lawson. I have here likewise some remarks about the jury, and will read one from *United Ireland* of the 7th of October last—

> "The jury was as shamefully concocted, its partizanship was indecent, and the evidence was evidence upon which an English jury would not hang a dog."

Now, what was the result of all this? There were the jurors in the cases of Walsh and Francey Hynes, some 30 gentlemen walking about the streets of Dublin, not one of whom was in the smallest danger from the assassins who were in the city. But what happened? One of these gentlemen, I say, was specially pointed out by name—I do not say pointed out to the assassins. In an article of the 7th of October, there were certain very strong remarks made about a Mr. Norris Goddard, who is connected with the Emergency Association. The article said—

> "Once the word is passed to 'convict murderers,' a Metropolitan, Protestant, and loyal jury, under the eye of Mr. Norris Goddard, may be trusted to know a murderer when he sees him, without splitting hairs about particulars. . . . What is even more aggravating than a patent murder machine as a system of government is the Pharisaism which shelters the achievements of Mr. Goddard's pals under the venerable name of tithe by jury (*sic*), and decries as a foe to public justice whoever cries out on the imposture."

In the same paper, on the same date, there also appeared this paragraph—

> "The incident of Mr. Field passing an affectionate *billet-doux* from the jury-box to Mr. Norris Goddard may be quite as innocent as Mr. Pickwick's 'Chops-and-tomato-sauce' communication to Mrs. Bardell; it only shows that, as a qualification for a Green Street juror, billing and cooing terms with a political partizan like Mr. Goddard is a different thing from the remotest suspicion of relations with a political partizan—say, Mr. Davitt. Why not, indeed, flirt with the chief organizer of the landlord faction in open Court, when one of his subordinate officials was thought good enough to take service on a life-and-death jury before?"

Well, Sir, in my opinion, it is extremely likely that this passage pointed out Mr. Field. I do not say that it was intended to point out Mr. Field to the assassins; but I do say that the editor of a newspaper which contained articles so very strongly written against the Castle officials, and articles of that peculiar class which it could do no one any good to read, for they are made up of denunciations and not arguments, and which preceded the murder of Mr. Burke, ought to have scrupled before he allowed to appear in that paper articles of the same character against Judge Lawson. And I say he likewise ought to have scrupled to admit articles against Mr. Field; and, further—although I may be personally prejudiced in the matter—I must say I think he ought to have scrupled to admit into his paper articles written against myself. These articles, which I will take this opportunity of referring to just for one moment, appeared directly after my speech at Hawick. There were three leading articles, the second of which, in stating that political crime stood on quite another footing to that of other crime, contained these words—

> "Again, it is notorious that the English system invites crime. The English Government has no business here."

And, farther on—

> "That is crime for the present in Irishmen which will be quite other when Ireland is mistress of her own fortunes."

In the next week's paper there comes this passage, which, I think, may be the precursor of many others of the same character which will probably follow. The "Letter from the House of Commons" begins thus—

> "Mr. Trevelyan's speech on the Distress Question last night will probably have made him the most hated man in Ireland. Among Irish Members Mr. Forster begins to appear a man of sense and feeling in comparison. The Castle poison has turned the blood in the Chief Secretary's veins to gall. His speech last night was a Local Government Board Circular in its most insolent style, translated into an oration of studied callousness and bitterness."

And then it went on to say—

> "Except on the Irish Tory Benches, where Mr. Trevelyan is now the darling of the hour, his speech was received with nothing short of horror."

To say that my speech was received with horror by the Liberal Party is to make a statement the object of which I cannot even conceive. I am sorry to have had to refer again to this subject, in consequence of the speech of the hon. Member (Mr. O'Brien). I do not think any hon. Gentleman desires to hear any more of it; but I am really anxious to show the House and the country on what sort of *pabulum* the minds of the unfortunate readers of this class of papers are nourished, and, at the same time, I wish to express my deepest sense of the favourable manner in which I have been treated by every other Member in the House, as distinguished from the treatment I have had outside the House from the Editor of *United Ireland.*

MR. O'DONNELL said, he need not inform the Committee that it was not his intention to trouble them with extracts from articles in the English Press in reference to Leaders of the Irish Party, which would undoubtedly parallel, without the justification, the extracts which had just been read from one of the organs of Irish opinion published in Ireland. He would, however, remind the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary of the fact, which was probably present to his consciousness, but which he strangely omitted in his explanation, that it did not remain with the Editor of *United Ireland* to single out the action of a certain juror and his relations with a notorious agent of the prosecution against the Irish people. The incident of the friendly exchange of confidence between the juror and Mr. Norris Goddard was related in every daily journal in Dublin, and for days and days before any notice was taken of it in the columns of *United Ireland*, and it was then already the subject of common conversation and common reprobation from one end of Ireland to the other. That fact was just as well known to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, if he knew anything about affairs in Ireland, as it was to any Member of the Irish Party. He must also beg to correct an impression which was apparently in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman as to the view taken of his recent speech. He had quoted from private letters from the most peaceable, most tranquil, and the most non-political pastors in Ireland, with reference to the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. He received last night from a rev. gentleman, whom he never knew to take any part in politics before, a letter in which the name of the Chief Secretary was coupled with the name of a certain Mr. Cromwell, with whom Ireland was too unfortunately familiar. Though he must hold, in common with the Irish Party, the Chief Secretary fully responsible for his speeches and his acts, and the consequences of his policy, he could not close his eyes to one fact, that the present Chief Secretary held a very different position from that held by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). He was was aware—and he wished to give the right hon. Gentleman all the benefit of the extenuating circumstance—he was aware the present Chief Secretary was excluded from the Cabinet; he was aware that he was, so to speak, only the instrument, and not actually a Colleague and co-partner, of those who had formed the policy that was now torturing Ireland. On the other hand, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) was a Cabinet Minister, and took part in the formation of the policy he carried out, He (Mr. O'Donnell) certainly thought that some share of that obloquy which had fallen not undeservedly upon the Chief Secretary should be borne by the responsible Heads of Her Majesty's Administration who shrank from exposing in the House of Commons to the criticism of the Irish Members the real authors of the Irish policy. Nothing could be more cowardly, nothing less in keeping with Constitutional policy, than that the Government should keep back from their responsible position in the House the men who were carrying out the Government's Irish policy. Earl Spencer was sheltered behind the immunities of the House of Lords, while the Chief Secretary was put forward to act as Envoy of the Cabinet. As the right hon. Gentleman had taken certain functions upon himself he must bear the responsibilities of his choice. They were indisposed to make the only Member of the Irish Government of Ireland who was present—the Chief Secretary—responsible for all the acts of his Colleagues; still, as he had previously said, he could not condemn too strongly the cowardly and miserable policy which withdrew from the criticisms of the Irish Members the real agents and active authors of the detestable policy of provocation to crime which was now being pursued by Her Majesty's Government in Ireland.

Mr. DAWSON said, he desired to ask two questions. [*Murmurs.*] He was sorry hon. Gentlemen opposite could not contribute to the debate anything but inarticulate sounds. After having heard the deliberate quotations of the right hon. Gentleman to prove the charges, the dreadful charges——

Sir JOSEPH PEASE, rising to Order, asked if the right hon. Gentleman's remarks had anything to do with the Estimates?

Mr. DAWSON said, he was simply referring to the quotations which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary made to warrant the dreadful charges which the right hon. Gentleman had made against the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). He (Mr. Dawson) contended that the remarks were such as would appear in any English journals under similar circumstances, and would receive no condemnation from the British public, much less form the ground for such terrible charges as those the right hon. Gentleman had brought against the hon. Member for Mallow. [*Murmurs.*] He wished the hon. Gentlemen who murmured and indulged in inarticulate sounds would rise in their places, and show the cause of the faith that was in them. He challenged the Prime Minister, notwithstanding his powerful expression, to show sufficient reason why the hon. Member for Mallow should be convicted of inciting to murder. He (Mr. Dawson) did not want to say anything about the verdicts that were found in most of the agrarian murder cases in Ireland; but he did desire to say that in England it would have been utterly impossible, no matter how clear the guilt of the prisoner was, to get a verdict in such a case as Hynes's, if the conduct of the jury had been the same. The evening before the conviction, the jury in Hynes's case was given in charge of a sub-officer whom the Judge accepted in place of the High Sheriff. At the hotel the jury played billiards, smoked, and drank in the smoking-room; they moved about the corridors riotously, and some of them walked into the room in which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. O'Brien) happened to be sleeping. They might have walked into a dozen rooms, and had conversed with hundreds of people, for aught the Committee knew. He would be borne out by his legal Friends from Dublin, that recently in Tipperary, whilst the learned Judge had retired, the jury left the box for refreshments, but did not leave the precincts of the Court. The Judge, upon his return into Court, held that the jury by that act of dispersion had themselves abandoned the commission intrusted to them, and he discharged them, and swore a new jury. Apart from the question of the guilt of Hynes, he (Mr. Dawson) maintained that in consequence of their proceedings the night previous to the conviction, the jury found an illegal verdict. Hynes might have been guilty, but, according to law, he was illegally convicted.

Mr. T. C. THOMPSON asked the Attorney General for Ireland whether there was any check upon the employment of counsel in Ireland, or upon the fees they received? In England there was an officer appointed by the Treasury to tax the fees; £29,300 appeared to English eyes an enormous sum to be paid in fees, and he was sure the Committee would be gratified to hear that some check was kept upon them in Ireland.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he was glad the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Thompson) had given him the opportunity of saying now what he should have said at a later period, in reference to the question of counsel's fees. There was, he thought, some misconception as to what occurred last night, when the question was raised by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). He (the Attorney General for Ireland) did not say last night that the £15,000, which was asked for in the present Vote, under the head of "Counsel's Fees," was asked for exclusively in reference to cases which had come into Court in consequence of the passing of the Crimes Act. He said if the Crimes Act had not been passed, the original Estimate would have been inadequate for the demands of the year. But he pointed out that the Crimes Act had been the cause of a very considerable part of the legal expenses of the year. That was a matter which must be perfectly obvious, when the Committee remembered that there had been, up to the present time, more than 20 exceedingly important murder cases, tried under the Crimes Act, tried in a venue different from that in which they would otherwise have been tried, and tried under circumstances involving the greatest difficulty, complexity of evidence, and demanding the assistance of the ablest counsel whom the Crown could get. Those cases were quite exceptional, both in their circumstances and in the expense attending upon them. It would be borne in mind that in the year 1881-2 the expenses which were actually incurred under the head of Fees to Counsel were £20,500. The Government now asked for a Vote of £29,000 for the same purpose; that was an increase not of £15,000 but of £9,000. The whole of the increase was not for fees in criminal cases; £2,000 of it was for fees in civil actions, which were brought against the Government and which had to be defended. As to the keeping of a check upon counsel's fees, and the mode in which prosecutions were conducted, he desired the Committee to understand the matter thoroughly. There were in each county two regular standing counsel, who were instructed by the Crown in every case. The fees of these counsel were paid to them by the Crown Solicitor, under the supervision of the Attorney General, and also under the check of the supervision of the Treasury. The fees were fixed on an ordinary scale. They were not large, because the average fees for all the counsel engaged in the Assize Courts were 11 guineas in each case. If two counsel were employed in one case, that might seem a considerable amount; but it was not exceedingly startling. There were cases, of course, in which special fees were paid. Those special fees had to be given in particular cases, cases of great difficulty, requiring more than ordinary attention on the part of counsel. Special arrangements were in every case made upon the official responsibility of the Attorney General. The Attorney General for the time being had to give his sanction before any special fee could be paid; and before they gave their assent the Treasury looked, with great care, into the particulars of the case, to ascertain whether they warranted fees to counsel of an exceptional character. He could assure the Committee that there had been on the part of his Predecessor (Mr. W. M. Johnson), and there was, on his own part, the most close inspection of the fees and an anxious desire that there should be observed the strictest economy in the matter. It would, he was sure, be considered very poor and paltry economy, if every care were not taken to secure competent efficiency and to obtain the services of the most competent counsel the Government could command. He was not able to give, with any correctness, the number of the cases heard in Ireland in which counsel appeared. Many cases had not been sent for trial; but he believed he was correct in saying that about 4,000 or 5,000 cases were sent for trial every year, of which about two-thirds went to the Sessions, and about one-third to the Assizes. Those cases were conducted in the way he had described. He endeavoured to show that he and the Treasury had not been able to decide upon a more economical arrangement consistant with efficiency than the present.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had made out a case against himself. The right hon. and learned Gentleman stated last night that less than 100 cases had come under the Crimes Act, and he had not now denied it. He had also said that £13,000 instead of £15,000 was alone spent on the prosecutions under the Crimes Act. He had not risen in support of the views of hon. Gentlemen on the Irish Benches opposite, but rose strictly from an economical point of view. They ought to know how much of this money had been spent for prosecutions under the Crimes Act, in order that they might arrive at something definite as to the amount of money spent in each case. If they took £10,000, and there were less than 100 cases, that would give something like £100 in each case. But the right hon. and learned Gentleman had made his case really worse, for there were £15,000 for prosecutors. As he understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman, those prosecutors were, in point of fact, barristers who were employed by the Government.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, he had never made any statement to that effect. The expenses of witnesses bound over to prosecute were formerly defrayed by the Grand Juries from the counties; but now they were payable by the State, and these were what appeared in the accounts as "Prosecutors."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, there were also £15,000 set down for the prosecuting witnesses, and an item of £10,000 for general law expenses. He did not understand what those were, but he took the figures for fees at £10,000; and even if he put the number at 80 that would mean £125 in each case for counsel. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had said that a great many of these cases were simply cases in which only 11 guineas were given to counsel. If that were so, the fees upon the 20 cases of murder must have been something perfectly portentous; and it was upon that ground mainly that he agreed with a great deal of what hon. Gentlemen opposite had said as to the economical aspect of the question.

MR. PARNELL said, he desired to ask the Attorney General for Ireland one or two questions with regard to the amount paid to counsel. He wished to know how much the trial of, say Francis Hynes, cost the Crown in the shape of fees to the prosecuting counsel, for solicitors and Crown prosecutors? Could the right hon. and learned Gentleman give any detailed information regarding any one of the trials—the trial, for instance, of the two Walshes, who were sentenced to death, and one of whom was executed, while the other was sent to penal servitude for life? He wished the House to be informed as to the very great unfairness displayed between the way in which the Crown accused and prosecuted prisoners, and the way in which they defended them when paid for the defence under the provisions of the Crimes Act. That Act provided where prisoners were brought from one county to another by a change of venue the Crown were to pay the expenses of the witnesses and the expense of defending the prisoners so removed. A number of prisoners were taken to Dublin from all parts of Ireland accused of murder, and many of them were afterwards found guilty and executed; but they were defended by junior counsel. Why was that? Was it because the Crown refused to pay senior counsel, or because the Crown had bought up, by this lavish system of expenditure, the services of all the valuable senior counsel in the country? He did not care which case the right hon. and learned Gentleman took; he might take the case of the men who were found guilty of the Maamtrasna murder, or of the murder of the Huddys, or the case of Francis Hynes, or either of the Walshes. He should be glad to know how much the prosecution of one of these cases cost the Crown; how much was paid by the Crown for the prosecution, and how much for the defence? He was aware that in the case of Francis Hynes the Crown had been asked for £250 for his defence; but, as far as he knew, they had, up to the present time, refused to grant that amount. Hynes' solicitor was told that the Crown would not provide senior counsel, but that they would give a fee for junior counsel not exceeding £3 or £4. He had informed the Attorney General of that fact nearly two months ago, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman had promised to investigate it; but he (Mr. Parnell) did not yet know the result of the investigation. How much did the prosecution to death of Hynes cost the Crown, and how much did they pay for his defence? If the Crown had paid anything for the defence of Hynes, then the right hon. and learned Gentleman might take some other case

In these murder cases prisoners had not been able to obtain the services of senior counsel, because of the formidable array of the ablest legal counsel prosecuting them; and, therefore, they had been defended only by junior counsel. The persons convicted of the Maamtrasna massacre were defended by two junior counsel. The persons convicted of the Huddy murder were also defended by two juniors. He wished for some explanation of these circumstances now that the Committee was asked to pass this swollen Estimate, on the ground that it was necessary for the administration of justice in Ireland that this enormous sum should be spent. He wished to know whether it was true that the Government had spent their money only on one side; and, in consequence, would prisoners have any chance of proving their innocence?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) replied, that he could not state the cost of the Hynes trial, and said he was not one of the counsel engaged in the case, and was not then Attorney General. But with regard to the other prisoners' counsel in murder cases, under the Crimes Act, where a prisoner was unable to procure counsel, his expenses and those of his witnesses were defrayed by the Crown. In that direction there had never been any complaint; and in addition to that, in every case, whether under the Crimes Act or not, where a man was on trial for murder, it was the practice in Ireland—though he believed it was not in England—not only to assign counsel for the defence of the prisoner, but to provide a fee for such counsel. That was a matter of rule in Ireland in the case where a prisoner was unable to provide counsel for himself. It was obvious that there was no extra expense put upon a prisoner, so far as the fee of his counsel was concerned, by reason of his being removed from one place to another; and as the representatives of the Crown carefully scrutinized all cases in order to ascertain whether the prisoners had means or not, they were satisfied that in most cases the prisoners had not sufficient means to provide counsel. What happened in Hynes's case was this—the first solicitor who appeared for Hynes informed the Crown Solicitor that there was a subscription fund of £100, which would be abundant for Hynes's defence. Afterwards, however, the solicitor was changed; and, speaking to Mr. Morphy in reference to the defence, he said—"I suppose you are going to provide counsel." Mr. Morphy replied that he had no power in the matter, as it was for the Judge to assign counsel. No application whatever was made, either to the Castle authorities or to the Attorney General, in reference to the fee for Hynes's defence. Hynes had counsel for his defence, and there never had been any complaint from him or anybody else.

MR. GIBSON asked whether the Judge assigned counsel?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, no application was made either to himself or to the Judge. As to other cases, although it was unusual and to a certain extent against the fixed rules, two counsel were assigned. Whenever an application was made, and they were not paid in accordance with the ordinary rule, they were paid what the Attorney General thought was a fair and reasonable, but not an extravagant fee. That fee was accepted without any complaint on the part of those who received it, and in each and every one of these cases where two counsel were remunerated, they were the two counsel selected by the prisoner's solicitor without any suggestion from the Attorney General. It did so happen in one set of these cases there were two junior counsel—nominally junior counsel—but both of them were men of very great experience in criminal cases. In the other case, there were two stuff gownsmen engaged; but they were men of the highest eminence, and were just as competent as any man in silk to conduct the defence. Again, in another case, one was a senior and one was a junior in the technical sense of those terms; but in each case the prisoners were provided with the means of having the counsel whom they wished, and the fees for those counsel were provided by the Crown without any complaint.

MR. DAWSON said, this being a matter of figures, it required calm consideration. He did not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman had got out of the difficulty in which he had been placed. He (the Attorney General for Ireland) had said the fees were not enormous; but that had led him into a greater dilemma, because that required him to prove where the rest of the £15,000 went to. If only £11 had been paid in some of these cases, something must have been done with the residue; and he thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman ought to state the names of the gentlemen who had received these fees. On his own argument, the right hon. and learned Gentleman was committed to the dilemma as to how he got rid of a number of the payments. Could not he state to whom he had paid fees which went beyond all reasonable limits?

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN asked whether some of this money had not gone to the payment of informers? He wished to know whether the consideration and reward for these informers was not concealed under this Vote?

Mr. PARNELL said, he was sorry to take up the time of the Committee; but he must submit that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not answered the point which he had brought before him. In fact, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had evaded the question. The question he had brought before the Committee, and to which he had invited the attention of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, was the discrepancy between the cost of prosecuting the prisoners and of defending them. He had asked for some particulars relating to the trial of one of these prisoners either in Dublin or in any other part of the country. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had not given the Committee a single example; he had excused himself on the ground that in regard to Hynes's case he was not the Attorney General. But there had been other cases of a similar character which had happened since he had been appointed Attorney General, and of which he ought to be able to give some details. He had admitted that in almost every case where counsel were employed for the defence of prisoners they had been junior counsel faced by a senior counsel, and, in some cases, by the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, as well as by experienced Queen's Counsel, who were receiving heavy fees. There was another point to which he desired to call attention. In the Crimes Act there were two classes of payments provided by the Crown for the purpose of defending prisoners; fees to Queen's Counsel in the 1st section of the Act—that which provided for the trial of cases of murder by a tribunal of Judges without a jury; and fees to counsel for defending prisoners accused of murder, in addition to the cost of defending prisoners where the venue was changed. But the Government had refused, in such cases, to pay the expenses incurred by the solicitors for the defence in inquiring into the case in the locality itself. As he understood the matter, the Government had offered to pay the expenses of the solicitor while present in Dublin, or in the district to which the venue was changed, during the trial; but they refused to pay the expenses incurred by the solicitor in working up the case, and making the best legal inquiries he could in the district. He submitted that it was just as important that the case, for the purpose of defence as for the purpose of prosecution, should be properly inquired into in the locality. The case of the man Corry was an example. He was lately charged before Mr. Justice Harrison and a special jury in Dublin, composed of 11 Protestants and one Catholic, and was acquitted. The Crown evidently believed in the guilt of Corry, because they held him in prison for many months; postponed his trial from time to time, and, finally, brought him before a special jury in the City of Dublin, and selected a jury so carefully that they ordered 46 Catholics to stand aside. He was acquitted, for which he had to thank the fact that Mr. Justice Harrison tried him. He (Mr. Parnell) had the profoundest conviction of the innocence of the prisoner, and, out of a fund he had the control of, he had paid the costs of an investigation into the case by a solicitor. There could be no doubt that the investigation the solicitor had set on foot, the measurements he had been able to take, and so forth, had helped materially to bring about the acquittal of this innocent man, and save English justice in Ireland from the stain of sacrificing innocent life in that country. If this money—£20, he thought it was—had not been advanced, the man's life would most probably have been sacrificed. He submitted, therefore, it was fair that all the reasonable expenses of solicitors for prisoners in these cases should be paid by the State. If a man was not able to pay the expenses of counsel and solicitor while the case was being investigated by a jury, how could he afford to pay for the necessary preliminary investigation which had to be carried on to enable him to establish his innocence? In view of the charge now made upon the national funds in respect of prosecutions, the Government ought in fairness on the other side to give persons—innocent, at any rate, until they were proved guilty—small sums to enable them to acquit themselves, if possible, of the charges brought against them. He hoped the Committee would have some indication from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland as to how he intended to manage this matter for the future, so as to enable pauper prisoners to properly prepare their defence in grave cases of life and death.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was surprised that the Attorney General for Ireland did not seem to think that the question just put to him demanded a specific and categorical answer. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would repeat, for the benefit of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and other Gentlemen interested in this matter, the particular point on which they desired information. Why was it that the Crown thought it necessary to give large and extravagant fees, and to employ an extensive array of senior counsel in prosecutions, and contented themselves with giving small fees to juniors for the purpose of defending prisoners? The right hon. and learned Gentleman had dealt very largely in generalities in this matter. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] If hon. Members were under the impression that he was going to finish one minute sooner in consequence of cries of "Divide!" they were very much mistaken. It was now pretty generally understood that they were to have a Saturday Sitting; and he was willing to remain in that House to any hour until, at any rate, his mind was satisfied, however it might be with hon. Members who kept up such a boisterous interruption this evening. He trusted the right hon. and learned Gentleman would not allow his mind to be diverted by the several incidents which had occurred from the questions which had been put to him during the discussion on the Motion for a reduction of the Vote. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would remind the right hon. and learned Gentleman that he had been asked to stand up in his place and say whether he believed that Mr. Harrington had intimidated the farmers of Westmeath who had returned him to Parliament during his imprisonment. He had been asked whether he could defend the treatment Mr. Harrington had received from the Governor of Mullingar Prison. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had also ventured to address an appeal to the right hon. and learned Gentleman to say whether, even allowing that the language which had been used by Mr. Healy was too strong for the circumstances of the case—which, however, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not admit—he did not consider the time had come when the hon. Member could be allowed to take his place in the House, and when his constituents could be permitted to have the advantage of his assistance in the discussion of affairs in which they were interested. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not wish, even for the purpose of giving a retort to the hon. Baronet opposite and other boisterous Members, to repeat the views he had already expressed to the House; but again he asked—and he should avail himself of all the usages of the House to obtain an answer—why these bloated fees were given to counsel for the prosecution, whilst such small sums were given to junior counsel for the defence?

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER said, he did not rise for the purpose of unduly protracting this discussion, but with the object of reducing it to some practical result. He confessed he differed from his hon. Friends around him in their accusations against the Government of extravagance in the employment of Crown Counsel. His impression was that that part of the case had been satisfactorily met by the statement of the Attorney General for Ireland. The Treasury were too wide awake on both sides of the Channel to allow either the Attorney General for England or the Attorney General for Ireland to indulge in any extravagance in this matter; and from whatever experience he had had of the observation of criminal trials in this country, he could say that, as a rule, these gentlemen were very much underpaid. But the particular point on which he believed his hon. Friends were entitled to information was this — the Attorney General for Ireland had stated that the fees given to counsel employed in the defence of prisoners were fixed fees, and that he (the Attorney-General for Ireland) was unable to interfere in enlarging those fees. This was precisely the point against which, he thought, a protest ought to be made. He did not see why, since it was the primary object of the Crown to investigate cases impartially, counsel employed on one side should be more highly feed than those employed on the other; and he should like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman who was responsible for the fixing of the paltry limit of £3 3*s.* for the defence of a man accused of a capital offence. This was the *gravamen* of the charge of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) that someone was responsible for fixing the amount of the fees, and that they were not adequate for securing the defence of persons supposed to be implicated in such grave crimes. He was glad to hear the right hon. and learned Gentleman speak in such complimentary terms of Mr. Teeling and Mr. Adams; but those terms had not been more complimentary than the gentlemen in question deserved. But was it for those gentlemen to incur the odium of defending prisoners in such cases as those with which they had to deal for such paltry fees? It might be the responsibility lay with the Judge; and if the Attorney General for Ireland was able to wash his hands of that responsibility, at any rate it was to be hoped that he would be able to bring some influence to bear on those whose duty it was to fix the fees to get them to raise them to a reasonable amount.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER) said, hon. Members had misunderstood what he had said. What he had stated was that there was a fixed sum to be paid counsel for defending prisoners, which sum could not be exceeded unless with the special sanction of the Attorney General for Ireland. It was a printed Treasury Rule. The fixed sum was not to be exceeded except in cases of special difficulty and importance, when the Attorney General for Ireland had power to increase the fees. He had increased the fees in cases in which he had considered it reasonable to do so—in cases where the counsel had had important and arduous and difficult tasks to perform for the benefit of the prisoners and the interest of the public. The hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) had assumed that the Crown Counsel received large fees, and the defending counsel small fees; and that he would explain. He had given the average of fees to Crown counsel; and as to the others, although he was not able to state the fees he had given in particular cases—there being no Return made of them—in many instances higher fees than those fixed had been allowed by him, and certified for in the ordinary form. To prevent a misconception in the matter, he must say that they were not dealing in these Votes with what had taken place under the Crimes Act merely, but with the entire of the legal prosecutions in Ireland for the whole year.

MR. KENNY said, that the more they looked at these figures the worse would the attempt of the Government to account for them appear. In all Ireland the number of practising barristers was only some 200.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. PORTER): 400.

MR. KENNY: Well, they would say 400. He was speaking of those who lived exclusively by their Profession. The sum demanded was £29,300—almost £30,000—which would give £150 apiece to all the practising barristers in Ireland, supposing the Crown engaged them all. If half of them were employed it would amount to £300, and if only 50 were engaged it would amount to £600, and so on. They were entitled to have from the Attorney General for Ireland some specific figures showing how much the barristers had received, how many had been employed, and how much the right hon. and learned Gentleman had received himself. Before they voted away public money, they were entitled to know how it was spent. He wished to know whether it was true, as the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) had suggested, that a great deal of this money had been spent in suborning witnesses and paying informers?

MR. DAWSON said, that two gentlemen who had been mentioned—Messrs. Teeling and Adams—and who were known very well in that (the Irish Opposition) quarter of the House were, although only juniors, ornaments to the Irish Bar. He (Mr. Dawson) had had some opportunity of knowing that these gentlemen, at any rate, had not received the missing thousands. They had only had a few guineas, and the Irish nation would very naturally ask—"Where did the thousands go to? Into whose individual pocket—to smoothen whose promotion?" While the poor peasantry of Ireland were absolutely starving, it was an outrage on the country to have unaccounted for in this way thousands upon thousands of pounds. In justice to his own high Office the Irish Attorney General was bound to give them the names of those people into whose pockets these thousands had gone. [An hon. MEMBER: The pocket of the Land League.] He (Mr. Dawson) should be glad if the Land League were responsible, and were in a position to account for this money of the Government in a creditable manner. The right hon. and learned Gentleman should show into whose official pockets had gone all the money. If it was undenied it had been spent for scant value—if it was undenied that it had gone into the pockets of those who were not entitled to it, it would make the conduct of officials distrusted and doubted.

MR. SEXTON said, he had to complain of the unstatesmanlike manner in which the Government were discussing this Vote; and also of the manifest discourtesy and obstinate silence of the Chief Secretary and the Attorney General for Ireland, in regard to specific inquiries addressed to them from that (the Irish Opposition) quarter of the House. He would presently refer to these inquiries, and insist, as far as he could, upon having an answer. In the meantime he would state that, after all that had been said about the payment of barristers in Ireland, the question was a very simple one. The fact was that with the multiplication of well-paid officers in Ireland, and the annual inflation of this charge for legal expenses, the Government had accomplished a complete system of the moral debauchment of the Irish Bar. At one time or another the Government got at every man with a fat fee, or a well-paid office. [*Ironical cheers.*] He supposed that hon. Members who cheered so much had been got at already. It had come to this in Ireland—that whether the number of barristers practising in that country was 200 or 400, it was impossible for anyone in a political case to get a barrister whom he could trust. It reminded him of an election contest he was once engaged in at a town in Ireland, where he found that the other candidates had bought up the two attorneys in the place, and there remained not so much as an attorney's clerk available for his instruction. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had pointed out that the expenditure of a small sum of money in making inquiries had resulted in the acquittal of an accused person; and he had asked whether the Government were prepared to promise, or give any similar assurance, that in very grave cases, where the lives of men were in danger, they would provide a small sum of money for the same purpose. And what reply had they obtained from the Government? They had been met with silence—not one word had been spoken. Yet hon. Members who had listened with obvious inattention to the course of the debate, and who interrupted him with cries of "Divide!" must understand that this question would have to be discussed that evening or to-morrow, and of these two occasions hon. Members could take their choice. Who could tell what was covered by the term "prosecutors," or how many bribes were included under that head? Were the Government prepared to make any declaration of policy upon the cases of his hon. Friends the Members for Westmeath and Wexford. The Government had received from the farmers of Westmeath as stern and severe a rebuff as they had just received from the Government of France in the case of Mr. Byrne. They had accused Mr. Harrington of intimidating the farmers of Westmeath, and upon that charge he was found guilty by the magistrates and sent to gaol. Their blind policy, however, had produced the opposite effect to what might have been expected; the farmers of Westmeath replied to the charge against Mr. Harrington by saying that they were not intimidated, and they returned him as the Representative of the county. But although Mr. Harrington was now lying in gaol in Galway, he was a moral victor over the Government who had imprisoned him. The Prime Minister had repeatedly acknowledged in that House that if there was one Member who could compete with him as the student of agrarian reform, that man was the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy). But the Whig Party, he said, had struck

Mr. Dawson

a blow against their support in Ulster by seizing on this moment to imprison the most active and effective man that Irishmen ever sent to represent them. He again invited the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to declare whether he would stand narrowly and unintelligently upon the sentence passed by the magistrates upon these Members, or whether, having regard to the question of policy involved in their imprisonment, he would cause them to be released, and so put an end to this disgrace to the Administration in Ireland.

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) made a speech yesterday which I confess interested me very much, and in which he took occasion to remark, one after another, upon the cardinal points of our policy in Ireland; and to that speech I should certainly have replied almost as soon as the present discussion came on, were it not that my attention was necessarily diverted by the speech of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). At this stage of the evening I shall not speak at the same length as I otherwise should have done; but I am quite prepared to answer, categorically, the questions which the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) and the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) have put. The hon. Member for Sligo, repeating the question of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), asks whether the Government will be prepared to bear the expense of some such preliminary inquiry as was made in the case of the man who was tried on the alleged charge of murder and acquitted. The hon. Member, who advanced money in the case in question, must remember that no such custom exists in England, Ireland, or Scotland, as the Crown generally undertaking the defence of persons accused of crimes. The Crown only provides them with an attorney and counsel in capital cases. But in Ireland, in consequence of recent legislation, when the venue is changed, the Crown undertakes the expenses of the criminals during the trial; but further than that I do not see how the Crown can go, for in no part of the United Kingdom does it pay the preliminary expenses incurred by the fact of a person being put on trial. The hon. Members for Sligo and Galway have questioned me with regard to the imprisonment of the hon. Members for Wexford (Mr. Healy) and Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), and have asked whether the Government was prepared to release them. Sir, the policy of the Government with regard to what are ordinarily called prosecutions for speeches in Ireland is very simple and plain, and I will in a few words endeavour to describe what that policy is. The Government are very unwilling to prosecute for speeches, and have shown their unwillingness to allow speeches to pass without prosecution when they did not think it absolutely necessary for the public safety that an opposite course should be taken. It is a curious and significant fact that all the cases in which people have been interfered with for words spoken in Ireland come within an exceedingly short space of time. On the 13th of August there was one isolated prosecution under the Crimes Act, and with that exception all the nine cases in which persons have been brought to account for spoken words occurred between the 22nd of November and the 22nd of December last. I do not assume that what I say is convincing to Gentlemen who have raised this question; but it is right that I should state to the Committee the motives which actuated me. About the time referred to agitation began again in Ireland which the Government regarded as very dangerous. They endeavoured to keep their minds closed against that idea as long as it was possible to do so. But they came to the conclusion that there was a determination to excite and agitate people for purposes which the Government could not possibly admit, and that such agitation would once more take the country out of the influence of law and order, and would reproduce the state of things which existed at this time last year. The Government considered that it was their bounden duty to take such steps as would put a stop to this agitation or bring it within proper bounds, and in consequence of that they engaged in five prosecutions for intimidation under the Prevention of Crimes Act. Among these were the prosecutions of the hon. Member for Wexford and Mr. Harrington. The Government came to the conclusion that there was a *primâ facie* case against Mr. Harrington; the words used by him amounting, in their judgment, to intimidation, and that of an extremely dangerous kind. After speaking of his inquiries into the condition of the farming class in the district, Mr. Harrington said—

> "And I tell the comfortable farmers of Ireland that if they don't throw themselves into this movement they will have to face a movement which they have never had to face before. The labourers' agitation will be directed against them."

Those words were considered by the Government to amount to intimidation of a very dangerous kind—dangerous when proceeding from a gentleman who knew very well what the effect of a labourers' agitation directed against the farming class would be. It is easy for persons living in England, where the strongest language only raises a temporary excitement, to think little of words of this kind. But when the fact is considered that these words were spoken in the midst of a society convulsed in the terrible crisis of a political movement, I must say I think they were very dangerous words indeed. But the Government, in such cases, cannot take the words alone so far as the prosecution of a particular person is concerned; although, as far as the decision of the Court is concerned, the actual words must be taken, and those only. When, however, you come to the question whether the Government is to prosecute or not, it must be considered what their collective effect must be. If the Government think the collective effect will be innocent, they will do wisely in not prosecuting; but if they think the collective effect will be dangerous to the public safety, then I think the Government is right to prosecute any person who has uttered words which have brought them within the scope of the law. Upon that principle the Government have acted. I have been asked by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) whether the fact of the unanimous election of Mr. Harrington by the Westmeath farmers was not a proof that he was not guilty of the offence charged against him? I cannot say that that is my opinion. A man may be elected against the will of a great number of individuals; and the most dangerous agitation is that directed by the few against the many. Then with regard to the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy). This case was the same as that of Mr. Harrington so far as related to the reason which induced the Government to take notice of the words used by the hon. Member. Those words were, in our opinion, dangerous; they were spoken on the same platform as a speech attributed to a parish priest, to which the hon. Member for Wexford presumably listened, and at a place where the Government found the very worst and most dangerous were made at any time during the movement. Well, Sir, the hon. Member for Wexford was proceeded against, not, however, under the Prevention of Crimes Act, because, in the opinion of the Government, the speech did not come within the Intimidation Clauses. They proceeded against him under the powers which appeared to them to be suited to the occasion. They applied to have him bound over to keep the peace, and that was precisely what they were anxious to obtain. They wanted the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Healy) to promise to keep the peace; but the hon. Gentleman was unwilling to say that he would not go on making speeches of the kind complained of, and so he and Mr. Davitt were committed to gaol. I venture to say that if Mr. Davitt and the hon. Member for Wexford had been allowed to continue making speeches of that nature, with such variety of language as they would have been obliged to use, within a month or two the country would have been in a very dangerous state of excitement. The hon. Member for Wexford was perfectly at liberty to give bail now, if he wished to obtain his release.

Mr. SEXTON asked if that would not amount to a constructive admission that the speech was one inciting to unlawful acts?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I know that is the view of the hon. Gentleman; but, by refusing to give bail, the inference is that he thinks his speech was one he was perfectly justified in making, and one he is ready to make again. The hon. Gentleman, in fact, said so. The Government, however, on the other hand, thought that the speech was an extremely dangerous one in its effects. [Mr. Parnell: The whole speech?] I alluded to the words which were brought before the notice of the Court. It was said the Government ought to let Mr. Harrington out of prison because he had become a Member of Parliament; and that they ought in the case of Mr. Healy to remove the necessity of his giving bail as a preliminary to his release, because he is a useful Member of Parliament. In so doing, the Government would be doing an injustice to the men who had not the advantage of being Members of Parliament; and I cannot understand the principle on which we would be acting. The Government were extremely sorry that it had to proceed against anyone for what they said publicly. They, however, considered they were bound, in the interests of the public safety, to prosecute these hon. Gentlemen amongst others. The fact of a man being a Member of Parliament is in itself a double reason why he should refrain from using such language as that in question.

Mr. DAWSON asked if the Committee were to conclude that men were to be punished for what other men said? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) was punished in consequence of what Father Delaney had said. The right hon. Gentleman said—"We are not punishing Harrington for the exact words he used, which, indeed, were very wild; but we looked to other things said throughout the country." They punished the hon. Member; but they had not the courage to punish the rev. gentleman whose speech was too bad for the right hon. Gentleman to read. Did the right hon. Gentleman ever hear of Joseph Arch, who had carried on the agricultural labourers' agitation in England? Did he punish Joseph Arch? Did he put him into gaol? Dare he do it?

Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN said, that, in reference to the case of Mr. Harrington, he had, perhaps, a peculiar right to say a few words. Mr. Harrington was his Colleague in the representation of Westmeath, and he (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) was with his hon. Friend on the platform, and heard the speech in question from beginning to end. It was not for one passage, but for one single word in that speech, that Mr. Harrington had been sentenced to two months' imprisonment; and Mr. Harrington had been imprisoned upon the strength of a forced and Governmental construction put on that one single word. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) challenged a denial of his assertion. It was on the word "agitation" that the whole prosecution against Mr. Harrington turned. Mr. Harrington had said that the whole force of the labourers' agitation would be turned against the farmers if they did not, in a day of distress, try to open some employment for the labourers. It was felt at the time that the labourers of Westmeath, and, indeed, of the country, were in a state of destitution; and Mr. Harrington appealed to the generosity and the good feeling and the gratitude of the farmers to help the labourers in their day of distress. Mr. Harrington said the labourers were founding an agitation some time before, for the redress of their own grievances; but, he added—

> "I took no part in it; I did not join it, because I do not like these class movements. But I tell you that unless you do something for these poor people, to whom you owe so much, the force of this agitation will be turned against you."

He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) denied it was a threat which Mr. Harrington used; he denied it was intimidation. The speech was not meant as intimidation, and it was not understood as intimidation by anybody except by the two or three policemen who came up and gave evidence to that effect. Why was there no farmer, large or small, no man of any other class, no civilian at all, brought up at the trial to testify either that he felt intimidated, or that he thought it likely other people would be intimidated, by the speech? Not a single person, save two or three policemen, were brought forward to testify to the intimidatory effect of Mr. Harrington's words. The prosecution was a fraud; it was an outrage upon justice; and he was really surprised the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary could find it in his heart to stand up in his place in the House of Commons and defend the prosecution and the continued imprisonment of the hon. Gentleman. Every day's imprisonment of Mr. Harrington was an outrage upon justice; every day's imprisonment of the hon. Gentleman tended to create, in the County Westmeath especially, and more or less in other counties, a feeling of hatred for the law under which the hon. Gentleman was imprisoned, and a feeling of discontent at the whole system of administration in Ireland. There was not a man in Westmeath who did not consider the imprisonment of the hon. Gentleman obtained under false pretences. That was his (Mr. T. D. Sullivan's) own belief and conviction. He regarded the prosecution as a fraud and a sham; he regarded it as an outrage on justice; and every day's imprisonment of Mr. Harrington was a shame and scandal to the British Government in Ireland. There was no getting over the fact that the three nomination papers of Mr. Harrington were signed by farmers, and that if three other nomination papers had been desired there were other farmers ready and willing to sign them, and there was no intimidation, there was no pressure put upon the farmers to take that course. They did so of their own free will and desire, and a more effective answer to the prosecution could not possibly be given than the fact that the farmers of Westmeath crowded in to assist in the election of the hon. Gentleman, and that, if any opposition had been attempted, the farmers of Westmeath would have overwhelmed it by their votes. He asked the Chief Secretary not to prolong the imprisonment of Mr. Harrington. Of all the prosecutions under the Crimes Act this of Mr. Harrington was the weakest. There was not a shadow of justification or foundation for it. True, a conviction was obtained; but the people of Ireland knew, and the people of England ought to know by this time, what was the value of a conviction obtained now in Ireland—the value of a conviction obtained before two of the special magistrates who took their law from the Law Advisers of the Castle. The Law Advisers of the Castle sent down one of the counsel—whose fees were included in the Vote they were now asked to pass —the Law Advisers sent down one of these gentlemen to conduct the prosecution of Mr. Harrington, and the two magistrates on the bench dare not dream of disputing the view of the case taken by the Queen's Counsel engaged. Mr. Harrington, in his defence, completely riddled the evidence of the police reporter; he showed that the man was perfectly incompetent; nevertheless, two months' imprisonment was decreed for Mr. Harrington, which he was now undergoing, a portion of which he underwent as a common convict in Mullingar Gaol, and the remainder of which, with some modification, he was suffering in Galway Gaol. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) asked the Chief Secretary not to let the Easter Recess go by without ordering the release of the hon. Gentleman, in order that he might do what he was elected to do—namely, to represent the people of the County Westmeath in the House of Commons.

Mr. PARNELL said, that before the Vote was taken he desired to point out to the Chief Secretary that it appeared to him that, under the Crimes Act, the Government could, if they wished, pay all the expenses and costs of the person who was placed on his trial. The section of the Act which enabled them to do this was that which provided for the change of venue. It was as follows:—

> "Where an order is made under this Act directing a change of venue, the prescribed Crown Solicitor, or other prescribed official, under the direction of the Attorney General, shall provide, where necessary, for advancing money for enabling the person to be tried, and the witnesses required for the defence of such person to attend the trial."

His contention was that the money for enabling a person to be fairly tried should include the costs of the solicitor engaged to prepare the case for the defence. If the Government desired to put a fair interpretation upon the section of the Act he had read—an interpretation which, at the time the question of paying the expenses of the defence of persons taken out of their own counties for trial, was accepted by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary — he could not understand how they could evade the payment of the costs of the solicitor for the prisoner. The Crown were in a position to send engineers to the localities to take measurements, to make inquiries, to procure witnesses, and to get up their case for the prosecution in the most perfect manner; and he maintained that, according to the terms of the Crimes Act itself, and in fairness and common justice, and in order to carry out the understanding which was arrived at in the House of Commons when the Act was being passed, the expenses of the defence of the prisoners, the venue of whose case had been changed, should be also paid by the Crown. They were asked now to pass a swollen Vote, a Vote swollen to enormous size for the purpose of enabling the Crown to prosecute persons in Ireland. He thought he had shown the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that he was mistaken when he said there was no power under the law to pay the costs of the prisoner. The words of the section were—" Where necessary for defence, money for enabling the prisoner to be tried." That usually would include the solicitor's costs, the taxed bill of costs of the solicitor employed in defending the prisoner. It was utterly impossible for these poor prisoners to pay for their solicitors; and all he asked was that the taxed bill of costs should be paid for them.

MR. O'DONNELL said, his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had read the text of the Act, and had asked for a reply from the Chief Secretary. His hon. Friend ought to remember that the speech which the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) made yesterday against the policy of the Chief Secretary had only just been answered by the Chief Secretary; and that, consequently, he (Mr. Parnell) could not expect his present speech to be answered by the right hon. Gentleman until to-morrow. That was one satisfaction the Irish Members had. They could not be accused of treating the Chief Secretary cruelly, for the right hon. Gentleman was sure to come up smiling 24 hours after time. He observed that the Government did not intend to give any further explanation with regard to the case of Mr. Harrington. For his part, he thought the Irish Members might very well leave the case of Mr. Harrington alone. It seemed to him that the intention of the Government in prosecuting Mr. Harrington was a kindly one towards the National League. Down to the present it was undoubted that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was the leader in a special sense of the tenantry of Ireland. Of course, the hon. Gentleman was in a general sense the National Leader, but in an especial sense he was the leader of the tenantry of Ireland. It was suggested that the case of the agricultural labourers was neglected by the National League; but now, thanks to the Government, the agricultural labourers had been provided with a leader. Mr. Harrington was emphatically the leader of the forthcoming agitation for bettering the condition of the agricultural labourers. Mr. Harrington had been cast into gaol, subjected to every insult, clad in the convict garb, and ordered to perform the basest and meanest duties that it was possible to cast on a convict; and all because he said to the farmers of Westmeath—

> "You ought to pay a fair day's wage for a fair day's work to these agricultural labourers, who have helped you so much in times gone by."

Mr. Harrington was the leader, by the direct choice of the Government, of the agricultural labourers of Ireland; and he (Mr. O'Donnell) was certain there was not a day of the hon. Gentleman's imprisonment in a British Bastile in Ireland that would not be amply repaid in an increase of his political and popular influence, and in his chances of success in rooting out and extirpating the curse of foreign domination in Ireland.

Question put.

The Committee *divided* :—Ayes 14; Noes 115: Majority 101.—(Div. List, No. 23.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £45,032, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Irish Land Commission."

MR. PARNELL said, he wished to ask the Government to postpone this and the three other Irish Votes until the Afternoon Sitting to-day, as he believed it was the intention of the Government to take a Saturday's Sitting. It was very late to discuss an important Vote of this kind; but he feared that, as the Vote had been put, the only course he could take was to move to report Progress. He had been in hopes that if the Vote had been postponed by the Government, together with the three other Irish Votes, the Committee might then have gone on with some of the subsequent Votes which would not have required much discussion. He begged to move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he thought the hon. Gentleman had made a little mistake in thinking that the other Votes would not be much discussed. He had not the slightest objection to stop there till 6 o'clock in the morning, and he should certainly oppose a few of the Votes.

Mr. GIBSON said, he should decidedly oppose the Vote for the Land Commission, which was the largest Vote in the whole of the Civil Service Estimates, being taken at a quarter past 2 o'clock in the morning. This was a Vote evidently provocative of discussion, and one upon which he should claim his right to speak at a time when his remarks could be reported. He did not wish to press the Government not to take other Votes as to which there was no contention. He was not speaking from an Irish point of view only; but he thought there were probably many Votes in the series as to which there was no contention in any part of the House, and as to which he should not have the slightest objection. He objected, however, to this particular Vote being taken now, and it would be well that some arrangement should be made for it to stand over.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he knew how strong was the dislike which was generally felt by the Committee to a Saturday's Sitting, and he thought it might be more convenient to the House to sit up to a late hour this morning in order to discuss these Votes, than that the House should be put to the inconvenience of sitting again on the Saturday; but if the Committee insisted that this Vote should not be taken at this hour, he did not think it would be possible for the Government to insist upon it. He should therefore be prepared to accede to the application to withdraw this and other Irish Votes upon which a long discussion might take place, and then propose that they might go on with the remaining Votes until they arrived at one upon which there was contention.

Mr. LABOUCHERE wished the Government to postpone two or three of the other Votes also. A good many hon. Gentlemen, he said, had gone away who had wished to express their opinion upon some of these Votes. There were only two or three Votes left, and as there was to be a Morning Sitting today he thought they might as well be postponed.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, the hon. Gentleman had himself just stated that he was ready to sit up to 6 o'clock in the morning. He thought it would be more convenient for the Committee to go on until about the usual hour.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art.

(2.) £42,122, Public Education.

(3.) £2,050, British Museum.

(4.) £130, London University.

(5.) £600, Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report).

(6.) £63, Sydney and Melbourne International Exhibitions.

Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services.

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £31,312, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad."

Mr. ONSLOW urged the Government to postpone this Vote, as it contained a good deal of contentious matter.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE replied, that there were peculiar reasons, which he hoped the Committee would accept, for not postponing this Vote. If it were not proceeded with, he himself would be put to very great personal inconvenience, because an important meeting of the Danubian Conference was to be held to-day, at which he was obliged to attend. It would be exceedingly difficult for him to be in the House and at the Conference at the same time; and, looking at the peculiar character of the situation, he hoped the Committee would take the Vote, and allow him to offer any explanation on any of the points involved. He thought there were some points which he had anticipated, and he hoped he might be allowed to offer explanations now.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he should be very sorry to put the noble Lord to any inconvenience; but still he thought that if the Committee had to vote such a large sum of money as this, the personal inconvenience of the noble Lord could be set against the question of the enormous additional sum of money which they now required. He would be glad if the noble Lord would explain how £16,500 in the Vote given could have been spent on telegrams, and he would remind the Committee that they had already voted a large sum in excess for telegrams in another Vote. This was an enormous sum they were asked to pay; and there was also another sum of £9,730 for "Special Missions." He was not aware what "Special Missions" there had been. They had had no particulars whatever, and no explanation had been made to them why Special Missions had been sent. An explanation on these points was due to the House. He did not intend to obstruct this Vote. If it would be inconvenient for the noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) to come down to-morrow, hon. Members would not be unreasonable and insist upon his coming, for the simple reason that they themselves would be obliged to be present. He trusted, however, that the noble Lord would enter somewhat into detail as to the enormous sum they were now asked to vote.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that, no doubt, this £16,000 was a large excess for telegrams, though he supposed it was in connection with Egypt and the East. It was necessary that a large number of telegrams should be sent; therefore, he did not quarrel with the item. But as to this £9,730 for Special Missions, they should have some explanation to show whether or not the charge was legitimate. One item he would have to ask an explanation of was this—"Expenses incurred in Moscow in anticipation of the Czar's Coronation, £320." He supposed this expense was incurred through a house being taken for Her Majesty's Representative when it was expected that the Czar's Coronation would take place last year. This seemed to have been rather a reckless proceeding; and the explanation, no doubt, would be, that when they had to send a Special Mission on an occasion of this sort, they had to take time by the forelock and hire a house. This would lead him to suppose that they were going to send a Special Mission to the Czar's Coronation; and, on these grounds, he would oppose the item. As to these Missions, he knew it was the rule or habit of Her Majesty to send some special Representative — some Nobleman — as a species of glorified beadle to take part in Coronation ceremonies at Foreign Courts; but he saw no reason why the House of Commons should allow it to be done at the expense of the country. In the present case, we had a great Embassy at St. Petersburgh, and there was no reason in the world why our Ambassador there should not represent Her Majesty at the Coronation of the Czar. It was merely the love of spending money, and the love of Gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Bench, whoever they might be, of following bad precedents which brought about these Special Missions. To his mind, the inauguration of the President of a Republic was a far nobler thing than the Coronation of an Emperor. ["Oh!"] Well, everyone could enjoy his own opinion—the hon. Alderman opposite (Mr. R. N. Fowler) was entitled to take another view of the matter if he chose. The hon. Alderman, if he liked, could go to Russia as the special Representative of the City of London, and, no doubt, would not only be a worthy Representative of the City of London, but a fine Representative of England. So far as he (Mr. Labouchere) was concerned, he objected to these Special Missions. No one could say why they were sent. As he had said, we had an Ambassador at St. Petersburgh; therefore, they were only sending coals to Newcastle by despatching one or two, or perhaps half-a-dozen, Noblemen as a Mission to the Russian capital. He intended to move the reduction of the Vote, and wished to have a distinct understanding from the noble Lord—first, whether there was to be a Special Mission this year to Russia; and, secondly, whether, if there was to be one, it would not be well for them to have the expense charged beforehand, instead of having it in a subsidiary Estimate as they had last year? The House would then be able to say whether the charge was a proper one or not. Do not let the Government come to them and say—"The thing is done now—you must pay the money." He begged to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £320.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £30,992, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he saw, in connection with this Vote, that in the Appropriation Accounts just returned to Parliament, last year there was a saving of £1,700, which was explained by the fact that a charge usually attached to the Embassy at Constantinople had lapsed during Lord Dufferin's Special Mission to Egypt. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) wished to know if a diminution corresponding with that of the Vote would take place in the grant for Lord Dufferin?

Mr. DAWSON desired to be informed whether anything was included in the Vote for the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Errington) and his reported Embassy?

Mr. MONK asked whether this would be the whole of the Vote for Lord Dufferin's Mission, or would there be a Supplementary Vote?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he must apologize to the Committee for taking the Vote at this late hour (2.30 A.M.); but, as he had explained, he had to attend a meeting of the Conference to-day, and it was for the convenience of the Members of the Conference, not for his own convenience, as the hon. Member for Guildford suggested, that he desired to dispose of the matter without being put to the necessity of coming down to the House again. As to the most important point which had been raised—that of the telegrams—he had been permitted the other evening, when the telegrams in the earlier part of the Estimates were in question—that was to say, the telegrams sent by the Foreign Office as distinguished from those sent to the Foreign Office—to make an explanation, because he had felt that the two items really came together. He had satisfied the Committee on that occasion, he thought, that the matter had received very careful attention, and that this great increase—and in this he was supported by his Predecessor in Office—was entirely owing to the condition of affairs in Egypt, and that when the special increase was separated from what might be called the ordinary expense of the Office in the matter of telegrams, it would be found that there was really no increase at all. There was a good deal of discussion on the matter, and, no doubt, it deserved the very close attention of the Committee. He now came to the point raised by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere)—a point on which he had quite anticipated that some questions would be asked. The circumstances as to the change now made were accurately stated by the hon. Member. As the Committee were aware, preparations had been made for the Coronation of the Czar at Moscow; but, for reasons which it was unnecessary to enter into, that Coronation was postponed. Preparations were made by every great European Government which intended to be represented; and, as the hon. Member had said, it was necessary, in the matter of house accommodation, under the circumstances, to take time by the forelock. The sum in the Estimates represented the payment made for the hire of a house, and a fine to the owner for breaking the contract when it was suddenly found that the Coronation was not going to take place. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) could, if necessary, furnish the hon. Member with the exact items. Then he came to the point on which the hon. Member wished for some explanation—namely, as to what it was intended to do in regard to the Coronation which was going to take place this year. It was a fact that there was going to be a Special Mission, and he was in a position to mention a circumstance which he believed would be well received by the Committee, the House, and the country, and that was that the Special Representative of Her Majesty would be His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. He need not remind the Committee that the Duke of Edinburgh was well fitted, personally, to discharge the duties that would devolve upon him, and that, owing to his close relationship with the Imperial Family of Russia, he would be singularly welcome in that country, both to the Imperial Family and to the people. As to the expenses of Lord Dufferin's Mission, it was to be explained that there was a careful set-off against everything which had been allowed to His Excellency for his Special Mission to Egypt. In regard to all those allowances and circumstances which remained the same there had been no special charge whatever. Only those items had been charged in which there had been actually an increase of expense; therefore, on the whole, there had been no increase at all in those matters which were found usually charged under the head of the Mission to Constantinople. He had all the items before him; but he hardly thought the Committee would care to have them. He only thought it right to explain to the Committee that there had not been anything like the smallest attempt at anything like running up a double bill or charge; but that everything had been carefully looked into. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk), it was impossible for him to say whether or not any further charge would have to be made in respect of Lord Dufferin's Mission, because the exact duration of the Mission—how long he would remain in Egypt, when he would return to Constantinople, and so on—was a question which would depend on the course of events in Egypt. At this moment it would be rash in him to undertake to say that there would be no further charge; nevertheless, he need not remind the Committee that Lord Dufferin's Mission to Egypt was a temporary one, and that there was no intention of requiring him to remain permanently in the country. Sir Edward Malet was the ordinary Representative of Her Majesty in that country; and he, with Lord Dufferin, had discharged all the duties which had devolved on the Mission, and there was every intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to continue their confidence in him. A question had been put as to the Estimate of last year—whether the amount of saving had been properly accredited?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that, perhaps, he had not been sufficiently clear. What he desired to know was, whether there would be a saving in consequence of Lord Dufferin's Special Mission to Egypt this year, in the same way that there was a saving of £1,747 in connection with the Special Mission of Mr. Goschen to Egypt or Constantinople last year?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he thought he understood the point—whether the saving had been properly accredited? Assuming that he took the question properly, he answered in the affirmative, although the circumstances of the two cases were different. The right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had not been a member of the Diplomatic Corps, and the whole circumstances of his Mission were matters of special and peculiar arrangement, and a great number of items had to be considered. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was in Constantinople on another Mission at the time the right hon. Member for Ripon was on his; therefore, the circumstances of the cases were fully fixed on his memory. He trusted the explanation he had given would be satisfactory.

Mr. DAWSON said, the noble Lord had not referred to the matter to which he (Mr. Dawson) had drawn attention—namely, the reported Embassy of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Errington).

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, it had been repeatedly stated by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board that he knew nothing of such a Mission as that suggested; therefore, it was unnecessary to touch upon the matter further.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he thought he was justified in bringing forward the question of the telegrams for which £16,500 was charged under this Vote. The item was described as consequent on the state of affairs abroad, and they had passed a somewhat similar Vote for the Foreign Office. In the present item, however, was included a sum in connection with the Legation at China, which was partly repayable out of the Indian Revenues. He had no notion how that was, and he would ask for information as to whether India had been consulted at all in the matter, and whether she had consented to pay anything? He was not sure that the sum was not connected in some way with the opium trade. It appeared to him to be an extra, and he should like to know whether India would some day be told that she must pay some portion of this Vote without being in any way consulted by Her Majesty's Government? That sort of thing had been done before. He really thought that he and others who were interested in this matter had a right to demand some explanation of how it was that India was called upon to pay a portion of this sum.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he had on a former occasion given very full information with regard to the sum in the former Vote to which the hon. Member had alluded. He admitted there was a slight error in the words employed, which ought to have been "abroad generally." With regard to the further point raised in connection with the Legation to China, this charge, which had been on the Estimates of the last two or three years, would be renewed for the same period. Hon. Members might be assured that the matter had received the most careful examination.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he was not in that wild state of excitement which the noble Lord anticipated because the Duke of Edinburgh was going to represent Her Majesty at the Coronation of the Czar. He objected to anyone going, whether Duke or otherwise. They had a Gentleman already at St. Petersburg, who, if he was able to conduct diplomatic business, was equally able to carry out the tom-foolery about to take place. They had refused to give the smallest pittance to the thousands of men who were starving in Ireland; and, at the same time, they were asked to grant an enormous sum for the purpose in question, which amounted to an insulting and wasteful attack on the pockets of the taxpayers of the country. The noble Lord had not replied to one of his questions—were they to have on the Estimates the amount which it was anticipated the journey of the Duke of Edinburgh would cost; or were they to be told that the money must be paid because it had already been expended? There were many Gentlemen who, had they known that the Vote would be taken so late, would have remained to oppose it; and he thought that advantage ought not to be taken of their absence. If, however, the Government thought otherwise, he would like to take the division at once.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, in answer to the hon. Member who had just sat down, he thought it impossible that the Vote for this Mission could appear on the ordinary Estimates of the year, because the circumstances which determined the decision of the Government had only recently been arrived at. The Mission was a matter concerning which an accurate Estimate could not yet be formed; but he was bound to say that he did not anticipate any greater expenditure of money being incurred by the fact of the Duke of Edinburgh attending the Mission than would be incurred if it had been confided to any other Nobleman. It must be borne in mind that there were peculiar circumstances in connection with the present case. The great importance attaching to the occasion, and the intimate alliance existing between the Royal Families of the two countries, were circumstances in which the Government believed that they were acting in conformity with the feeling of the country, and in conformity with precedent, in sending a Special Mission on the conditions proposed to assist at the approaching ceremony. That being so, he thought that no fitter person could have been chosen than His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, he hoped that the proposed Mission would not cause any unnecessary charge to be thrown upon the people of this country. It was true that a relationship existed between the Duke of Edinburgh and the Czar of Russia; but when such relationships existed, those invited, as a rule, were very willing to pay the expense connected either with a wedding or any other ceremony. For his part, he regretted that we should have indulged in this ridiculous expenditure. The noble Lord said that the relationships between this country and Russia were of a very important character; but he was sorry to point out that notwithstanding all this, we did not get on very well with the people of the latter country. There was in England a very great prejudice against Russia, and he was bound to add that there was amongst the people of Russia a great prejudice against us. As a protest against the expenditure, he should be glad to vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked for information with regard to the charge of £75, which appeared on page 37 of the Estimates, as gratuities to two Naval officers employed on the Sfax Commission. He had already asked a question on the subject. As he understood, a large amount of British property was destroyed at Sfax, and a Commission of officers had been appointed by France and Italy to inquire into the circumstances. But he also understood that as soon as the investigation seemed to involve the conduct of the French soldiery, the French Associate closed the Commission, stating that he would not allow any inquiry to be made which reflected on the honour of the French Army. The Investigation Commission was, therefore, no Commission at all; and he now asked whether there was any estimate of British loss; if so, how was it arrived at, and had the French Government consented to pay any indemnity for such loss? He had endeavoured to obtain some information on the subject from the Predecessor of the noble Lord, who, however, was not remarkable for the readiness with which he communicated or volunteered information; and he now asked the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he was in a position to furnish the desired information? Of course, if it was inconvenient to reply to the question at the moment, he would defer it till another day.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he would do his best to answer the question on Notice.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the Committee would, in his opinion, do well to obtain information with respect to the Special Mission to assist at the Coronation of the Czar. If he understood the noble Lord, there would afterwards be submitted to the Committee what might be called an Estimate—that was to say, after the Coronation had taken place, and this interesting family gathering had been brought to an end. Now, it seemed to him that to apply the term Estimate to money that had been already spent, and which the Government, without any previous explanation, said must be paid because it had been spent, was to make a strange use of words.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he admitted the inconvenience of Supplementary Estimates, and the remark applied not only to this particular Supplementary Vote, but to all of them generally. It would, no doubt, be desirable that every item of this kind should be brought forward only once in the year. At the same time, he did not think there was any greater objection to the present charge than that which applied to all Supplementary Estimates. As already explained, it was not possible to insert it in the regular Estimates, because the decision of the Government was only arrived at a few days ago.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought the Estimate might be issued in amended form. They had a similar Paper issued when the Government came into Office. Their Predecessors had prepared the Estimates, and the changes made at the time necessitated alterations in the Estimates. On that occasion the Prime Minister caused an amended Estimate to be inserted in the Estimate already issued. That year there was an amended form of a particular Vote, and he could not understand why there could not be an amended form issued as a separate Paper—Class V., Vote 1, Diplomatic Services, which would enable the Committee to come to a decision with regard to that branch of the Service, not in a Supplementary Estimate, but in due course, when the Vote in question came on in the regular Estimates.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 18; Noes 59: Majority 41.—(Div. List, No. 24.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(8.) £1,750, Consular Services.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not want to raise any objection to the Vote, but merely rose to put a question to the Government as to their intentions regarding subsequent Votes. He wished to ask if the Government would consent to postpone Vote 3, Class VII., and also Vote 3 in the Revenue Department?

MR. COURTNEY said, if it was found there was any serious objection to those Votes, the Government would not press them now. Perhaps, however, the hon. Gentleman would raise the point when the Votes were reached.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £1,182, Suppression of the Slave Trade.

(10.) £3,500, Colonies, Grants in Aid.

(11.) £6,600, Subsidies to Telegraph Companies.

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

(12.) £4,500, Superannuations and Retired Allowances.

(13.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £4,060, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, to enable the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to commute, under the provisions of the Act 36 and 37 Vic. c. 57, or otherwise, certain Annuities charged on the Exchequer."

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he found that this Vote was—

> "For the commutation of Annuities payable to the Duke of Norfolk; the Lord of the Manor of Taynton; the Minister of the Lutheran Chapel, lately in the Savoy; and the Keeper of St. Swithin's Gate, Winchester; and of a portion of the Annuity due to the heirs of the Duke of Schomberg;"

a nobleman who had now been dead a very long time. It seemed to him the Committee ought to refuse to grant this money. It had a suspicious appearance of having something to do with perpetual pensions. They would have to oppose the Vote unless they received some satisfactory explanation.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the annuity to the Duke of Norfolk was granted so long back as the time of Henry the Eighth. The Treasury was under an obligation to pay the annuity. The Duke of Norfolk, however, consented to commute it, so that the Treasury were enabled to buy it up and redeem it for a certain number of years. The sum in respect to the Manor of Taynton was very small indeed, only 30*s*. The allowance to the Minister of the Lutheran Chapel, in the Savoy, was £38, and was granted a long time ago out of the Consolidated Fund. They had been able to redeem the annuity at the rate of 10 years' purchase. The annuity to the Keeper of St. Swithin's Gate, Winchester, was £2 8*s*. 2*d*. The case of the Duke of Schomberg was certainly more serious. The annuity originally was £4,000 a-year. £2,616 of this had been redeemed at different times, and of the remainder it was now proposed to redeem £72.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he thought they could allow the money to the Lord of the Manor of Taynton, to the Minister of the Lutheran Chapel, and to the Keeper of St. Swithin's Gate. He should move, however, that the Vote be reduced by £3,948, which was the amount payable to the Duke of Norfolk, and the heirs of the Duke of Schomberg. He need not enter into any details as to the reasons why he proposed this reduction.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £112, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, to enable the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to commute, under the provisions of the Act 36 and 37 Vic. c. 57, or otherwise, certain Annuities charged on the Exchequer."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if the Financial Secretary to the Treasury would inform the Committee what was the nature of the grant made to the Duke of Norfolk in the Reign of Henry the Eighth, and whether it was a portion of the spoliation of the property of the Church which the present Duke of Norfolk, who belonged to that Church, was still enjoying?

Mr. COURTNEY said, there were two grants, one of £40, and the other of £20. The first was granted by Henry the Eighth, and the second by Richard the Third.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 9; Noes 53: Majority 44.—(Div. List, No. 25.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Class VII.—Miscellaneous.

(14.) £500, Temporary Commissions.

(15.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £450, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1883, for certain Miscellaneous Expenses."

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, it was really surprising what the Government thought they could get at this Sitting. This Vote was in respect of arrears of fees due to the Duke of Norfolk—for 14½ years at £60 a-year. The Prime Minister told them that nothing was put down in these Supplementary Estimates but what was absolutely necessary. The Duke of Norfolk had waited 14½ years; surely he could wait a few days more. If he (Mr. Labouchere) remembered rightly, there was a certain thing called the Statute of Limitations, under which no one could claim a debt above seven years old. He was glad to see the Law Adviser of the Crown present, because, perhaps, that hon. and learned Gentleman would enlighten his mind as to whether the Duke of Norfolk had got a legal right to this money. Certainly, the noble Duke had not got any moral right to it. He (Mr. Labouchere) intended to take the sense of the Committee, no matter what explanation of the Vote might be given.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR expressed his surprise that the Financial Secretary had not given some explanation on this matter. Would the hon. Gentleman state whether any of these fees paid on the installation of the Kings of Saxony and of the Netherlands referred to the Garter, and what the fees were to which the Duke was entitled?

Mr. ILLINGWORTH wished to know how it happened that this demand had been in arrear for 14 years? If the Government had had some dispute with the Duke of Norfolk as to his legal or moral right, the Committee might as well strengthen the hands of the Government and clear away this tax upon the public pocket. It was a most melancholy picture that the Committee should be engaged at this time of night in considering a matter of this kind; and he thought they would be acting the part of discreet legislators and guardians of the public purse by adjourning the Committee and re-assembling at 12 o'clock.

Mr. COURTNEY said, there was no intention to press the next Vote, and explained that these installation fees were not involved in this Vote. These fees were given to Counts or Earls on their installation.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR begged to repeat his question as to what the creation fees were—what was created, and who was created, and why should the Duke get these fees more than anybody else?

Mr. COURTNEY said, the fees were not paid by any person. On succeeding to his title, the Duke became entitled to the annuity granted to his Predecessor. It represented the old Third Penny, which was given to every Earl on his taking charge of a country.

Mr. LABOUCHERE thought there was no doubt that the Financial Secretary knew what these fees were; but he did not believe anybody else had the vaguest notion, except that the Dukes of Norfolk and the Earls of Surrey had received, since the time of Richard III., a sum of £60 a-year. He held that those families had received quite enough, and that the fact that they had received this money so long was sufficient reason for putting an end to the payments. These fees were utterly untenable in every sense, and he strongly protested against the doctrine laid down by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He should have thought that the hon. Gentleman, who was a good Radical, would have argued that if the country was not legally bound to pay these fees it should not pay them; but, on the contrary, the hon. Gentleman said—"It would be unhandsome not to pay money to the Duke; let us do it. Let us make merry Knights for the sake of the Duke of Norfolk; he has no legal right to this money; but let us give it to him." That was not his idea, and he should maintain his opposition.

Mr. COURTNEY said, these fees had not been demanded for 14 years, and this was simply a Vote for the arrears. The fees would be demanded henceforth.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH asked the Solicitor General what remedy the Duke of Norfolk would have if this money was not paid?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) replied, that he had not gone deeply into this matter; but he imagined the Duke would have a remedy by a Petition of Right, in the same way as any other person to whom a debt was due from the Crown.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR wished to know when the demand was made for 14 years' arrears, and why the Government, when the Crown was already in negotiations with the Duke of Norfolk for the commutation of other existing annuities, did not seize the opportunity of commuting this annuity?

Mr. COURTNEY: It is the same annuity.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON wished to know whether the Statute of Limitations applied or not?

Mr. COURTNEY said, it would not apply.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH thought the Committee were not in a position to refuse this Vote, as the figures were manipulated.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the hon. Member was apparently unaware of the power of the Committee. The Treasury could not pay this amount without the sanction of the Committee.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH thought the extravagant terms on which the commutation had taken place justified the Committee in not paying anything for which they were not fully and legally responsible.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 42; Noes 17: Majority 25.—(Div. List, No. 26.)

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

(16.) £17,000, Customs Department.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, this was a Vote which must provoke lengthened comments, because of an item of £15,200 for retirements and re-organization in the Department. This was so large a question that from selfish motives he must decline to enter into it; but he hoped the Financial Secretary would agree to postpone Vote 3, as, in the absence of the Postmaster General, it was hardly fair to go on with that Vote.

Vote *agreed to*.

(17.) £11,000, Inland Revenue.

(18.) £14,000, Post Office Packet Service.

(19.) £87,000, Post Office Telegraphs.

CIVIL SERVICE EXCESSES, 1881-2.

(20.) *Resolved*, That a sum, not exceeding £3,706 7*s.* 2*d.*, be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses on certain Grants for Civil Services, for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1882, viz.:—

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Board of Trade	553	5	6
Civil Service Commission ..	5	14	5
Fishery Board, Scotland ..	20	6	10

Class III.—Law and Justice.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions, Ireland	222	17	0
Supreme Court of Judicature, Ireland	1,080	10	4
Dublin Metropolitan Police ..	1,551	16	0

Class V.—Foreign and Colonial Services.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Suppression of the Slave Trade	142	5	11
Orange River Territory and St. Helena (Non-Effective Charges)	129	5	8

Class VI.—Non-Effective and Charitable Services.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Pauper Lunatics, Scotland ..	0	5	6
Total ..	£3,706	7	2

ARMY EXCESSES, 1881-2.

(21.) *Resolved*, That a sum, not exceeding £44,197 2*s.* 6*d.* be granted to Her Majesty, to make good Excesses of Army Expenditure beyond the Grants for the year ended on the 31st day of March 1882.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [March 8] *reported*.

Resolution 1 *agreed to*.

Resolution 2.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to ask the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury a question as to this Vote. He had put a civil question to the hon. Member about it yesterday, but had failed to obtain a satisfactory answer. He wished to know whether the hon. Member would secure an annual Report to the House, such as that furnished two years ago by the Controller of the Stationery Office? The hon. Member had yesterday made a statement on the subject; but no one had been able to gather from it what he intended to do.

Mr. COURTNEY said, that what he had stated yesterday was that the request was a very reasonable one; but he was unable to pledge himself that an annual Report would be furnished.

Resolution *agreed to*.

Resolution 3 *agreed to*.

Resolution 4.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that since this Vote was put on the Orders yesterday he had seen the Accounts of the Fishery Board (Scotland), and he found that whereas in 1881 there was a balance of something under £3,000 in hand at the end of the financial year, and of £4,000 at the time this money was supposed to be required, with an increasing balance, they came for an unusually large Vote from the House. It was perfectly incomprehensible how it could be considered justifiable or necessary to call for Supplementary Estimates of large amounts when there was an increasing balance at their bankers.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Remaining Resolutions *agreed to.*

MOTION.

BOROUGH FRANCHISE (IRELAND) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DAWSON, Bill to amend the Law regarding the Borough Franchise in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DAWSON, Mr. BIGGAR, Mr. LALOR, and Mr. KENNY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 115.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Four o'clock in the morning.

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LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

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TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME CCLXXVI.

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EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1º, 2º, 3º, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—1*st. Div.*, 2*nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

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c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 5]

Banking Laws (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Barclay, Mr. M'Laren*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 78]

Bankruptcy Bill (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. John Holms*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 4]
  Memorandum of Amendments, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 8, 1737

Bankruptcy (No. 2) Bill
(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Baring, Mr. Davey, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Whitley*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 82]

Bankruptcy Law Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Mr. Gorst, Sir Edmund Lechmere*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 43]
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BARCLAY, Mr. J. W., *Forfarshire*
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BARNE, Colonel F. St. J. N., *Suffolk, E.*
  Army—Committee on Army Dress, 1751

Barry Dock and Railways Bill (by Order)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. Dodds*) *Feb* 27, 966; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Viscount Folkestone*); Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned
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Bills of Sale (Ireland) Act (1879) Amendment Bill (*Mr. Monk, Mr. Patrick Martin, Mr. Corry, Mr. Eugene Collins*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 26 [Bill 105]

BIRKBECK, Mr. E., *Norfolk, N.*
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  Lighthouses of the United Kingdom—Communication with the Eddystone Lighthouse, Questions, The Earl of Hardwicke, The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe; Answers, Lord Sudeley *Feb* 26, 823; Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 27, 1022
  The Trinity House—Communication between Lighthouses and the Shore, Question, Mr. Vivian; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 2, 1259
    [See title *Mercantile Marine*]

Borough Franchise (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Biggar, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Gray, Mr. Callan, Mr. Leamy*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 22]
  Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 7, 1692
  Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "it is inexpedient, in the present unsettled condition of Ireland, to introduce any measure making large changes in the present Irish Parliamentary Franchise" (*Mr. Mulholland*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Debate adjourned
  Adjourned Debate resumed *Mar* 8, 1879; after short debate, Debate further adjourned

Borough Franchise (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill
(*Mr. Dawson, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Lalor, Mr. Kenny*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Mar* 9 [Bill 115]

BOURKE, Right Hon. R., *Lynn Regis*
  Africa (West Coast)—The Congo, 830;—French Expedition to the Congo, 1725;—Portugal and the Congo, 1724, 1725
  Egypt—Prisons, 838
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  Africa (South)—Transvaal Boers, 566, 1564
  Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition, 2R. 1574

Braithwaite and Buttermere Railway Bill
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" (*The Earl of Redesdale*) *Mar* 5, 1364
  Amendt. to leave out ("now,") add ("this day six months") (*The Lord Mount-Temple*); after short debate, on Question, That ("now,") &c.? Cont. 46, Not-Cont. 11; M. 35; resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 2ª
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BRAND, Right Hon. Sir H. B. W.
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BRAND, Mr. H. R. (Surveyor General of the Ordnance), *Stroud*
  Army—Armoured Train at Alexandria, 1722
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(*Mr. Caine, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Buchanan, Colonel Makins, Mr. Meldon*)
c. Ordered ; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 28]

BRIGHT, Mr. J., *Manchester*
- Ireland—Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Mr. T. Harrington, 712, 713

Bristol and London and South Western Junction Railway Bill (*by Order*)
c. Read 2°, after short debate *Mar* 8, 1717

British Colonies—Government and Administration
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BRODRICK, Hon. W. St. J. F., *Surrey, W.*
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 651

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BRYCE, Mr. J., *Tower Hamlets*
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- Judicature Amendment Act, 1875—Judges' Rules—Jurisdiction of English High Courts over Domiciled Scotchmen, 586, 1747
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  - Fishery Board, Scotland, 1791
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BULWER, Mr. J. R., *Cambridgeshire*
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Burial Fees Bill
(*Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Brinton*)
c. Ordered ; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 55]

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- Metropolitan District Railway—Ventilating Shafts on the Thames Embankment, 1410, 1747
- Parliament—Parliamentary Papers, Distribution of, 1720
- Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 759, 760
- Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—Stationery, Printing, &c. Amendt. 1760, 1778

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CALLAN, Mr. P., *Louth*
- Parliament—Committee of Selection, 1010, 1014
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CAMERON, Mr. D., *Inverness-shire*
- Scotland—Destitution in the Western Highlands—Seed Advances Bill, 1902

CAMPBELL, Lord Colin, *Argyll*
- Scotland—Main Roads—Grant in Aid, 1432
  - Skye Crofters, 1721
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- Africa (South)—Territorial Authority of the Cape Government, 1740

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Question, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Mar* 9, 1902

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Cathedral Statutes Bill
(*Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Cropper, Mr. Dalrymple, Mr. George Russell, Mr. John Talbot*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 67]

CECIL, Lord E. H. B. G., *Essex, W.*
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(*Mr. Richard, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. George Russell, Mr. Woodall, Mr. Caine*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 45]

Census Returns (England and Scotland)
Question, Mr. Rylands; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Feb* 23, 711; Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Feb* 26, 834

CHAMBERLAIN, Right Hon. J. (President of the Board of Trade), *Birmingham*
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c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 80]

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(*Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Sir Henry Hussey Vivian, Baron De Ferrières, Mr. Greer*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 75]

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(*Mr. Edward Leatham, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. George Russell, Mr. Shield*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 41]

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(*Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Monk*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 11]

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c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Mar* 5 [Bill 111]

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(*Mr. James, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Cheetham*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 63]

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(*Mr. Playfair, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Resolution in Committee * *Feb* 23
Resolution reported, and agreed to ; Bill ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 26 [Bill 107]
Read 2° * *Mar* 1
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l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Thurlow*) *Mar* 6 (No. 13)
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(*Mr. Sexton, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Justin M'Carthy*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 51]

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Corn Sales Bill (*Mr. Rankin, Sir Joseph Bailey, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Biddell, Mr. H. T. Davenport, Mr. Williamson*)
c. Ordered * *Feb* 20
Read 1º* *Feb* 21 [Bill 95]

Corporation Lands (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Molloy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Richard Power*)
c. Ordered; read 1º* *Feb* 16 [Bill 48]

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County Court Judges Bill
(*Mr. Hastings, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Hinde Palmer*)
c. Ordered; read 1º* *Mar* 7 [Bill 112]

County Courts Bill
(*Mr. Norwood, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Rowley Hill, Sir Eardley Wilmot*)
c. Ordered; read 1º* *Feb* 22 [Bill 103]

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c. Ordered; read 1º* *Feb* 16 [Bill 9]

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Cross, Mr. J. K. (Under Secretary of State for India), *Bolton*
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Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment Bill (*Mr. Anderson, Sir Frederick Milbank, Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Buchanan*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 13]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Mar* 7, 1648
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "although the Legislature is willing and anxious to give further assistance in the suppression of Cruelty to Animals, this House cannot approve of a Bill which threatens seriously to interfere with recognised and legitimate sport" (*Sir Herbert Maxwell*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 195, N. 40; M. 155 (D. L. 19)
Main Question put, and agreed to ; Bill read 2°

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The Moukabalah, Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar* 1, 1159

Egypt (Military Operations)

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 2, To leave out from "That," add "this House regrets that it should be called on to place increased burdens upon the people, in consequence of the late Military operations in Egypt" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 94, N. 24; M. 70 (D. L. 15)

Elective Councils (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Barry, Mr. Healy, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Sexton*)

c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 16]

Elementary Education Acts — Galmpton School—Dismissal of a Pupil

Question, Mr. Stewart Macliver; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 5, 1415

Elliot, Hon. A. R. D., *Roxburgh*

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Emlyn, Viscount, *Carmarthenshire*

Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—Houses of Parliament, Amendt. 1541

Employers' Liability Act (1880) Amendment Bill (*Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Dick Peddie, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Macliver*)

c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 33]

Exeter, Teign Valley, and Chagford Railway Bill (by Order)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. Dodds*) *Feb* 27, 967; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. J. W. Barclay*); after short debate, Motion agreed to.

Debate resumed *Mar* 6, 1598; Debate further adjourned

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c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. Norwood*) *Feb* 27, 968; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Walter B. Barttelot*); Motion agreed to
  Debate resumed *Mar* 6, 1598
  Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Creyke*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" Moved, "That the Debate be further adjourned till Tuesday next" (*Mr. Chamberlain*); Amendment withdrawn; Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

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(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Michael Bass, Sir Henry Wolff, Mr. Broadhurst*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 79]

Income Tax Administration Bill
(*Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Whitley, Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Edward Leatham*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 21 [Bill 98]

Incumbrances on Land Registration Bill
(*Mr. Harcourt, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Roundell, Mr. Staveley Hill*)
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Indictable Offences (Procedure) Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 8]

Industrial Resources (Ireland) Bill
(*Captain Aylmer, Viscount Crichton, Mr. Corry*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 34]

Infectious Diseases Notification Bill
(*Mr. Hastings, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Brinton*)
c. Ordered* *Feb* 20
Read 1°* *Feb* 21 [Bill 100]

Intoxicating Liquors (Off Licences) Bill
(*Mr. Lewis Fry, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Staveley Hill, Lord Moreton*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 25]

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Irish National Manuscripts, Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Beresford Hope; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 20, 403; Question, Mr. H. S. Northcote; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Mar* 5, 1409;—*Facsimiles of Irish Manuscripts*, Question, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Mar* 6, 1603
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Registration of Voters—Legislation, Question, Mr. Meldon; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 20, 404
Relief of Distress Act—Seed Loans, Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 583
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Royal Commission on Irish Industries, Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 299
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The Irish Famine of 1847—*Payment of the Debt resulting*, Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 1, 1171
The Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act——Repayment of Loans and Instalments of Loans—Irregularities of Board of Works Local Agents, Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 23, 710

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The Royal Irish Constabulary—Return showing the Establishment, Number, and Strength, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 26, 847

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The Valley of the Barrow, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 20, 402; Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Dawson; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Mar* 8, 1743

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Extradition of P. J. Sheridan, Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar* 5, 1417

Imprisonment of Mr. M'Philpin, Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 8, 1742

Mr. Bolton, Crown Solicitor for Tipperary Co., Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 587

Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—*Sec.* 16—*Examination of Witnesses,* Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 582

Verdicts of Coroners' Juries, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland *Feb* 26, 838

Wicklow Assizes, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 5, 1428

[See title *Prevention of Crime* (*Ireland*) *Act,* 1882]

Law and Police

Ill-treatment by the Police—Michael Banican, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 5, 1424; *Mar* 8, 1743

Terence Grealish, Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 8, 1732

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Justices of Ballymahon, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 5, 1417

Londonderry Petty Sessions—Mr. O'Neill, Question, Mr. Macartney; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Feb* 23, 706

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Stoneyford Petty Sessions—Case of James Walsh, Question, Mr. Marum; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 2, 1255

Mr. Ferguson (*Cork Co. W. R*), Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 26, 839

The Queen's County, Question, Mr. Marum; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 23, 714

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Mr. Timothy Harrington, Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 1, 1154

Mullingar Gaol—Pollution of the Brosna, Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 8, 1730

Poor Law

Cavan Union, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 5, 1414

Outdoor Relief, Question, Colonel Colthurst Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 5, 1418

The Loughrea Board of Guardians, Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 8, 1731

Union Rating, Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 313

Workhouses in Donegal, Question, Mr. Shaw; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 8, 1726

Public Health

Wakes, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 9, 1896

Water Supply to Cardonagh, Donegal, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 592

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Alleged Intimidation, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 27, 1018

Alleged Posting of a Letter containing Dynamite to the Lord Lieutenant, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 26, 854

Deaths by Starvation, Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 315

Extra Police at Kilmallock, Questions, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 23, 709

Irish and Scotch migratory Agricultural Labour, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 303; *Mar* 5, 1431

Reported Murder of Lord Ardilaun's Bailiff, Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland *Mar* 6, 1609

Apprehended Distress, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 8, 1750

Distress in Co. Clare, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 315

Distress in Sligo, Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 5, 1434

Distress in the West—The Deputation of Catholic Bishops, Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 584

Distress in the West and North-West, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 9, 1903

[See titles—*Land Law* (*Ireland*) *Act,* 1881 —*Prevention of Crime* (*Ireland*) *Act,* 1882

[*cont.*

Ireland—Compulsory Education
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 2, to leave out from "That," add "it is expedient to introduce into Ireland the principle of Compulsory Education, with such modifications as the social and religious conditions of the Country require" (*Mr. O'Shaughnessy*) *v.*, 1262; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and negatived
Words added; main Question, as amended; put, and agreed to

Ireland—Kilmainham Prison (Release of Mr. Parnell, &c.)
Notice of Motion, Sir Stafford Northcote *Feb* 23, 703
Notice of Motion (*Sir S. Northcote*), Notices, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Labouchere *Feb* 26, 826; Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington; Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote *Feb* 26, 850; Notice of Question, Sir Stafford Northcote *Feb* 27, 1017; Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 8, 1754

Ireland—National Education
Moved, "That there be laid before this House—Copy of Rule 72, of the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland:
"Copy of letter, dated 8th November 1882, from the Earl of Longford to the Lord President of the Council (on appeal from a decision of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) respecting the appointment of a sister of mercy as teacher in a national school open to non-Catholic children:
"Copy of any reply thereto" (*The Earl of Longford*) *Feb* 19, 286; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Ireland—National Education
Moved for—"Copy of Rule 72. of the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland:
"Copy of letter, dated 8th November, 1882, from the Earl of Longford to the Lord President of the Council (on apppeal from a decision of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) respecting the appointment of a sister of mercy as teacher in a national school open to non-Catholic children:
"Copy of Correspondence between the Earl of Longford, the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and the Irish Government on the same subject" (*The Earl of Longford*) *Feb* 20, 393; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Ireland—Peasant Proprietary
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that a Royal Commission may be appointed to report as to the most effective means of giving to a larger portion of the people of Ireland a permanent proprietary interest in the soil by purchase of their holdings" (*The Marquess of Lansdowne*) *Mar* 5, 1372; after debate, Motion withdrawn

Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act (1874) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Kelly, Dr. Commins, Mr. T. P. O'Connor*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 39]

Isle of Man (Harbours) Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported, after short debate; Bill ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 22 [Bill 101]
Read 2° *Mar* 8, 1879

Jamaica—The Legislative Council
Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Feb* 19, 301

JAMES, Sir H. (*see* ATTORNEY GENERAL, The)

JAMES, Mr. W. H., *Gateshead*
Census Returns, 834
Channel Tunnel Scheme, 1435

KENNARD, Mr. C. J., *Salisbury*
Bristol and London and South Western Junction Railway, 2R. 1719
Parliament—Order—Alteration of Questions, 306
Post Office—Letters for India, 307
Post Office Savings Banks, 1020, 1604, 1744

KENNAWAY, Sir J. H., *Devon, E.*
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Resolutions, 1639

KENNY, Mr. M. J., *Ennis*
Ireland—Questions
Inland Navigation—River Fergus, 1431
Land Law Act, 1881—Applications, 1425; —Sub-Commissions, 1899
Royal Irish Constabulary—Returns showing the Establishment, Number, and Strength, 847
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 884, 886, 889, 942, 1184
Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1994

KENSINGTON, Right Hon. Lord (Comptroller of the Household), *Haverfordwest*
Parliament—Queen's Speech—H.M. Answer to the Address, 1437

KIMBERLEY, Earl of (Secretary of State for India)
East India — Code of Criminal Procedure (Native Jurisdiction over British Subjects), 1364
India—Local Government — Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill, 394

King-Harman, Colonel E. R., *Dublin County*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Irish Volunteers, 1738
Borough Franchise (Ireland), 2R. 1705
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1671, 1672
Ireland — Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—
Harrington, Mr. T., 1897
O'Brien, Gilhooly, and Hodnett, Messrs., 1897
Ireland—Compulsory Education, Res. 1272

Kingscote, Colonel R. N. F., *Gloucestershire, W.*
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1687

Kingston-upon-Hull Docks Bill (*by Order*)
c. Read 2°, after short debate *Mar* 8, 1719

Labouchere, Mr. H., *Northampton*
Arabi Pasha — Conditions of Detention at Ceylon, 305, 1153, 1154, 1737
Army (Supplementary Estimate), 1882-3 — Expeditionary Force to Egypt, 1349
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1678
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Egypt—Military Operations, Res. 1309, 1314
Ireland—Kilmainham Prison (Release of Mr. Parnell, &c.), 826
Navy (Supplementary Estimate), 1882-3 — Military Operations in Egypt, 1441
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Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—
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Irish Land Commission, 2006, 2007
Miscellaneous Expenses, 2020, 2021
Stationery, Printing, &c. 1771, 1783
Treasury, Amendt. 2019

Labourers (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Parnell, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Callan, Mr. Lalor*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 29]

Land Drainage Provisional Order Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Mar* 8 [Bill 114]

Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881
Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 8, 1756
"*Fair Rents*"—*Applications*, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 5, 1425

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Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881—cont.
Loans to Occupiers, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Mar* 5, 1418
Provisions as to Labourers' Cottages—Minutes of the Commissioners, Question, Mr. Metge; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 26, 849
Sec. 31—*Applications for Loans*, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 22, 575; Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 22, 583

Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881—*Irish Land Commission*
Antrim Co. Sub-Commission, Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 303
Appeals at Enniskillen, Question, Colonel O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 2, 1257
Assistant Land Commissioners, Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 20, 410
Payment of Arrears, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 22, 594
Sub-Commissioners in County Kerry, Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 8, 1748
Sub-Commissions, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 9, 1899
The Sub-Commissioners — Mr. Peter Fitzpatrick, Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 26, 832

Land Law (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1881—*Resolutions of Land Conference in Belfast*
Observations, The Earl of Belmore, Lord Waveney *Feb* 20, 397
Moved, "That Resolutions 2 and 3 be incorporated in an Act supplementary to the Land Act, 1881" (*The Lord Waveney*) *Feb* 23, 689; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Land Law (*Ireland*)
Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to continue the inquiry, commenced by the Select Committee of last Session, into the working of recent legislation in reference to land in Ireland and its effect upon the condition of the country" (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) *Mar* 6, 1583; after short debate, Motion agreed to
Moved, "That the Select Committee on the Land Law (Ireland) Act be re-appointed" (*The Earl of Donoughmore*) *Mar* 9; Motion agreed to; List of the Committee 1893

Land Law (Ireland) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Givan, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Lea, Mr. Findlater, Mr. Richardson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 68]

Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) Amendment Bill (*Mr. Parnell, Mr. Healy, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Lalor*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 14]

LANSDOWNE, Marquess of
Ireland—Peasant Proprietary, Motion for an Address, 1372, 1381, 1406
Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition, 2R. 1571

Law and Justice (England and Wales)
Case of Elizabeth Wheeler, Questions, Mr. Burt, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 22, 592
Dormant Funds in Chancery, Observations, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Reply, The Attorney General; short debate thereon *Mar* 9, 1935
Judicature Amendment Act, 1875—*The Judges' Rules—Jurisdiction of English High Courts over Domiciled Scotchmen*, Questions, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 22, 586; *Mar* 8, 1747;—*The New Rules of Legal Procedure*, Question, Mr. J. Stewart; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 27, 1025
Office of Public Prosecutor, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Attorney General *Feb* 26, 829
The Truck Act, Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 22, 589

Law and Police
Murder in a Police Cell, North Shields, Question, Mr. Dawnay; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 26, 842
The Police Force—Superannuation, Question, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *Feb* 16, 178
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LAWRENCE, Sir J. J. T., *Surrey, Mid.*
East India — Code of Criminal Procedure (Native Jurisdiction over British Subjects), 1023
Kew Gardens—Extension of Hours of Opening, 310
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LAWRENCE, Mr. Alderman W., *London*
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LAWSON, Sir W., *Carlisle*
Egypt—Questions
Finance, &c.—Revenue Accounts of the Egyptian Government, 1433
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Re-organization—Budget and Control, 1423
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LEA, Mr. T., *Donegal*
Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Reported Murder of Lord Ardilaun's Bailiff, 1609
Seeds Act—Supply of Seeds, 1754
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LEAMY, Mr. E., *Waterford*
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Alloa, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy Railway, 2R. 963, 1594
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Limited Partnerships Bill
(*Mr. Monk, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Lewis Fry*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 18]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Limerick Waterworks) Bill
[H.L.] (*The Lord Carlingford*)
l. Presented; read 1ª*, and referred to the Examiners *Feb* 22 (No. 3)
Read 2ª * *Mar* 8

London Brokers' Relief Act (1870) Repeal Bill (*Mr. Richard B. Martin, Mr. Magniac, Mr. Buxton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 19]

Longford, Earl of
National Education (Ireland), Motion for Papers, 286, 290, 394

Lopes, Sir M., *Devonshire, S.*
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Lowther, Right Hon. J., *Lincolnshire, N.*
Ireland—Kilmainham "Negotiations," 1033, 1034, 1035
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Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1825

Lubbock, Sir J., *London University*
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McArthur, Mr. A., *Leicester*
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M'Coan, Mr. J. C., *Wicklow*
Ireland—Land Law Act, 1881—Assistant Land Commissioners, 410
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Macfarlane, Mr. D. H., *Carlow Co.*
East India—Code of Criminal Procedure (Native Jurisdiction over British Subjects), 1723
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Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 1129, 1130; Report, 1242

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  Scotland—Skye Crofters, 170, 316, 853;—Royal Commission, 1022, 1023, 1720, 1721, 1901
  Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—Stationery, Printing, &c. 1781

McGarel-Hogg, Sir J. M., *Truro*
  Metropolitan District Railway—Ventilating Shafts on the Thames Embankment, 1410, 1411
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  Parliament—Committee of Selection, 1001, 1010
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  Admiral Gore Jones's Report, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 26, 837
  Treaty with—Article 5, Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 22, 586

Main Roads (*England*)—*Grant for Maintenance*
  Questions, Mr. E. W. Harcourt; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Feb* 22, 579

Makins, Colonel W. T., *Essex, S.*
  Law and Police—Public Thoroughfares (Metropolis), 301

Malta (*Constitution and Administration*)
  Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for further papers and correspondence respecting the constitution and administration of Malta" (*The Earl De La Warr*) *Mar* 9, 1881; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Manners, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R., *Leicestershire, N.*
  Factory and Education Acts (Scotland), Res. 1934
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  (*Mr. Caine, Mr. Morley, Mr. Willis*)
c. Ordered * *Feb* 20
  Read 1° * *Feb* 23 [Bill 104]

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill (*Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Alderman Cotton, Mr. Morley, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Causton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 36]

Martin, Mr. P., *Kilkenny Co.*
  Parliament—Privilege—Member Imprisoned (Mr. Healy), 81

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Outlawries Bill
c. Read 1°* *Feb* 15

Oxford, Aylesbury, and Metropolitan Junction Railway Bill (by Order)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. Dodds*) *Feb* 27, 971; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. J. R. Yorke*); Motion agreed to
Debate resumed *Mar* 6, 1599; Debate further adjourned

Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Orders Confirmation Bill
(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 19 [Bill 87]
Read 2°* *Feb* 27

PAGET, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*
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Parish Churches Bill
(*Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Courtauld, Mr. Cropper, Mr. Stanley Leighton, Mr. William Henry Gladstone*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 64]

Parliament
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MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT *Feb* 15
The Session of Parliament was opened by Commission
Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech delivered by The LORD CHANCELLOR *Feb* 15, 3
The Queen's Speech having been reported by The LORD CHANCELLOR; An Address to HER MAJESTY thereon moved by The Earl of DURHAM (the Motion being seconded by The Lord REAY) *Feb* 15, 7; after long debate, Address agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*
Personal Explanation, The Marquess of Salisbury; Observations, Earl Granville, The Lord Chancellor *Feb* 16, 155
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Chairman of Committees—The Earl of Redesdale appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session *Feb* 15
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All Petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Standing Orders Committee unless otherwise ordered *Feb* 22
Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Thursday the 21st day of June next [and other Orders] *Mar* 2, 1250

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THE QUEEN'S SPEECH
The QUEEN'S SPEECH having been reported by Mr. Speaker; An humble Address thereon moved by Mr. ACLAND (the Motion being seconded by Mr. BUCHANAN) *Feb* 15, 90
After debate, Amendt. at end of the third paragraph, insert "but this House humbly expresses its opinion that no sufficient reason has been shown for the employment of British Forces in reconstituting the Government of Egypt and reorganising its affairs under the authority of the Khedive" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after further debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed [Second Night] *Feb* 16, 178; Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted"
Amend. to the proposed Amendt. To leave out from "but," add "whilst assuring Her Majesty of our support in such Measures as may be necessary for a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of Egypt, humbly to express our regret that steps were not taken at an earlier period which might have secured such objects as are of importance to this Country, without involving the necessity for military operations" (*Mr. Arthur Balfour*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put, and negatived
Question put, "That the words 'whilst assuring Her Majesty, &c.,' be there added;" A. 144, N. 179; M. 35 (D. L. 2)
Main Question again proposed; Debate adjourned
The Address — Mr. Parnell's Amendment, Question, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answer, Mr. Parnell *Feb* 19, 316
Debate resumed [Third Night] *Feb* 19, 317; main Question again proposed; after long debate, Debate further adjourned
Debate resumed [Fourth Night] *Feb* 20, 414; main Question again proposed
Amendt. in paragraph 10, line 4, to leave out from "upheld," to the end of the paragraph, insert "and we venture to express our earnest hope that the change of policy which has produced these results will be maintained, and that no further attempts will be made to purchase the support of persons disaffected to Her Majesty's Rule, by con-
[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

cessions to lawless agitation; and that the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin and other parts of the Country will continue to be met by unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive" (*Mr. Gorst*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Fifth Night] *Feb* 21, 504; Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Sixth Night] *Feb* 22, 597; Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Moved, "That Mr. O'Kelly be suspended from the service of the House" (*The Marquess of Hartington*); Question put; A. 305, N. 20; M. 285 (D. L. 8)

Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.," 629; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Seventh Night] *Feb* 23, 716; Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 259, N. 176; M. 83

Div. List, A. and N., 808

Main Question again proposed; after short debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Eighth Night] *Feb* 26, 854; main Question again proposed

Amendt. to insert, at end of 10th paragraph, after "Executive," "And humbly to assure Her Majesty that the manner in which the exceptional legislation known as the Crimes Act has been and is exercised by the officials of the Crown in Ireland is tyrannical and unjust. That gross licence of oppression is granted to persons and classes bitterly hostile to the mass of the Irish people. That Constitutional agitation is despotically impeded and persecuted. That justice is administered in a most partial and prejudiced spirit, and that the confidence of the people in the application of the Law is destroyed by a system of jury packing which has already, in the opinion of the vast majority of the Irish people, led to many iniquitous sentences and the execution of innocent persons, while it is practically impossible to obtain justice or protection for the masses of the people from the present administrators of the Law. And that, unless the Irish Executive abandon unconstitutional and tyrannical courses, and depend upon the Constitutional administration of the ordinary Law, the result may be prejudicial in an extreme degree to the cause of peace and order in Ireland" (*Mr. Parnell*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after long debate, Question put; A. 15, N. 133; M. 118

Div. List, A. and N., 934

Main Question again proposed; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Ninth Night] *Feb* 27, 1038; main Question again proposed

Amendt. to insert, at end of 10th paragraph, after "Executive," "Humbly to assure Her Majesty, that the state of distress among the population of many parts of Ireland; the

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

inadequate machinery of the Land Act, and its partial and imperfect character, especially with regard to leaseholders, the right of tenants to their improvements, the purchase system, and the condition of the agricultural labourers; the unsatisfactory operation of the Arrears Act; the state of the Law of Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises in Ireland; and the condition of Local Government in that Country, are all questions demanding the urgent attention of the Legislature and the Government; and that the absence of any undertaking to legislate on any of these questions, or on any question affecting the welfare of the Irish People, must tend to promote discontent and intensify disaffection in Ireland" (*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Tenth Night] *Feb* 28, 1098; Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" Debate adjourned at 6 of the clock

Debate resumed [Eleventh Night] *Mar* 1, 1173; Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after long debate, Question put; A. 32, N. 163; M. 131 (D. L. 14)

Main Question again proposed, and, after short debate, put, and agreed to, 1223

Committee appointed, "to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution;" List of the Committee, 1227

Report of Address brought up, and read *Mar* 1, 1227

Moved, "That the said Address be read 2°" (*The Marquess of Hartington*); after debate, Question put, and agreed to

Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported *Mar* 5, 1437

Privileges, Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed *Feb* 15

Public Petitions, Select Committee appointed and nominated; List of the Committee *Feb* 19, 391

Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (*House of Commons*), Standing Committee appointed and nominated; List of the Committee *Feb* 19, 392

Standing Orders Committee, Nomination deferred *Feb* 20, 398; Select Committee nominated; List of the Committee *Feb* 27, 971

Public Accounts Committee, Select Committee nominated; List of the Committee *Feb* 22, 688

Printing, Select Committee appointed and nominated; List of the Committee *Feb* 22, 688

PRIVATE BILLS

New Standing Order, Moved, "Where a Bill having been brought in on Motion (not being a Bill to confirm a Provisional Order or Certificate) is read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time, on a day appointed, and it appears that the Standing Orders relative to Private Bills may be applicable

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Private Bills*—cont.

to the Bill, the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills shall, on an Order of the House, examine the Bill with respect to compliance with the Standing Orders, and shall proceed and report forthwith, and the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill shall not be affected thereby; but, if the Examiner report that any Standing Order applicable to the Bill has not been complied with, and the Select Committee on Standing Orders report that such Standing Order ought not to be dispensed with, the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill or the Order for Commitment thereof, as the case may be, shall be discharged" (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *Feb* 19, 293; Resolution agreed to, and ordered to be a Standing Order of the House

Ordered, That this House will not receive any Petition for a Private Bill after Friday the 9th day of March next, unless such Private Bill shall have been approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice; nor any petition for a Private Bill approved by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice after Tuesday the 8th day of May next:

That this House will not receive any report from the Judges upon petitions presented to this House for Private Bills after Tuesday the 8th day of May next:

Ordered, That the said orders be printed and published, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall (No. 4) *Feb* 26

Private Business—Railway Bills—Increase of Rates, Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Feb* 26, 834

Private Bills (*Referees*), Rules for the Practice and Procedure of the Referees on Private Bills *Mar* 9, 1895

RULES OF DEBATE—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Alteration of Questions—The Kilmainham "Agreement," Question, Mr. Kennard; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Feb* 19, 306

PRIVILEGE

Interference of a Peer in Elections—Lord Carrington, Question, Mr. J. R. Yorke; Answer, The Attorney General *Mar* 8, 1727

Controverted Elections—Salisbury Election, Judges' Certificate and Report received by Mr. Speaker; and ordered to be entered in the Journals of this House *Feb* 27, 1016

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Resignation of the Right Hon. Lyon Playfair (*Chairman of Ways and Means*), Statement, Mr. Lyon Playfair *Mar* 1, 1247; Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote *Mar* 2, 1260

Election of Chairman of Ways and Means, Moved, "That Sir Arthur Otway do take the Chair of the Committee" (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *Mar* 2, 1321; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Business of the House—The New Rules of Procedure

The Standing Committees, Questions, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Speaker *Feb* 20, 412; Question, Mr. Raikes; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb* 22, 594;—*The Old Law Courts*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 16, 170

Reference of Bills to the Grand Committees, Question, Mr. Raikes; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 1, 1172

Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Mar* 2, 1261

Business of the House—Order of Business

Moved, "That the Notices of Motion and the 1st Order of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Address to Her Majesty" (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *Feb* 20, 398; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Moved, "That the first four Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on an Amendment to the Address to Her Majesty" (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *Feb* 21, 503; Motion agreed to

Moved, "That the Notices of Motions and the first six Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on Motion for an Address to Her Majesty" (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *Feb* 27, 1025; after debate, Motion agreed to

Moved, "That the other Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Order of the Day for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Motion for an Address to Her Majesty, and further proceedings thereon" (*The Marquess of Hartington*) *Feb* 28, 1097; Motion agreed to

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS

Order of Public Business, Ministerial Statement, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb* 28, 1148;—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Raikes; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 1, 1166; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar* 2, 1260; Questions, Mr. J. Lowther, Lord Randolph Churchill, Colonel Makins, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Gorst, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 9, 1908;—*The Government Measures*, Question, Lord John Manners; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb* 19, 308;—*Parliamentary Oaths Act* (1866) *Amendment Bill*, Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb* 23, 714; Question, Mr. Schreiber; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 5, 1436; Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 9, 1903;—*Seed Advances* (*Scotland*) *Bill*, Question, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 8, 1757;—*Sittings in Supply*, Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 8, 1758

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

QUESTIONS

Adjournment—The Easter Holidays, Question, Mr. Montague Guest; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Mar* 8, 1759

Distribution of Parliamentary Papers, Question, Mr. Buxton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Mar* 8, 1720

Election of Mr. Timothy Harrington for Westmeath, Questions, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 27, 1020

The Mid Cheshire Election, Questions, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Lord Claud Hamilton, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, The Attorney General *Mar* 8, 1733

Public Bills—Memorandum of Purposes and Enactments, Question, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Mar* 5, 1437

The Ministry—Extra-Parliamentary Speeches—Speech of Mr. Herbert Gladstone at Leeds, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb* 23, 704; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Courtney, 715

This House—Telephonic Communication with the Exchange, Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Mar* 2, 1261

Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh)

Letter received by Mr. Speaker from Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton

Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb* 15, 65; Questions, Mr. Newdegate; Answers, Mr. Speaker, The Marquess of Hartington *Feb* 16, 176

Parliament—Committee of Selection

Standing Order No. 98 read, as followeth:—"There shall be a Committee, to be designated 'The Committee of Selection,' to consist of the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders, who shall be *ex officio* Chairman thereof, and Five other Members, who shall be nominated at the commencement of every Session, of which Committee Three shall be a quorum" *Feb* 27, 972

Amendt. to leave out "Five," insert "Seven" (*Sir John Mowbray*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'Five,' &c.;" after long debate, Question put, and negatived

Question proposed, "That 'Seven,' &c."

Amendt. to the said proposed Amendt. to leave out "Seven," insert "Ten" (*Mr. Rylands*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'Seven' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 213, N. 54; M. 159 (D. L. 12)

Moved, "That Mr. Cubitt be one other Member of the Committee" (*Sir John Mowbray*), 1007; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That Sir Charles Forster be one other Member of the Committee" (*Sir John Mowbray*); Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That Mr. Mitchell Henry be one other Member of the Committee" (*Sir John Mowbray*)

Amennt. to leave out the name of "Mr. Mitchell Henry," insert "Mr. Justin M'Carthy" (*Mr. Parnell*) *v.*; Question proposed,

[*cont.*

Parliament—Committee of Selection—cont.

"That 'Mr. Mitchell Henry,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 157, N. 22; M. 135 (D. L. 13)

Other Members nominated

Committee of Selection (Special Report)—The Chairmen's Panel, *Mar* 5, 1438

Parliament—Private Bill Legislation

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the system of Private Bill Legislation calls for the attention of Parliament, and of Her Majesty's Government, and requires reform" (*Mr. Craig Sellar*) *Mar* 6, 1611

After debate, Amendt. to leave out "That," add "this House adheres to the Resolution upon Private Bill Legislation, agreed to on the 22nd of March 1872" (*Mr. Dodson*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further short debate, [House counted out]

Parliament—Privilege—Member Imprisoned (Mr. Healy)

Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Feb* 15, 66; Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 9, 1898

Letter received by Mr. Speaker from the Right Honourable the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland *Feb* 15, 67

Moved, "That the Letter do lie on the Table" (*The Marquess of Hartington*)

Amendt. to leave out "do lie on the Table," add "informing the House of the trial, arrest, and imprisonment of Mr. Healy, a Member of this House, be referred to a Select Committee, for the purpose of inquiring into all the matters connected with the proceedings referred to therein, and of reporting whether they demand the futher attention of this House" (*Mr. Parnell*) *v.*: Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 353, N. 47; M. 306 (D. L. 1)

Main Question put; Ordered, That the Letter of the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland do lie upon the Table

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS

Sat First

Feb 15—The Lord Keane, after the death of his brother

Mar 2—The Lord Minster (the Marquess of Conyngham), after the death of his father

New Peers

Feb 15—The Lord Chancellor—The Earl Granville, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, acquainted the House that Her Majesty had been pleased to create Roundell, Lord Selborne, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, a Viscount and Earl of the United Kingdom, by the style and title of Viscount Wolmer of Blackmoor, in the county of Southampton, and Earl of Selborne in the said county

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—LORDS—*New Peers*—cont.

Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., General and Adjutant-General of Her Majesty's Forces, and late General Commanding-in-Chief the Expeditionary Force in Egypt, created Baron Wolseley of Cairo, and of Wolseley in the county of Stafford

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

New Writs Issued

During Recess—For Chelsea Borough, *v.* Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, baronet, President of the Local Government Board

For Haddington County, *v.* Hon. Francis Charteris, commonly called Lord Elcho, called up to the House of Peers

For Mallow Borough, *v.* Right Hon. William Moore Johnson, one of the Judges of the High Court of Justice in Ireland

Feb 15—*For* the County of Dublin, *v.* Right Hon. Thomas Edward Taylor, deceased

Feb 16—*For* Newcastle upon Tyne, *v.* Ashton Wentworth Dilke, esquire, Manor of Northstead

For Westmeath County, *v.* Hugh Joseph Gill, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

Feb 19—*For* Portarlington, *v.* Hon. Bernard Edward Barnaby Fitzpatrick, *now* Lord Castleton, called up to the House of Peers

Mar 1—*For* Wycombe Borough, *v.* Lieutenant Colonel William Henry Peregrine Carington, commonly called the Hon. William Henry Peregrine Carington, Manor of Northstead

For Chester County (Mid Division), *v.* Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, called up to the House of Peers

Mar 7—*For* the County of Tipperary, *v.* John Dillon, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

New Members Sworn

Feb 15—Right Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, baronet, *Chelsea*

Hon. Algernon Fulke Egerton, *Wigan*

Samuel Smith, esquire, *Liverpool*

Lord Elcho, *Haddington County*

William O'Brien, esquire, *Mallow*

Feb 27—John Morley, esquire, *City of Newcastle upon Tyne*

Mar 1—Edward Robert King-Harman, esquire, *County of Dublin*

Mar 5—Robert Abraham Brewster French-Brewster, esquire, *Borough of Portarlington*

Parliamentary Elections (Closing of Public Houses) Bill

(*Mr. Carbutt, Mr. Arthur Pease, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Burt, Mr. O'Connor Power*)

c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 22 [Bill 102]

Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill

(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Solicitor General*)

c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 7]

Parliamentary Oaths Act (1866) Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Attorney General, The Marquess of Hartington, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General*)

c. Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair (for Committee to consider of amending the Law relating to Parliamentary Oaths)" *Feb* 16, 251; Question put; A. 160, N. 70; M. 90 (D. L. 3); Matter considered in Committee

Moved, "That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Parliamentary Oaths" (*Mr. Attorney General*); after short debate, Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. Chaplin*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 69, N. 156; M. 87 (D. L. 4)

Original Question again proposed, 258; Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair" (*Lord Henry Lennox*); Question put; A. 68, N. 151; M. 83 (D. L. 5)

Original Question again proposed; after short debate, Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. Molloy*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 64, N. 145; M. 81 (D. L. 6)

Original Question again proposed, 266; after short debate, Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. Beresford Hope*); Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P.

Matter again considered in Committee *Feb* 19, 384

Question again proposed, "That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Parliamentary Oaths" (*Mr. Attorney General*); after short debate, Question put; A. 184, N. 53; M. 131 (D. L. 7); Resolution reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 89]

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*

Address, The—Mr. Parnell's Amendment, 316

Borough Franchise (Ireland), 2R. 1705, 1880

Ireland—Questions

Distress in Sligo, 1434

Extra Police Tax in Kerry, 1424

Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Harrington, Mr. T. 713

State of—Deaths by Starvation, 315

Parliament — Committee of Selection, 996; Amendt. 1008

Parliament—Election of Mr. T. Harrington for Westmeath, 1022

Privilege—Member Imprisoned (Mr. Healy), 66; Amendt. 70, 78

[*cont.*

PARNELL, Mr. C. S.—*cont.*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 449, 451, 452, 618, 622, 624, 627, 628, 666, 668; Motion for Adjournment, 685, 716, 722, 742, 743, 854, 936, 1084, 1196, 1204, 1210, 1211
Post Office (Contracts)—Mail Service between London and Dublin, 1602
Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—
  Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1808, 1816, 1840, 1841
  Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, Motion for reporting Progress, 1868, 1876, 1985, 1989, 2004
  Irish Land Commission, Motion for reporting Progress, 2006
  Royal University (Ireland) Buildings, 1544

Parochial Boards (Scotland) Bill
(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Barclay, Mr. Mackintosh*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 12]

Parochial Charities (London) Bill
(*Mr. Bryce, Mr. Pell, Sir Henry Peek, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Davey*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 23]

Partnerships Bill (*Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Barran, Mr. Lewis Fry, Mr. Norwood*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 40]

Patents and Trade Marks—Consolidation of the Law
Questions, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 1, 1163

Patents for Inventions Bill
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. John Holms*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 3]

Patents for Inventions (No. 2) Bill
(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. J. Lawrance*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 83]
Read 2°, after short debate *Feb* 27, 1095

Patents for Inventions (No. 3) Bill
(*Mr. Anderson, Mr. Brown, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Hinde Palmer*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 21 [Bill 99]
Read 2° *Feb* 27, 1096

PATRICK, Mr. R. W. COCHRAN-, *Ayrshire, N.*
Factory and Education Act (Scotland), Res. 1910, 1935

Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl Stanhope*)
l. Presented; read 1ª* *Feb* 16 (No. 1)
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *Mar* 6, 1565
Amendt. to leave out ("now,") add ("this day three months") (*The Lord Bramwell*); after debate, on Question, That ("now,") &c.? Cont. 58, Not-Cont. 20; M. 38; resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 2ª
  List of Cont. and Not-Cont, 1582

PEASE, Sir J. W., *Durham, S.*
Alloa, Dunfermline, and Kirkcaldy Railway, 2R. 957, 966, 1596
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Resolutions, 1637
Seed Advances (Scotland), 1907
Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—
  Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1981
Treaty of Tien-Tsin—Opium Duties, 572

PEASE, Mr. A., *Whitby*
Opium Smuggling (Hong Kong), 1018
Spain—Slavery in Cuba, 826

PEEK, Sir H. W., *Surrey, Mid*
General Post Office—Extension of Buildings, 167
Metropolitan and Metropolitan District Railways, 1156

PERCY, Right Hon. Earl, *Northumberland, N.*
Army—Armoured Train at Alexandria, 1721
  Auxiliary Forces — Volunteer Uniforms, 1164
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1664
Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—
  Foreign Office, 1555
  Houses of Parliament, 1539, 1540

PERCY, Lord A., *Westminster*
Army (Supplementary Estimate), 1882-3—
  Expeditionary Force to Egypt, 1357
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1687
Metropolitan District Railway — Ventilating Shafts on the Thames Embankment, 1411

Perpetual Leases Bill (*Mr. Barclay, Mr. Howard, Dr. Farquharson*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 21 [Bill 97]

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Lyon († Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
†Barry Dock and Railways, 2R. 966
Compulsory Education (Ireland), Res. 1273
Factory and Education Act (Scotland), Res. 1926
†Parliament—Resignation of the Right Hon. Lyon Playfair (Chairman of Committees), Statement, 1247
†Parliamentary Oaths Act (1866) Amendment, Motion for Leave, 257, 260, 265
†Private Bills—New Standing Order, Res. 293

Plunket, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
Borough Franchise (Ireland), 2R. 1701
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 541, 544, 899, 1209, 1211

Poisons, Sale of—Legislation—Patent Medicines
Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar* 9, 1908

Police Bill (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, The Lord Advocate*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 26 [Bill 106]

Police Force, The—Superannuation
Question, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *Feb* 16, 178

Poor Law
Deportation of Paupers, Question, Mr. Shaw; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Mar* 8, 1726
Vaccination of Pauper Children, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Mar* 6, 1607

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Gray, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Macfarlane*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 30]

Poor Removal and Settlement (Ireland) Bill (*Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Corry, Mr. Lewis, Mr. O'Sullivan*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 20]

Porter, Right Hon. A. M. (Attorney General for Ireland), *Londonderry Co.*
Ireland—Questions
  Crime and Outrage—Reported Murder of Lord Ardilaun's Bailiff, 1609
  Law and Justice—Verdicts of Coroners' Juries, 839
  Magistracy—Londonderry Petty Sessions—Mr. O'Neill, 707
  Statute 34, Edward III., cap. 1—Imprisonment of Messrs. Healy, Davitt, and Quinn, 174
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 557, 562, 875, 877, 878, 882
Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1869, 1871, 1872, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1993, 1994

Portugal
Mozambique Tariff, 1877, Question, Mr. Stevenson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 26, 848
The River Congo, Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar* 5, 1429
[See title *Africa* (*West Coast*]

Post Office (*Questions*)
Contracts—The Mail Service between London and Dublin, Questions, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 16, 166; Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 20, 411; Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Feb* 26, 853; Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Mar* 6, 1601
General Post Office—Extension of Buildings, Question, Sir Henry Peek; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 16, 167
Letters for India, Question, Mr. Kennard; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 19, 307
Mails to the United States, Question, Mr, Baxter; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Feb* 22, 572; Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 5, 1409
Savings Bank Department—Re-organization, Questions, Mr. Kennard; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *Feb* 27, 1020; *Mar* 6, 1604; Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 6, 1608; Question, Mr. Kennard; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Mar* 8, 1744

Potter, Mr. T. B., *Rochdale*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 783

Power, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo*
Ireland—Questions
  Irish Famine of 1847—Payment of the Debt resulting, 1171, 1172
  Land Law Act, 1881—Sec. 31—Applications for Loans, 583
  Relief of Distress Act—Seed Loans, 583
  State of—Distress in the West—Deputation of Catholic Bishops, 584
Ireland—Compulsory Education, Res. 1294
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 471, 1068, 1077, 1078, 1081, 1084, 1087, 1091, 1176
Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—
  Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1828
  Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1992
  Fishery Boards, Scotland, 1791

Power, Mr. R., *Waterford*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 939, 1123

Powis, Earl of
Army—Promotion—Royal Warrant—Article 20, 281

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—*Sec* 16
The Inquiries in Dublin Castle, Notice of Question, Mr. O'Brien *Feb* 19, 317
The Assassinations—Magisterial Inquiry at Kilmainham, Notices, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Lord Randolph Churchill; Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 19, 295; Questions, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Major Dickson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 20, 406; Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 26, 847

[*cont.*

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—*Sec.* 16 —cont.
Interviews with James Carey, the Informer, Question, Mr. George Russell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 26, 852
Mr. Timothy Harrington, Questions, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Feb* 23, 712; Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Sexton; [no reply] *Mar* 9, 1897
Messrs. O'Brien, Gilhooly, and Hodnett, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar* 9, 1896

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act (1882) (Audience to Solicitors) Bill
(*Mr. Findlater, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Givan*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 61]

Prisons (England and Wales)—Warders in Convict Prisons
Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 22, 589

Private Lunatic Asylums (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Blake, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Richard Power*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 19 [Bill 90]

Public Departments—The Employment of Pensioners
Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar* 8, 1751

Public Health
Lead Poisoning, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 19, 311
Vaccination Acts—Case of Mr. Armfield, Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *Mar* 8, 1757

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Fraserburgh Waterworks) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 2]

Public House Licensing Committees Bill
(*Mr. Barran, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Jackson*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Mar* 5 [Bill 110]

Public Worship Regulation Act (1874) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Reid, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 28 [Bill 109]

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Egypt—Earl of Dufferin's Letter, 1170
England and Mexico—Diplomatic Communication, 307

PULESTON, Mr. J. H.—*cont.*
Ireland—Law and Justice—Extradition of P. J. Sheridan, 1417
Metropolitan District Railway — Ventilating Shafts on the Thames Embankment, 1747
Naval and Military Estimates, 307
Navy (Supplementary Estimate), 1882-3—Military Operations in Egypt, 1475, 1476
Supply—Army and Navy Estimates, 1023

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C., *Preston*
Military Operations (Egypt), Res. 1311
Parliament—Questions
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Railways (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. Callan, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Daly, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. O'Sullivan, Colonel Nolan, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Beresford*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 53]

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Registration of Firms Bill
(*Mr. Barran, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Monk*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 19 [Bill 94]

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Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. William Corbet, Mr. Callan, Mr. Dawson, Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Gray*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 24]

Registration of Voters (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Mr. Findlater, Colonel Nolan*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 86]

Reid, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1676

Relief of Distress (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Byrne, Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. William Corbet*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 66]

Representative Peers (Scotland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Presented ; read 1ª, after short debate *Feb* 26, 815 (No. 5)
Question, Observations, The Earl of Galloway ; Reply, The Lord Chancellor *Mar* 6, 1585

Representative Peers (Scotland) Election Procedure Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Galloway*)
l. Presented ; read 1ª, after short debate *Feb* 27, 944 (No. 6)

Richard, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
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Richardson, Mr. J. N., *Armagh Co.*
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Ritchie, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
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Rivers Conservancy and Floods Prevention Bill
(*Mr. Dodson, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Mar* 7 [Bill 113]

Robertson, Mr. H., *Shrewsbury*
Parliament—Private Bill Legislation—Resolutions, 1645

Rosebery, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department)
Payment of Wages in Public-houses Prohibition, 2R. 1576, 1577

Ross, Mr. C., *St. Ives*
Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment, 2R. 1668

Royal Dublin Society (Museum of Science and Art) Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 10]

Russell, Mr. C., *Dundalk*
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  Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c., Amendt. 1546
  Houses of Parliament, 1541
  Stationery, Printing, &c. 1768
  Transvaal, 1882-3, 1519

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Whitworth, Mr. Blake*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 49]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill
(*Sir Joseph Pease, Viscount Castlereagh*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 47]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 2) Bill
(*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Birley, Sir William M'Arthur, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Charles Ross*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 51]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill
(*Mr. Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Acland*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 60]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill
(*Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Thomas Richardson, Mr. Gourley, Mr. James Thompson*)
c. Motion for Leave *Feb* 16, 267 ; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to ; Bill ordered ; read 1° * [Bill 21]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Isle of Wight) Bill
(*Mr. Ashley, Mr. Clifford*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 84]
Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross ; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 19, 312

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Monmouth) Bill
(*Mr. Carbutt, Sir Hussey Vivian, Mr. Richard*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 26]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Yorkshire) Bill
(*Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Barran, Mr. Caine, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Isaac Wilson, Sir Matthew Wilson, Mr. Pease*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 56]

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Act (1878) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Richardson, Mr. Corry, Mr. Blake, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Redmond*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 69]

Sale of Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill
[H.L.] (*The Lord Carlingford*)
l. Presented ; read 1ª * *Mar* 9 (No. 17)

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SCHREIBER, Mr. C., *Poole*
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Main Roads—The Grant in Aid, Question, Lord Colin Campbell ; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 5, 1432
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The Skye Crofters, Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Macfarlane ; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 16, 169 ; Question, Mr. Macfarlane ; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 19, 316 ; Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh ; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Feb* 20, 405 ; Questions, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Macfarlane, Sir George Campbell ; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *Feb* 26, 853 ; Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Lord Colin Campbell, Dr. Cameron ; Answers, The Lord Advocate *Mar* 8, 1720

Scotland—Factory and Education Acts
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Mar* 9, To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the want of harmony which practically exists between the Factory and Education Acts in Scotland be remedied by legislation at the earliest oppor-

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tunity" (*Mr. Cochran-Patrick*) *v.*, 1910; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and agreed to

Seafield Dock and Railway Bill (*by Order*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" (*Mr. Dodds*) *Feb* 27, 971; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Viscount Folkestone*); Motion agreed to
Debate resumed *Mar* 6, 1599; Debate further adjourned

Sea Fisheries Bill
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(*Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Mr O'Connor Power, Mr. O'Donnell*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 31]

Sea Fisheries (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill
(*Lord Arthur Hill, Sir Hervey Bruce, Mr. Corry*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 62]

Seed Advances (Scotland) Bill
(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Mackintosh*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 76]
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c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 26 [Bill 108]
2R., after short debate, Debate adjourned *Mar* 5, 1559
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l. Bill, *pro formâ*, read 1ª *Feb* 15

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c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 19 [Bill 88]

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Shaw, Mr. W., *Cork Co.*
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(*Mr. O'Sullivan, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Daly, Mr. James Richardson*)
c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 38]

Stage Plays (Oxford and Cambridge) Bill
(*Mr. Shield, Mr. William Fowler, Mr. Hicks, Mr. Bulwer*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 35]

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(*Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, Mr. Craig*)
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c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 65]

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c. Read 2°, after short debate *Mar* 1, 1150

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(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Mr. J. Lawrance, Mr. Macfarlane*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Feb* 16 [Bill 81]

THOMPSON, Mr. T. C., *Durham*
Supply—Supplementary Estimates, 1882-3—Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1982

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(*Mr. Inderwick, Mr. Duckham, Sir Edward Filmer, Mr. Edward Leatham, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Arthur Vivian, Mr. Walter*)
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c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 70]
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(*Mr. Corry, Viscount Crichton, Sir Hervey Bruce, Captain Aylmer*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 17]

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(*Mr. Marum, Mr. Parnell, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Patrick Martin, Mr. Richard Power*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 59]

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Criminal Prosecutions, &c. in Ireland, 1971, 1975, 1997, 2000

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Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for papers and correspondence respecting the rights of British subjects in the Regency of Tunis under the capitulations, in connexion with the proposed Treaty

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Jews in Palestine, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Feb* 26, 832
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Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar* 6, 1607

Universities Committee of Privy Council Bill (*Mr. Charles Roundell, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Shield, Mr. Thorold Rogers*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 15]

University Education (Ireland) Bill
(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Gray, Mr. Dawson, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. William Corbet*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 32]

Vaccination Acts—Case of Mr. Armfield
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Vice-Royalty (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. Kenny*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Feb* 16 [Bill 37]

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(*Captain Aylmer, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Henry Thomson*)
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Inland Revenue
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